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VOL. VI.

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PREFACE.

THIS book is intended to be a guide for theological students in the first year of their course of preparation for the ministry of the gospel. It gives an outline of the various departments of theology, defines their nature and aim, their boundary lines and organic connection, their respective functions and value; it sketches their history, and indicates the best methods of prosecuting their study. It answers the purposes of a map for orientation. Formal Encyclopædia, Methodology and Bibliography are here combined.

The new title PROPÆDEUTIC, which I have chosen after a good deal of reflection, is more comprehensive and more appropriate than the usual title ENCYCLOPÆDIA, which does not necessarily include Methodology and Bibliography, and is almost exclusively understood among us in the sense of an alphabetical dictionary of the *matter* of knowledge.*

I beg the indulgence of the English reader for introducing a uniform terminology in the singular form for the several departments, as *Isagogic*, *Canonic*, *Patristic*, *Apologetic*, *Dogmatic*, *Ethic*, *Symbolic*, *Polemic*, *Statistic*, *Homiletic*, *Catechetic*, *Liturgic*, *Poimenic*, *Evangelistic*. Some of these terms are new and sound strange, but they are coined after analogy from the Greek, like most of our scientific designations. The singular form is shorter than the plural and more in accordance with Greek and German usage. The English usage is inconsistent almost beyond remedy; for while we have *Logic* (from λογική, sc. τέχνη, or ἐπιστήμη), *Rhetoric*, *Music*, *Arithmetic* (which are not likely

* When I was appointed, in 1869, "Professor of Encyclopædia and Symbolic," in the Union Theological Seminary, a doctor of divinity and editor of a leading religious periodical asked me, "Pray, tell me the name of your professorship." When I told him, he said with an expression of surprise: "As to Symbolic, I never heard of it in all my life; and as to Encyclopædia, if you are a professor of that, they need no other professor!"

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ever to be changed into *Logics, Rhetorics, Musics, Arithmetics*), we have, on the other hand, *Mathematics, Metaphysics, Ethics, Statistics,* etc. (which are as unlikely to be changed into the singular form). I am no authority in such matters, but I had to choose a uniform system.

This is the first original work on *Propædeutic* in America. It aims to answer the same purpose for English-speaking students as the well-known *Encyclopädie und Methodologie* of the late Dr. Hagenbach of Basel (whom I knew very well) has served and still serves for German students (who prize it as a useful *Studentenbuch*). Although we have now a good translation of it by my Methodist friends, Dr. Crooks and Bishop Hurst, with valuable bibliographical supplements, yet it must be remembered that Hagenbach wrote from the German standpoint for German and Swiss students, and is constantly undergoing improvements at the hands of new editors. The twelfth edition by Professor Reischle, which appeared in 1889, is enlarged to 600 pages.

I have taught Propædeutic for many years, first at Mercersburg and later in New York, and have allowed the students to circulate imperfect copies of my lectures. These will now be superseded by the printed book.

The First Part contains about one half of the work. The Second Part will be enriched by a complete Manual of Theological Bibliography, brought down to the latest date.

Propædeutic is as yet a new study in this country, but it should be taught in every theological institution. No course is more necessary and useful for beginners. It is hoped that this manual will meet a growing demand of teachers and students.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

Union Theological Seminary,
New York, July 12, 1892.

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THE

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THE GROUNDS OF LUTHERAN DISSENSION IN THIS COUNTRY.

BY PROFESSOR J. W. RICHARD, D.D., THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, GETTYSBURG, PA.

To the question, Why are not all the Lutherans in this country united in one grand body, with generous concessions for individual differences of opinion, and with suitable provisions for the use of various languages? the plain answer is, *They do not all occupy the same relation to the Lutheran confessional writings of the sixteenth century;* that is (*a*) they do not all accept *all* the contents of the Lutheran Book of Concord, and (*b*) in cases where several bodies do accept and subscribe *all* the contents of the Book of Concord, they do not *interpret* every several article alike. In this is found the true ground of Lutheran dissension. It is *confessional* and *doctrinal diversity.*

That we may make this clear to the reader, we will state as fairly as we can the attitudes which different Lutheran bodies in this country hold to the Lutheran confessional writings—viz., the Augsburg Confession (1530); the Apology of the Confession (1531); the Smalcald Articles (1537); the two Catechisms of Luther (1529); the Form of Concord (1577); all of which, together with the three œcumenical creeds, were published as the BOOK OF CONCORD in the year 1580.

I. THE GENERAL SYNOD.—This body, which contains 1002 ministers, 1450 congregations, and 157,110 members, was organized in the year 1820. Because of the prevalent rationalistic spirit in one or two of the older and larger district synods uniting in the organization, it was not found practicable to place in the constitution even the *name* of any one of the above-mentioned Lutheran confessional writings. But when, three years after the organization, the Pennsylvania Synod withdrew, not for *doctrinal,* but *wholly* for *practical* reasons, the General Synod soon after took the Augsburg Confession as its doctrinal basis, and declared: "The fundamental doctrines of the Word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession."

This *qualified* subscription to the Augsburg Confession was doubtless all that could be attained at that time, yet really it marks an epoch in the *confessional* life and history of the Lutheran Church in America. But in the year 1864 the General Synod made its confessional basis more clear and distinct by accepting "the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word, and of the faith of our Church founded upon that Word." And as further evidence of her firm adherence to the historic faith of the Lutheran Church, the professors in her theological seminary are required every five years to subscribe *ex animo* to the Augsburg Confession and to the Small Catechism, and to "promise solemnly not to teach anything, either directly or by insinuation, which shall appear to them to contradict or to be in any degree more or less remote" from these standards; and every candidate for the ministry is required to make personal subscription to the General Synod's doctrinal basis. But in giving what she believes to be an *unqualified* subscription to the Augsburg Confession, the General Synod does not cut herself off from recognition of and fellowship with other evangelical Christians; for her constitution makes it solemnly obligatory upon her to "be sedulously and incessantly regardful of the circumstances of the times, and of every casual rise and progress of unity of sentiment among Christians in general, in order that the blessed opportunities to promote concord and unity, and the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom may not pass by neglected and unavailing."

In thus *heartily* and *unqualifiedly* accepting the Augsburg Confession as her doctrinal basis, and in thus throwing the strongest guards round the teaching from her theological chairs and from her pulpits,

the General Synod plants herself firmly and squarely on the *original, generic, Catholic* Lutheranism, the Lutheranism on which Luther, Melanchthon, Brentz, and other great reformers had agreed to stand, and on which they did stand, though, as is well known, they held different *shades* of view in reference to some doctrines embraced in their common confession.

Thus the Augsburg Confession — just that, no more, no less; the creed which gave distinctive life and doctrinal character to the Lutheran Church is the doctrinal standard of the General Synod. The Apology her theologians regard as an exceedingly valuable commentary on the Confession. The Small Catechism is employed in popular instruction. The Large Catechism is esteemed as a good and useful compend of Christian doctrine. The Smalcald Articles are valued very highly as in part a repetition of several doctrines of the Confession, but more especially as a testimony of our Church against the papal hierarchy. But least of all have the theologians of the General Synod been inclined toward the Form of Concord as a *confession*, and for the following reasons:

1. It introduces several articles which have no place in the Augsburg Confession.

(*a*) "The Third Use of the Law," which is connected with the antinomian controversy.

(*b*) "Christ's Descent into Hades," which gives confessional authority to a sermon preached by Luther in the year 1533, although it is well known that Luther treated the subject differently almost every time he touched it; and a wise old Lutheran theologian declares that in his day the adherents of the Augsburg Confession did not agree about the Descensus.*

(*c*) "Church Usages and Ceremonies," although no fault may be found with the teaching of this article. But all that it contains is embodied fundamentally in the Augsburg Confession.

(*d*) "Foreknowledge and Election," which Melanchthon purposely kept out of the Confession as a tedious and inexplicable dispute, which could only disturb consciences,† and which, as a matter of fact, only within the last few years has given rise to one of the most bitter controversies ever known among Lutherans in this country.

2. It has developed and treated several articles of the Confession in a scholastic and particularistic way, and has sought to impart confessional character to the private views of individuals and to the explanations of local schools.

(*a*) Oral manducation, or the eating by the mouth the true and natural body of Christ in the eucharist. This doctrine does not belong to generic and Catholic Lutheranism. It is not found in the Augsburg Confession, nor in the Apology, nor in Luther's Catechisms, nor in the Smalcald Articles, nor in the Wittenberg Concord, nor in several other official and numerously subscribed statements of Lutheran doctrine. "The fact is, therefore," says the late Dr. Krauth, "that the defining term 'by the mouth' cannot be demonstrated to be an essential part of the Lutheran confessional statement. Entire national bodies of Lutherans have existed for centuries, and now exist, who have no such expression in their Confessions." * It is indeed historically certain that the doctrine of oral manducation could not possibly have found place in the Augsburg Confession, since some of those who helped to compose the Confession did not hold the oral partaking of the body and blood of Christ, nor the partaking of the same by *unbelievers*, as witness the *Swabian Syngramma*, which even Luther endorsed with two laudatory prefaces. Moreover, the Form of Concord declares that all those are sacramentarians and fanatics, and cannot be admitted to fellowship, who will not believe that the true natural body of Christ is received *orally* by the *ungodly* and by the saints, by Judas as well as by St. Peter.

(*b*) In its doctrine of the *Will* it declares that "man can as little begin, work, or co-operate in spiritual matters, and in his own conversion, or regeneration, as a stone, a block, a clod. . . . He is worse than a block, because he is opposed and hostile to the will of God." † This many persons regard as inconsistent with a true philosophy of the will as revealed in consciousness, and as tending to destroy all personal responsibility in the matter of one's salvation, and as inconsistent with the doctrine of Divine grace as taught in Article XI. For if man is as a stone, a block, a statue, without mouth or eyes, as Article II. teaches, then he can be converted only by an act of *irresistible* grace, which Article XI. denies. It is well known that such distinguished Lutheran theologians as Thomasius and Stahl reject the terms which the Form of Concord applies to the will, and that Luthardt regards them as *unfortunate*.

(*c*) It teaches in the *Epitome* the *absolute*

* Musæus' *Præl. in Epit. Form. Concordiæ*, p. 313.
† *Corpus Reformatorum*, ii., p. 547.

* *Conservative Reformation*, p. 462.
† *Form of Concord*, Art. ii.

ubiquity of the human nature of Christ, thus predicating an infinite attribute of a finite nature. This doctrine was disapproved by Melanchthon and denied by Chemnitz, one of the authors of the Form of Concord, who, with the Saxon churches generally, acknowledged only a potential presence (volipresence, multipresence) of the human nature of Christ, as is taught in The Solid Declaration. Thus the Form of Concord is affirmed to be in conflict with itself. "No marvel, then, that controversy arose between the framers of the Concord shortly after its publication." * It was because it taught the doctrine of the *absolute ubiquity* of the human nature of Christ, that the Form of Concord was rejected by the Helmstädt divines.†

(*d*) It carries the doctrine of the *Communicatio Idiomatum*, which Melanchthon rejected, and which Luther treated in different ways at different periods of his life, into the most refined subtleties of scholastic philosophy, and ends by virtually deifying the human nature of Christ. Luthardt declares it has "the form of an abstract construction," and that such a method of treatment does not sufficiently recognize the historical reality of the earthly human life of Jesus Christ." ‡ The dogma also gave rise to a prolonged controversy between the universities of Giessen and Tübingen, the former defending *Kenotism*, and the latter *Kryptic-ism*, which is based on the ubiquitarian theory—"an after-effect of the still remaining dissonances so laboriously concealed in the Form of Concord." § Modern Lutheran divines, as Thomasius, Hofmann, Lieber, Gess, Luthardt, are *Kenotists*, and, therefore, have virtually or really departed from the Form of Concord, which is decidedly *Kryptic*. These are the principal reasons assigned by the theologians of the General Synod for *not* accepting the Form of Concord as a confession of faith. It is cheerfully admitted that the Form has great *theological* value, and, considering the age in which it was produced, that it is comparatively tranquil, judicious, moderate; yet it is maintained that it is too dogmatic, scholastic, polemical, to serve the purposes of a creed; that it separates without warrant two great heroes of the Reformation, entirely ignoring, and therefore proscribing, the one, while it exalts the other almost to the throne of infallibility, since it makes "a number of the strongest passages from writings published by Luther, in the time of controversy," * decisive of the meaning of the Augsburg Confession, final in regard to the interpretation of Scripture, and *normative* of the faith of the Lutheran Church; that it is the work of men who had no vocation to meet a common external foe, nor to speak for future generations; that it laid the foundation for the cast-iron orthodoxism of the next century; that it was not accepted by many devout Lutherans of its own age; † that it was the occasion of hot disputes both within and without the Lutheran Church, and that even those in our own day who accept it and profess to hold it as their own particular confession, have nevertheless been engaged in the most violent strife about views of doctrine which each seeks to prove out of this very Form of Concord; that it presents minute explanations of doctrines and metaphysical distinctions which ought not to be made a test of soundness in the Lutheran faith, and of a man's right to be called and to be treated as a Lutheran; finally, that it sets forth a type of Lutheranism which was constructed under the influence of a system of philosophy which has yielded to a philosophy more fully imbued with the spirit of Protestantism, and which, because of its broader vision and its clearer insight into the nature of man and the being of God, is able to construct an Anthropology and a Christology more in harmony with the facts of consciousness and the teachings of Revelation.

But while such is the attitude of the General Synod toward the Form of Concord, she is perfectly willing that any person, even one within her own pale, may accept and hold it as *his own* understanding of *all* the doctrines it treats; she is not willing that it shall be imposed upon *her*, or that it shall be exacted as *her* understanding and explanation of the Augsburg Confession, which she so loyally subscribes, or that it shall be the occasion of driving any one of her children from her bosom.

In perfect accord with these statements is a recent official declaration of a well-known editor and theological professor (Dr. S. A. Ort) in the General Synod:

"The Form of Concord is a valuable contribution to theological literature, but is not the basis of the General Synod, and

* Dorner, *Hist. Doct. Christ*, Div. II., vol. ii., p. 215.
† Walch's *Streitigkeiten*, iv., 503 *et seq.*
‡ *Dogmatic*, p. 190.
§ Dorner, *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, i., p. 368.

* Dorner, *Hist. Person of Christ*, Div. II., vol. ii., p. 213.
† Dorner says: "The Form of Concord was not adopted in a large part of the lands of the Lutheran Confession, as in Denmark, Holstein, Pomerania, Anhalt, Hesse, the Palatinate of Zweibrücken, Brunswick, Nuremberg, etc. . . . Yet those who did not adopt it could not be deprived of the character of Lutheran, seeing that they maintained their greater freedom upon the basis of the earlier confessions."—*Hist. Prot. Theol.*, i., p. 383.

never will be. It fixes a certain type of Lutheranism. It expresses the development of the doctrine of the Word of God, exhibited in the Augsburg Confession, wrought out under the conceptions of scholastic philosophy. It is, hence, not a development for all time. The fulness of it is no larger than scholastic philosophy admits. For this reason the General Synod has always maintained that every age must make its own contribution to the development of the Augsburg Confession, and not be bound and limited by any form of development in a particular time and under the influence of a particular philosophy." (*Lutheran Evangelist*, February, 1891.)

II. The General Council, which now numbers 927 ministers, 1574 congregations, and 265,188 members, began its organization in 1866, and completed it in 1867. The prime mover in the formation of this new general body was the Pennsylvania Synod, which had taken a leading part in the organization of the General Synod in 1820, had withdrawn from that body in 1823, had returned again in 1853, and had now withdrawn a second time in 1866, not because of *doctrinal* difference, but, as shown by its own published proceedings, on account of *parliamentary* ruling, and on account of the action of the General Synod in sustaining that ruling. This synod appointed a committee "to prepare and issue a fraternal address to all evangelical Lutheran synods, ministers, and congregations in the United States and Canadas, which confess the unaltered Augsburg Confession, inviting them to unite with us in a convention for the purpose of forming a Union of Lutheran Synods." * In response to this fraternal address representatives of thirteen Lutheran synods assembled at Reading, Pa., December 11th, 1866, and adopted certain "Principles of Faith and Church Polity," which were the next year embodied in the Constitution of the General Council. After premising that "the unity of the Church is witnessed to and made manifest in the solemn, public, and official confessions which are set forth, to wit: The generic unity of the Christian Church in the general creeds, and the specific unity of pure parts of the Christian Church in their specific creeds," the Constitution declares: "That confessions may be such a testimony of unity and bond of union, they must be accepted in every statement of doctrine in their own true, native, original, and only sense. Those who set them forth and subscribe them, must not only agree to use the same words, but must use and understand those words in one and the same sense." * This declaration, applied to "the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in its original sense as throughout in conformity with the pure truth of which God's Word is the rule," and to all the other Lutheran confessional writings found in the Book of Concord (see above) since they are "pure and scriptural statements of doctrine," and "are all, with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, in the perfect harmony of one and the same scriptural faith," furnishes the doctrinal basis of the "General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America."

By comparing the doctrinal basis of the General Council with that of the General Synod, it will readily appear why these two bodies are not one. The latter body stands on the broad Catholic Lutheran basis of the Augsburg Confession, the only generic creed of the Lutheran Church. The former has narrowed the generic basis by adding to it the later symbols, and especially the Form of Concord, which, as Dorner declares, "did not bring about peace in the Lutheran Church; it merely became the symbol of a majority of the Lutherans of Germany, who never conscientiously could, nor seriously desired to deny the Lutheran character to those churches which declined to accept it." †

But the high hopes raised that the General Council would effect a union between "all the Evangelical Lutheran synods which confess the Unaltered Augsburg Confession," were doomed to speedy disappointment. When the body met to perfect its organization in 1867 it found before it, as submitted by the large Joint Synod of Ohio, the following questions, commonly known as the "four points":

1. "What relation will this venerable body in the future sustain to Chiliasm?
2. "Mixed communion?"
3 "The exchanging of pulpits with sectarians?"
4. "Secret or unchurchly societies?" ‡

At the same time the large German Iowa Synod presented a paper involving the same points about communion and the interchange of pulpits, and declaring synodical resolutions as only *advisory*.

To these questions the General Council did not give an unequivocal answer. Rather did it *evade* them. It *could* not

* *Minutes*, 1866.

* *Minutes*, 1867, p. 20.
† *Person of Christ*, Div. II., vol. ii., p. 209.
‡ *Minutes*, p. 12.

answer them, for it contained within its own bosom those who, as its records show, held the most directly opposite views, and, as was known, engaged in diverse practices in regard to all the "points" involved; *and the same is true of it to-day.*

The Joint Synod of Ohio was never again represented on the floor of the General Council, and the German Iowa Synod, through its representatives, felt itself "constrained to forego the privilege of a vote in the General Council," and has ever since retained only a quasi-connection with that body. And because of principles involved in the "four points," and for other reasons, the General Council, which had thirteen synods represented in its preliminary organization, and has received four or five since, now contains only *eight* synods—that is, it has retained less than *one half* of the synods that have from time to time been represented in its meetings.

Thus it appears from the history of the General Council that the professed unequivocal acceptance of *all* the symbolical writings by the most rigid and exclusive form of subscription, is not in itself a *practicable* basis of union of "all Evangelical Lutheran synods which confess the Unaltered Augsburg Confession." These symbolical writings must be *interpreted,* and it so happens that the interpretations of the wisest and most learned and most *Lutheran* doctors do not always agree about the "native, true, original, and only sense," of these writings, and, humanly speaking, it is not possible that they should agree in the interpretation of the Form of Concord, which is made up so largely of concessions and counter-concessions, of clauses and sentences and extracts from the private writings of Luther, interjected for the most part for the purpose of satisfying some "who were more Lutheran than Luther," and of quieting the objections of others, and which the very authors of the Form interpreted from the start, some in one way and some in another, each party maintaining that its own views had been recognized as the doctrine of the Church.*

III. The Synodical Conference (popularly known as the "Missourians," because it is an accretion round the Missouri Synod) was organized in the year 1872. In several spheres of Christian activity it is, perhaps, the most aggressive and wide-awake Lutheran body in this country, and is exceedingly zealous for "the pure doctrine." But its critics declare that its one-sided and almost exclusive devotion to dogmatics and its consequent relative neglect of exegesis and history, must sooner or later bring about its dissolution. A professor in the Philadelphia Seminary (General Council) has recently characterized it thus:

"The Synodical Conference has failed to become, and probably never was intended to become, a general union of Lutheran synods in America. It has simply been a training school to prepare synods for being absorbed by Missouri. As an organization it has no significance for the future development of our Church. It has cut itself entirely loose from the historical development of the Lutheran Church in this country, and from that of the Church in Europe for the latter centuries. According to its conception, the Lutheran Church is a stream which, after becoming a mighty river, and running with wide sweep through a century, plunged underground, and for three centuries passed through a hidden channel (sending up a few springs here and there to mark its track), until at last it emerged into the light of day once more in this country, with the arrival on these shores of a devoted band of Saxon emigrants." (*Lutheran,* January 15th, 1891.)

The doctrinal basis of the Synodical Conference is stated in these words: "The Synodical Conference confesses the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God, and the Confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of 1580, called 'Concordia,' as its own," *—meaning by "Concordia" the *entire* Book of Concord. Every candidate at his ordination declares: "I recognize the three œcumenical creeds of the Church—the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and its Apology, the Smalcald Articles; the two Catechisms of Luther, and the Form of Concord as the pure, unadulterated explanation and statement of the Divine Word and will; I confess them as my own confessions, and will exercise my ministry unto the end faithfully and diligently according to them." † Seeing now that the doctrinal basis of the Missourians is *identical* as regards its content with that of the General Council—viz., the *entire* Book of Concord, and seeing further, that the form of subscription of each seems to be *absolute* and *unequivocal,* the wonder is that the two bodies had not long ago mingled into one. But, as already remarked, the symbolical books must be *interpreted,* and it is in the interpretation of these books, principally of the Form of

* See Dorner, *Person of Christ*, Div. II., vol. ii., p. 215.

* *Constitution.* † *Liturgy*, p. 240.

Concord, that the *chief* grounds of dissension lie.

Among "the false doctrines" which the Missourians charge upon the General Council are the following:

1. The exchange of pulpits with non-Lutheran ministers.

2. Open communion—that is, the admission of non-Lutherans to the Lord's table.

3. Toleration of secret or unchurchly societies, such as Free Masons, Odd Fellows, etc.

4. Chiliasm, Synergism, and the toleration of Calvinistic views of the Lord's Supper.

5. Church government, in that the General Council holds that synodical resolutions are *binding* on the congregations, while the Missourians maintain that such resolutions are only *advisory*. The same doctrinal errors, except the last named, the Missourians charge upon the General Synod. Especially are they displeased with the recognition given by the General Synod to "sectarians"—that is, any and all non-Lutherans.

Against the German Iowa Synod, which contains 45,700 members, the Missourians charge as "false doctrines" "the open questions"—that is, according to the definition of the Iowans, "questions about which there can be different understanding without church fellowship being thereby destroyed, as a question about which, *in the confessional writings of our Church, no symbolical decisions* have yet been laid down. Wherefore two views may exist together in our church."* The Missourians deny that there are any such questions for Lutherans, and point to Articles VII. and VIII. in the Augsburg Confession, and to the Smalcald Articles, Part III., Article XII., and declare: "In her confession our Church has recorded for all time what she believes, teaches, and confesses, for the very reason that no controversy may arise concerning the question what our Lutheran Church believes and confesses in reference to certain points, or that such controversy may at least be adjusted without difficulty. Thus, for instance, the Formula of Concord in its second part expressly declares as its object that in setting forth its views 'a public and *positive* testimony might be furnished, *not only to those who are now living*, but *also to posterity*, showing what the *unanimous opinion and judgment* of our churches *were, and* PERPETUALLY OUGHT TO BE, concerning those controverted articles.'" (*Book of Concord*, New Market edition, p. 596.)†

Among these "open questions," according to the Iowans, are the following:

1. *Chiliasm*, which Missouri rejects in its subtle as well as in its grosser forms, while Iowa holds that not every form of Chiliasm is to be rejected.

2. *Antichrist*, Missouri affirming that the Roman Pontiff is Antichrist, while Iowa affirms that he is an individual yet to come.

3. *The Church*, Missouri holding that the Church is invisible, while Iowa holds that the Church has both a visible and an invisible side.

4. *The Ministry*, Missouri maintaining that "the holy ministry is the authority conferred by God through the congregation as possessor of the priesthood and of all ecclesiastical authority, to exercise in behalf of the congregation in a public way the rights of the priesthood." ‡

Iowa declares: "The theory of transference, according to which individual spiritual priests transfer to one from their midst for public use the rights belonging to themselves, is to be treated purely as a theological problem" §—an open question.

5. *Subscription to the creeds of the Church*, Missouri maintaining that a person who subscribes to the creeds unequivocally, thereby declares his acceptance of all the doctrines contained in them, while Iowa declares that the doctrine to be of binding force must be expressly stated, and not only occasionally mentioned. Hence that distinction is to be made between the doctrines contained in the symbolical books.

Such, then, are the principal "false doctrines" alleged by the Missourians against the General Synod, the General Council, and the Iowans. It will be seen that not *one* of them touches the *heart* or *centre* of Lutheranism, but that they all belong to the periphery. A man is a *Lutheran* who holds the following chief Lutheran doctrines in contradistinction to their well-known Calvinistic and other theological antitheses: That salvation has its source in the paternal *love* of God; that Jesus Christ, very God and very man, is the centre of the evangelical system, and died for the whole world of mankind; that salvation is sincerely offered to all men who hear the Gospel; that the cause of the condemnation of some who hear the Gospel is their own voluntary rejection of the offer of salvation; that the Word and the sacraments offer grace to all alike, and actually convey grace to all who

* *Erklärung des Ministeriums*, 1859.

* *Controversy on Predestination*, p. 5.
† Walther's *Kirche und Amt.*, p. 354.
‡ *Minutes*, 1875, p. 21.

receive them with faith; that the *entire Christ* is present in the eucharist; that original sin is truly sin, as against Pelagians, etc.; that justification is by grace for Christ's sake through faith alone, as against Roman Catholics; that all ministers of the Gospel, whether Presbyterially or Episcopally ordained, are *equal*, as against the views of *some* sacerdotally constituted churches. The man who holds these doctrines, as they are fundamentally laid down in the Augsburg Confession, is a *Lutheran*, and is entitled to be considered a Lutheran, and to have all the rights, privileges, and immunities of a Lutheran accorded him, even though he may not hold in regard to some *circumferential* doctrines, or views of doctrines, just as Luther and Melanchthon held; or may not accept certain *explanations* of Lutheran doctrines contained in the Form of Concord, as of the Lord's Supper, of the Person of Christ, of free-will; since, as Dorner has well said, it cannot be shown that all the explanations of doctrines found in the Form of Concord are true and legitimate deductions from the Augsburg Confession. Moreover, it must never be forgotten, as already twice stated in this paper, that the Form of Concord did not become, even in Germany, a universally accepted creed of the Lutheran Church; and if such be its history in the land of its birth, and in an age of scholastic philosophy whose principles it applies to the solution of theological problems, much less can it be expected to bring union in a foreign land and in an age in which a different and a better philosophy is in the ascendant. It must be remembered, also, that it is an *explanation*—an explanation which terminated, indeed, for a time a course of development; but it can have only *historical* and *theological* significance as a guide in the development of our day, and in the solution of the questions which ever and anon arise out of the great primary Confession of the Lutheran Church, which from age to age must test this Confession anew out of the Word of God, and must ascertain its meaning from the concurrent or consentient teaching of its authors, whose works are quite as accessible to us as they were to the framers of the Form of Concord. Hence, as an *explanation*, made under the stress of local circumstances, and according to the conceptions of one age, it cannot rationally be applied as a test of true Lutheran character where the theological and philosophical environment is so entirely different. To do so is to say that this age shall reap no benefit and witness no expansion of the theological horizon from three hundred years' operation of the Spirit in the witnessing, confessing Church. And that this is the proper conclusion in regard to the Form of Concord is demonstrated by the fact that those who seem to subscribe it most unequivocally as their *own confession*, and to regard it as in the "perfect harmony of one and the same scriptural faith" with the Augsburg Confession, and who make it and its theology pre-eminently the test of Lutheran character, do, as a matter of fact, stand apart in separate organizations, and impeach the Lutheran character of each other to the extent that they will neither commune nor exchange pulpits with each other, as witness particularly the large Joint Synod of Ohio, which, though professing to hold all the symbolical writings in the most rigid and unqualified sense, nevertheless refused to remain with the Synodical Conference because of diverse *interpretation* of the eleventh article of the Form of Concord, and refused to remain in the General Council, which it helped to organize, because of the "four points," which, if not arising directly out of the Form of Concord, are, nevertheless, closely connected with the narrowing and exacting spirit which it begets and fosters. Thus it appears that the Form of Concord, great and valuable as it is when viewed from the standpoint of *history* and *theology*, because it narrows the original basis of Lutheranism from the generic to the specific and particularistic, is nevertheless directly associated with, if it be not the chief cause, of Lutheran dissension in this country. Or, if it should seem harsh to state the case in this *positive* form, it is at least very certain that it has not contributed *anything* to the production of an irenic spirit, and to the formation and continuation of organic union, and for the full proof of this we have only to appeal to the history of the last thirty years. At the breaking out of the late Civil War, which drew off the Southern synods, some thirty synods, extending from New York to Texas, from the Atlantic to the Missouri River, were harmoniously united in the General Synod. Every Synod east of the Ohio River, with one or two insignificant exceptions, and most of those west of it, were in connection with the General Synod. The few remaining Form of Concord synods were as much at war with each other as they were with the General Synod. Men of different languages and various nationalities met together in the general body and recognized each other as Lutherans, on the basis of the Augsburg Confession.

This happy condition of affairs was thus described by the late Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr. : "There are not only not distinct genera, there are no distinct species in the General Synod. There is but one class, one species in it, and all the differences are simply those of varieties in one species. The true friends of the General Synod have this specific mark, that, setting aside non-fundamentals as terms of ministerial union and of church fellowship, they meet as on fundamentals ; and setting aside the minutiæ of the mere technical phraseology of one or two features in one or two doctrines, they meet in harmony on their substance." *

But about this time the spirit of the Form of Concord entered, and with it came the spirit of *schism,* which rent the General Synod in twain and carried away thousands of her members to be united in a new body on the basis of the *entire* Book of Concord, some of them to withdraw after a few years, that they might enter *newer* combinations of still narrower and more exclusive character, where the distinctions of fundamentals and non-fundamentals are unknown, and where "the minutiæ of the mere technical phraseology of doctrines" are exalted to the position of confessional importance. In a word, the history of three hundred years ago has repeated itself, but with this difference only, that the scene of strife and division has been transferred from Germany to America.

We now advance to the consideration of the most important single ground of Lutheran dissension. The reader will recall that in the main it is the Missourians who have charged "false doctrines" against the other Lutheran bodies. In what follows, Missouri becomes the offender. About twenty years ago the Rev. Dr. Walther, Professor of Theology in the Seminary of the Missourians at St. Louis, startled the Lutheran theological world by an extreme, if not altogether *new,* interpretation of the eleventh article of the Form of Concord, "Of God's Foreknowledge and Election." For the purpose of exalting the majesty of the grace of God in salvation as over against modern Pelagian and Synergistic views, he declared that predestination or election is the *cause* of salvation. Under controversy, Dr. Walther, whose views are now the views of the Missourians, stated the case thus : "It consists simply in the following twofold question : (1) *Whether God from eternity, before the foundations of the world were laid, out of pure mercy and only for the sake of the most holy merit of Christ, elected and ordained the chosen children of God to salvation and whatever pertains to it, consequently also to faith, repentance, and conversion ; or* (2) *whether, in His election, God took into consideration anything good in man—namely, the foreseen conduct of man, the foreseen non-resistance, and the foreseen persevering faith, and thus elected certain persons to salvation in consideration of, with respect to, on account of, or in consequence of their conduct, their non-resistance, and their faith.* The *first* of these questions *we affirm,* while our *opponents deny* it ; but the *second* question *we deny,* while our *opponents affirm* it." *

We note the following points in the discussion :

1. Dr. Walther defends his position *exclusively* from the Form of Concord, and charges that his opponents defend their position from the private writings of the Lutheran theologians *subsequent* to the Form of Concord.

2. He maintains that in the Form of Concord the doctrine of predestination is applied in "a *stricter* sense," and "is understood to be that which extends only to the children of God who have been chosen and ordained to eternal life before the foundation of the world," while his opponents, he declares, understand predestination in "a *wider* sense" as "that doctrine which comprises the general doctrine of the way to salvation for all men as a part, even as the first or chief part ; or one which is nothing else than that general doctrine of the way to salvation for all men."

3. Dr. Walther makes election the *cause* of salvation, quoting the Form of Concord very emphatically thus : "THE ETERNAL ELECTION OF GOD NOT ONLY FORESEES AND FOREKNOWS THE SALVATION OF THE ELECT, BUT THROUGH HIS GRACIOUS WILL AND GOOD PLEASURE IN CHRIST JESUS, IS ALSO A CAUSE WHICH PROCURES, WORKS, AIDS, AND PROMOTES OUR SALVATION AND WHATEVER PERTAINS TO IT." The position of his opponents he declares "to be nothing more than the following : In the first place, the *foreknowledge* of God that certain persons will receive the Gospel in true faith and persevere in this saving faith unto the end ; and secondly, the *decree* that He will actually save the persons that thus persevere in faith."

4. Dr. Walther states in his own words as the proper meaning of the Form of Concord, that predestination is "a CAUSE of

* *Lutheran and Missionary*, March 31, 1864.

* *Controversy on Predestination*, p. 5.

the salvation of the elect," and is "also a *cause of faith*," and that his opponents regard faith as "a cause of predestination."

It will thus be seen that the two views are clearly antagonistic the one to the other. What one party regards as a *cause* the other party regards as an *effect*, and *vice versâ*. Dr. Walther and the Missourians charge that their opponents are "*not* Lutheran," are "Pelagian;" and they charge that Dr. Walther and the Missourians are "Calvinistic;" and in support of their charge they quote from the official declarations of the Missourians, passages like the following: "The difference between the Calvinistic and Lutheran doctrine of Predestination is this: The Lutherans do not wish to explain how it comes about that it all depends on the mercy of God that in the case of some opposition and death are removed, but that others remain lost. The Lutherans dismiss this question; but the Calvinists answer it," etc.

The position of the chief opponents of Missouri on Free Will, Conversion, and Predestination are thus presented by Professor G. Fritschel, of the German Iowa Synod:

1. "Over against all these predestinarian inclinations must be strongly emphasized the fact *of the personal self-determination of man for or against salvation.*"

2. "That of two men who hear the Gospel, opposition and death are removed in the case of one and not in the case of the other . . . *has its ground in* the free self-determination of the man, although this itself is possible only by grace."

3. "That of two men to whom the Gospel is preached, the one comes to faith, the other does not, according to God's Word is due solely and alone to the decision of the man."

4. "Whether a man shall be saved or lost rests *in its final ground* on the FREE *self-determination* of man for or against grace."

5. "It is certain that since God appoints only a number of men to eternal life, the ground of this lies either in the absolute election of God, who now but once only presents man with faith, or in the decision of the man foreseen by God."

6. "The doctrine of our Lutheran dogmaticians, that God has elected those whose faith in Christ He foresaw, is not Pelagian, but is a sound doctrine in full accord with the Word of God." *

It needs no very great intellectual acumen to discover that these two sets of theses are fundamentally and irreconcilably antagonistic to each other. It is not possible to harmonize Professor Fritschel's "personal self-determination of men," "final ground," "foreseen faith," with the "predestination is the CAUSE of salvation," "without foreseen faith," "election is *particular*," of Dr. Walther and the Missourians. Yet each party to the dispute professes *unqualified* acceptance of the Form of Concord, and finds in it support for its own view of predestination. And we leave to the metaphysician the task of reconciling Professor Fritschel's "personal self-determination of man" with the Form of Concord's simile of "a block, a stone, or a clod."

But besides the German Iowa Synod, a Norwegian Synod, and the Joint Synod of Ohio have violently controverted the predestinarian doctrine of Missouri, and have withdrawn from the Synodical Conference into independence. The General Synod has taken no part in the controversy; neither has the General Council, as such, although the faculty of the Philadelphia Seminary has delivered an "Opinion concerning the Dogma of Predestination."* This "Opinion" shows that the older Lutheran theologians "used expressions of a strongly deterministic character implying an absolute predestination;" it declares that the Form of Concord "rejects those deterministic and ultra-predestinarian tendencies of the earlier Lutheran theologians;" it holds that the later Lutheran theologians gave a larger place to faith as a cause in the election of the individual, saying, "That under this aspect faith enters into the Divine purpose of predestination as the actual condition of the application of general election to the individual. In this sense they speak of an election '*intuitu fidei*,' '*ex prævisa fide*,' and of faith as '*causa minus principalis, instrumentalis, conditio, electionis*,'" etc.

The "Opinion" is cautious, and, in general, non-committal, though, as it inclines to support the view of the later theologians, it goes against the position of Missouri. It admits "that the terms '*intuitu fidei*,' '*ex prævisa fide*,' and similar ones, do not present a satisfactory solution of the theological problem in question," but it also declares that the views of the older theologians "at no time represented the *Confession of the Lutheran Church*."

Here again will be seen the divisive influence of the Form of Concord. The Missourians, headed by very learned men, in-

* *Theologische Monatshefte*, 187 , *passim*.

* *Lutheran Church Review*, 1884, p. 223 *et seq.*

terpret it as being in harmony with the deterministic and high predestinarian views of the earliest Lutheran theologians, and declare that election is a *cause* (sometimes they write it the *cause*) of salvation and all that pertains thereunto, without regard to *foreseen faith*. The Philadelphia divines declare that it is a "misconception" "to attempt to interpret the Form of Concord in the sense of our earlier theologians," or to place the terms *foreseen faith, in view of faith,* "in conflict with the Confession"—that is, with the Form of Concord—which is to declare that the Missourians are in harmony with the older divines, and that the later divines are not in harmony with the older, and that the Form of Concord, since it rejects determinism and ultra-predestination, and does not mention the terms "*in view of faith,*" "*foreseen faith,*" falls *somewhere* between—that is, the Form of Concord, before it can become a *practicable* basis of Lutheran union, must have just what it itself *claims* to be—viz., an *authoritative explanation*. For here we see one party declares that it condemns the very thing which the other affirms that it makes certain—viz., *predestination, determinism,* salvation, and all that pertains thereunto, without regard to *foreseen faith*.

But of highest importance is the following statement of the Philadelphia divines: "It is a historical fact that the earlier Lutheran Confessions, the Catechisms, Augustana, Apology, and Smalcald Articles, so far from sanctioning any of these views of the above-mentioned theologians (the older divines), avoid any direct reference to the subject of predestination, and certainly do not teach an absolute predestination or determinism. Up to the time of the Formula of Concord there is no really official statement and consensus of the Lutheran Church on this difficult and perplexing doctrine." If, now, this be true, as undeniably it is, then it cannot be said that the Form of Concord sets forth none other system of doctrine and articles of faith than the Augsburg Confession; nor can it be said that the Form has not introduced into the Lutheran Confession an article which we know was *intentionally* left out of the earlier confessions; nor can it be said that the Form is not intended to make binding upon consciences and determinative of Lutheran character for all time, a *phase* of a doctrine, or an *explanation* of a doctrine, of which doctrine the very authors of the Form declare: "No public controversy has arisen among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession concerning this article." Hence, in view of the foregoing facts, it is altogether pertinent to inquire: Would it not have been better had the second generation of Reformers imitated the prudent caution and wise reserve of the first, especially since the very thing they sought to prevent—viz., "offensive disputation," has been caused *directly* by this article? and would it not be better if Lutherans of the present day would cease to judge and to test each other by the dogmatic, scholastic, and particularistic phraseology of the Form of Concord, whose history has been a history of strife and division?

Thus have we sought with calmness and fairness to lay before the reader, as based on official documents and the testimony of standard writers, a statement of the chief grounds of Lutheran dissension. If he has given even moderately close attention, he has not failed to observe how large a place the Form of Concord occupies among these grounds. As an extreme, and in some articles a one-sided development of Lutheranism—it is generally regarded as a triumph of the "Swabian School"—it not only has failed to determine the true *generic* Lutheranism, but it has provided the material for subsequent disputes, and has fostered a disputatious, dogmatic, intolerant spirit, which is impatient of contradiction, and demands agreement in every circumferential point of doctrine, and in all "the minutiæ of technical phraseology" as the first and final condition of Lutheran union; for it cannot be denied that Lutherans stand divided to-day mainly on *points* of doctrine, either expressly inculcated, or clearly implied, in the Form of Concord; nor can it be denied that when gnesio-Lutherans fall into disputes about Lutheran doctrines, they invariably seek to settle them mainly by appeal to the Form of Concord, all of which goes to show that in America, as in Germany, in the nineteenth century, as in the sixteenth, the Form of Concord is *not* a *practicable* basis of Lutheran union; that the only *practicable* basis of Lutheran union is the Augsburg Confession, accepted and held in good faith with toleration and charity on the one side for all those who adopt as their *own faith* all the explanations and minute phraseology of the later symbols, and with toleration and charity on the other side by those same persons for all who accept the Augustana in good faith, but are not willing to be bound by all the aforesaid explanations and phraseology. Within these limits there is ample room for the exercise of private judgment round the periphery of Lutheranism, and for the practice of that

charity which "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

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THE SEPTUAGINT AS RELATED TO NEW TESTAMENT INSPIRATION.

BY MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D.

The Septuagint is the first step of the Hebrew race into the world of Greek literature—the first timber in the bridge which spans the gap between the Old and the New Testament. With the Septuagint we have entered upon a period when the Jew could venture to translate his sacred literature out of the holy tongue into the language of profane culture. Greek literature now began to feel the contact of the mental acquisitions of the East. The faith and the history of Israel passed into Greek literary forms, and thus became accessible to the world. Hellenic influences modified the Pharisaic rigidity of Judaism, and made it more cosmopolitan without impairing its monotheism. The Septuagint and the Apocryphal literature which succeeded it, made Hellenists better acquainted with their own past, and exposed the folly of heathenism through the medium of its choicest tongue. Hellenism thus served the double purpose of strengthening Jewish conviction and making it more elastic.

"Hellenistic Judaism," says Schürer, "is as inconceivable without the Septuagint as the Evangelical Church of Germany without Luther's Bible."

The Septuagint is the work of different authors and of different times. Its oldest portion is the Pentateuch, published some time in the third century B.C. The date commonly assigned is 283–247.

Translations of the Prophets and of the Hagiographa followed, originating mostly in Egypt. Some portions were not composed until the Maccabean era (168–106 B.C.).

Its character differs in the different books. The qualifications of the translators evidently varied greatly. It is thought that the work of at least fifteen hands can be detected. The best portions are Leviticus and Proverbs. The prophets are often quite unintelligible. The translation of Daniel was entirely supplanted by the later version of Theodotion, and exists in only a single MS., which was discovered at Rome in 1772.

The translation was universally accepted by the Jews of the dispersion. The oldest Hellenists, Demetrius and Eupolemus, in their compilations, rely solely upon it. Philo assumes it throughout, and maintains that the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures must be admired and reverenced as one and the same, both in the facts and in the words. All his arguments from Scripture are based upon it. Josephus likewise assumes it for the most part.

That it was used as Holy Scripture in the synagogue service is attested by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, though it may have been that the Scriptures were read in both Hebrew and Greek on such occasions, as the Emperor Justinian declared that he had heard them in his time.

It was transferred to the Christian Church, and used as the authentic text of Scripture.

This fact acted to bring it into discredit with the Jews. When they began to find that it furnished weapons to Christian controversialists, they took a dislike to it, and are said to have instituted a fast to deplore its existence, as they had originally instituted a feast to celebrate it. Their most orthodox rabbis declared that the translation of the sacred law was a crime, and a misfortune as bad for Israel as the day on which the golden calf was made.

The Septuagint was regarded by Hellenistic Jews as the sacred text of Scripture down to the beginning of the second century after Christ. Soon after, Hellenistic Judaism began to yield to rabbinical pressure and to the advance of Christianity. A symptom of its retrogression appeared in the new Greek translations of the Bible, the object of which was to furnish the Greek-speaking Jews with a text in conformity with the authorized Hebrew, to serve as a weapon in the controversies with Christian theologians like Justin, who were using the existing text effectively against Jewish opponents.

Three of these translations were made: by Aquila, a Jewish proselyte; by Theodotion, and by Symmachus, an Ebionite Christian. Aquila adhered slavishly to the original; Theodotion and Symmachus adopted a mean between the paraphrastic looseness of the original Septuagint and the literalness of Aquila. Aquila's translation remains only in the fragments of Origen's Hexapla preserved in patristic quotations. Theodotion's has met with the same fate, with the exception of his version of Daniel, which supplanted the original Septuagint version, and has come down to us complete. The translation of Symmachus, which appears to have been distinguished for supe-

rior elegance and perspicuity, has also disappeared.

The deviations thus occasioned led Origen to the preparation of his "Hexapla," which contained the Hebrew text in Hebrew, and also in Greek characters; and the translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. In order to facilitate the use of the LXX text, he noted in the text itself the variations from the Hebrew by marking such words, sentences, or paragraphs as were missing in the Hebrew with a dagger as the sign of erasure, and by interpolating, with the addition of an asterisk, from other translations, mostly from Theodotion, those which were found in the Hebrew and missing in the original Septuagint.

The Septuagint translation in use in the time of Christ and of the apostles was, therefore, far from being a faithful rendering of the original Hebrew. It was rather a corrected edition, a running commentary, freely manipulating the text according to the exegetical traditions of the day. This fact lends some countenance to the theory that it was originally based, in part, at least, not upon the actual Hebrew text, but upon the expository targums used in the synagogue readings.

It is full of intentional as well as of unintentional departures from the original. The unintentional errors arose from the use of an unpunctuated text; from the non-existence of vowel-points; from confusion of letters, as *Daleth* and *Resh;* from ignorance of proper names, and from not understanding difficult words. The intentional variations showed the influence of Gentile contact. The translators did not hesitate at times to sacrifice the literal and natural sense to the current view of their day. They toned down the bold anthropomorphisms of the earlier books out of deference to a refined culture. They suggested an occasional parallel between Jewish and Christian ordinances, as when they rendered *Urim and Thummim* by *δήλωσις* and *ἀλήθεια* (*manifestation* and *truth*), thus intimating a resemblance between the gems on the priestly breastplate and the sapphire *Thmei* or *truth* worn by the Egyptian priests. They introduce the classical legend of Amaltheia, the fabled nurse of Zeus, into their rendering of the name of Job's daughter, Keren-Happuch (*horn of the face-paint*), which they translate *Ἀμαλθαίας κέρας* (*the horn of Amaltheia*), used by the Greeks as a symbol of abundance. They substituted Greek proverbs for Hebrew ones. Thus, in 1 Kings 20 : 11 (LXX. 21), instead of "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off," they read, "Let not the crooked boast himself as the straight" (*μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ κυρτὸς ὡς ὁ ὀρθός*).

They introduced rabbinic legends, as in Deut. 32 : 8, for "He set bounds to the people according to the number of the children of Israel," they read "According to the number of the angels of God." In Josh. 24 : 30 they inserted that the flint knives used for circumcision in the wilderness had been buried in Joshua's grave.

They omit phrases or words which appear to reflect unfavorably upon their national heroes or their national character. Thus they omit "leprous" in Exod. 4 : 6 of Moses's hand when he took it out of his bosom. They throw out Exod. 32 : 9, "I have seen this people, and behold it is a stiff-necked people." In Exod. 30 : 22, instead of "Thou knowest this people, that they are *set on mischief*," they read, "Thou knowest *the impetuosity* of this people."

The effect produced by the translation and by the tradition of its inspired character, and of the miracle of its composition, is seen in the comments of Philo and of the Fathers upon mistakes which they accept as inspired.

Thus Jer. 11 : 19, where the Hebrew reads, "Let us destroy the tree with the bread (*i.e.*, fruit) thereof," the LXX. has *ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ* : "Let us cast the wood into his bread." The Fathers interpreted this absurdity to mean, "Let us cast the cross into the body of Christ;" and Jerome says that this application is given by consent of all the Church. This is followed by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, and Theodoret.

In Hab. 2 : 11 (Hebrew), "The beam out of the timber shall answer it," the LXX. renders *kaphis* (Targum, *splinter*) by the strange word *κάνθαρος, a beetle,* which may possibly mean a *knot* in the wood. The translators may have read for *kaphis—haphash,* "a beetle." At any rate, Ambrose speaks of "Him who like a beetle called to His persecutors," and says, "Christ was the *good beetle* who called from the wood."

Hab. 3 : 2 (Hebrew) : "O Lord, I have heard the report of Thee and am afraid. O Lord, revive Thy work in the midst of the years." LXX. : "O Lord, I heard Thy fame, and I was afraid. I beheld Thy works and I was astonished. *In the midst of two animals Thou shalt be recognized*" (*ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ*).

In the "two animals" Origen sees the *Son* and *the Spirit;* Tertullian, *Moses* and *Elias;* others, the *cherubim* and *seraphim; Jews* and *Babylonians; the two thieves;*

the two testaments. Augustine thinks there is an allusion to the *ox and the ass* at the manger in Bethlehem, and that idea has reproduced itself in Christian art.

Before we come to the Septuagint quotations of the New Testament, it is only fair that we should speak of a serious difficulty which confronts us, and which, with our present knowledge, we are unable wholly to overcome.

That is, the answer to the question, How nearly can we discover the Greek text of the Old Testament of the time of Christ, and of the Apostles?

A discussion of that problem here is impossible. It is, however, much the same as that which meets us in the New Testament text.

Our earliest MS. sources for both texts are of about the same date.

Only, in the case of the LXX., we have some special complications growing out of the work of Origen, whose insertions have been confounded by scribes with the original material, so that the chief task of Septuagint textualism is the exclusion of hexaplarian additions. The confusion has been further heightened by the subsequent recensions of Hesychius and Lucian.

Under these circumstances we are obliged, as in the case of the New Testament, to fall back upon what we can get. The Vatican MS. of the fourth century is generally accepted by the best critics as having the superior claim to giving a genuine Old Testament text.

Professor Toy says: "The Vatican, representing the best LXX. text of the fourth century of our era, will, in all probability, come nearest to the text of the first century. It seems to have escaped the manipulation of the harmonizers, and, so far as ordinary scribal errors are concerned, it is true of it, as of the New Testament Vatican text, that no very important corruptions are likely to have crept in during the three centuries that preceded it. . . . We shall not go far astray if we take the Vatican MS. as representing substantially the Septuagint of the apostles and evangelists."

This text is the basis of the latest critical edition of the LXX. by Dr. Swete, of Cambridge; and it is certain that many of the passages of our best New Testament text are in verbal agreement with it.

We come, then, to the quotations from the Septuagint in the New Testament. What is their character? Are they literal quotations in verbal agreement with the Septuagint? and does the Septuagint itself, in the passages quoted, always agree with the Hebrew?

Here I must be content with a very few illustrations of facts which any student can easily verify for himself, but the details of which would far exceed the limits of this paper.

Of these passages some agree with both the Hebrew and the LXX.; some with the LXX. and not with the Hebrew. These are the most numerous; some with the Hebrew and not with the LXX.; some with neither.

Of 275 quotations made by Christ and the apostles, 90 agree verbally with the LXX.; and in 37 of the 90, the LXX. differs from the Hebrew.

In the quotations ascribed to Jesus Himself, more than half are introduced by "It is written," or some similar formula, indicating that they are given as formal quotations. A considerable number are given without any such formula, as in Matt. 24, where there is a cluster of them; or in Matt. 5, in the Beatitudes, where either various passages are summed up in a condensed statement, or the passages partake more of the nature of references than of quotations. In Matt. 13 : 14, 15, our Lord cites a passage from the LXX. which betrays the disposition of the LXX. translators to soften down uncongenial utterances. The citation is from Isa. 6 : 9, 10, where the Hebrew reads: "Make this people's understanding gross and their ears dull and their eyes dim." The LXX. changes to "This people's heart has become gross, and they have heard heavily."

They were averse to ascribing the hardening of the heart, as in the Hebrew, to the direct agency of God. John, however, cites the same passage, retaining the Hebrew form of the *idea:* "He has blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts," but varying *verbally*, both from the LXX. and the Hebrew (John 12 : 40).

To any one who is not dominated by the idea of a strict and literal verbal inerrancy, the LXX. quotations of our Lord will not present any difficulty. They exhibit numerous verbal differences; but the meaning of the LXX. text is always distinctly conveyed.

The quotations of the evangelists themselves and of the apostles present more marked variations in a few cases. Thus in Matt. 12 : 18–21; Isa. 42 : 1–4 is cited, in words which agree with neither the Hebrew nor the LXX.

The *Hebrew* is: "Behold my servant on whom I lay hold (or whom I uphold), my chosen, in whom my soul delights."

LXX: "Jacob is my servant, I will lay hold on him. Israel is my chosen, my soul has accepted him."

Matt. : "Behold my servant whom I have chosen, my beloved in whom my soul is well pleased."

Hebrew and LXX. : "He shall not cry."

Matt. : "He shall not *strive* nor cry."

Hebrew : "Unto truth he shall send forth judgment." LXX. substantially the same.

Matt. : "Send forth judgment unto victory."

Matt. 21 : 13 : "My house shall be called a house of prayer ; but ye make it a den of thieves."

Mark. 11 : 17 : "My house shall be called a house of prayer *for all the nations ;* but ye have made it a den of robbers."

Luke 19 : 46 : "My house is the house of prayer ; but ye have made it a den of thieves."

Hebrew and LXX. (Isa. 56 : 7) : "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the peoples."

Here we see that the three evangelists quote the passage differently. That Matthew varies from both LXX. and Hebrew by omitting "for all nations." That all three insert the "den of thieves," which is not in the Hebrew nor LXX. of Isaiah, but is found in both Hebrew and LXX. of Jer. 7 : 12, "Has this house, on which my name is called, become in your eyes a den of robbers ?" The evangelists combine Isaiah and Jeremiah, and change Jeremiah's interrogative form.

Acts 7 : 3 in Stephen's speech : "The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia before he settled in Haran."

This is according to the LXX. ; but the Hebrew represents Abraham as *setting out* from Haran.

Acts 8 : 33, from Isa. 53 : 8 : "In His humiliation His judgment was taken away ; His generation who shall declare ; for His life is taken from the earth."

This is an accurate rendering of the LXX., but the Hebrew differs widely from the LXX. : "By violence and by judgment He was taken away, and for His generation, who considered that He was cut off from the land of the living ?"

Rom. 10 : 15 : "How beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings of good things" (Isa. 52 : 7).

Hebrew : "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who brings tidings, who announces peace, who brings tidings of good."

LXX. . "I am present as beauty on the mountains, as the feet of him who announces good tidings of peace, as one who announces good tidings of good."

Thus the LXX. does not agree with the Hebrew, and Paul agrees (literally) with neither.

1 *Cor.* 2 : 9 : "Things which eye saw not and ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man ; whatsoever things God prepared for them that love Him."

Hebrew : "From of old men have not heard, not perceived with the ear, eye has not seen a God beside Thee who does (gloriously) for him who waits on Him."

LXX. : "From of old we have not heard, nor have our eyes seen a God beside Thee, and Thy works which Thou wilt do for those who wait for Thy name."

Thus the LXX. gives a free translation of the Hebrew, and Paul a free and expanded rendering of the LXX.

Some other noteworthy examples may be found in 1 Cor. 14 : 21 ; 15 : 24 ; 15 : 55 ; Eph. 4 : 8 ; Heb. 1 : 6, in which last passage the words, "And let all the angels of God worship Him," do not occur in the Hebrew, but are cited literally from the LXX.

What, then, is the bearing of these facts upon the question of inspiration ?

That will depend very much upon what we understand by "inspiration." From one point of view the LXX. quotations in the New Testament will present a very troublesome and, as I think, an utterly insoluble problem. From another point of view they will afford, as it seems to me, no serious difficulty, but will rather prove to be illustrative and confirmatory. This question will necessarily lead us into some general discussion.

Any sound theory and correct definition of the word and idea of inspiration must be the resultant of an induction from facts, and must include *all* the facts. These facts, moreover, are those furnished by *Scripture itself.* We have no other reliable source of information. It is a thoroughly unscientific, illegitimate and fallacious process to postulate *à priori* what inspiration *must* be—how God *must* have communicated His written revelation, and then to force the facts into agreement with this hypothesis. The history of science furnishes abundant illustrations of the viciousness of this process. So long as men started with the assumption that the earth was flat, that the earth was the centre of the universe, that the sun moved round the earth, that the planets revolved in circular orbits, because the circle was the most perfect curve, and endeavored to reconcile the obvious facts of nature with these assumptions, so long they reached false conclusions and perpetrated absurdities.

The fallacy of this method, as applied to Divine revelation, was long ago exposed by Bishop Butler, when he showed the untenableness of the criteria that a revelation from God *must* be universal ; that it *could not* be confined to an obscure and insignificant people ; that it *could not* be encumbered with difficulties of interpretation, and that its evidence *must* be such as to leave no room for doubt.

"There is no essential difference," says Professor Sanday, "between the claim which was then made for the revelation itself and the claim which is still made for the Book in which that revelation is embodied—viz., that it must be, *in all respects, infallible ;* whereas neither its text, its grammar, nor its science is infallible."

Moreover, it must be noted that this process cuts both ways. That is to say, if the defenders of revelation may be allowed to lay down *à priori* criteria of revelation, the same right cannotbe denied to its opponents, and the basis of the controversy is shifted from an actual to a possible revelation. The result of this would be, and has been, to draw attention from the actual to the possible revelation—from the actual to the possible Bible. Our only safe principle is that *inspiration is consistent with the phenomena of Scripture.* Our fundamental question is not, "*What is and what is not consistent with inspiration ?*"

Scripture does not define the nature and extent of its own inspiration. The often-cited passage, 2 Tim. 3 : 16, really gives us no light on that point. Suppose we concede the interpretation upon which many insist —"All Scripture is given by inspiration of God"—the question still confronts us, "What is inspiration of God?" The passage does indeed point out certain *effects* which attend the use of inspired writings. They prove themselves profitable for teaching, for reproof or confutation, for setting to rights, for discipline in righteousness, and generally for fitting a man of God for every good work. Perhaps we may safely say that any writing or collection of writings which will do all that, may be held to have come from God, and to exhibit the in-breathing of His Spirit ; but, after all, we are no nearer than ever to all answer to the question, What *is* inspiration ? These statements do not give us any light on whether it is verbal, literally inerrant, dynamic, plenary. They tell us merely *what a writing into which God's Spirit has been breathed will do,* and we are all agreed as to that.

So that we must fall back on the facts, on the phenomena of the Bible as we have it. Our discussion confines us to one class of facts. Our question is : Does this class of facts—the Old Testament citations from the Greek LXX. in the New Testament—bear out the theory of a verbally inerrant inspiration ?

Let me briefly summarize the facts. The New Testament writers quote from the LXX. They quote in many—perhaps the majority of instances—freely, without regard to strict verbal accuracy.

Some of these verbally inaccurate quotations are put by the evangelists into the mouth of our Lord Himself.

In many cases there are marked differences between the LXX. and the original Hebrew, and the quotation adheres to the former and not to the latter.

The LXX. is sometimes cited in the form in which it mistranslates or imperfectly translates the Hebrew.

In certain cases the New Testament citation agrees with neither Hebrew nor LXX. In a few instances, one of which is ascribed to our Lord by John (7 : 38), preceded by the words, "As the Scripture hath said," the quotation cannot be identified in either Hebrew or LXX.

Now upon such facts as these I have not a moment's hesitation in affirming that the theory of verbal inerrancy shivers hopelessly into pieces. No possible exercise of ingenuity can reconcile such facts with such a theory.

This matter of New Testament citation bears directly upon the question, because the theory of inerrant, verbal inspiration carries with it as its corollary the fact of inerrant transmission. That is to say, that theory assumes that verbal inerrancy is God's own ideal of inspiration ; that when God undertook to give a written revelation to the world, He deemed it essential and imperative that that revelation should be verbally accurate. That being the case, it is for the advocates of that theory to explain how it is that God has never carried out this ideal ; that, assuming that He gave this revelation originally in inerrant autographs, the human race from the beginning has never had the benefit of that inerrant, autographic revelation ; that no Divine superintendence has intervened to prevent the errors of copyists and type-setters ; that all MSS. of the New Testament earlier than the fourth century have been hopelessly lost ; that differences in the New Testament text appear as early as Tatian's Diatessaron, and between Clement of Alexandria and Irenæus ; that the earliest New

Testament MSS. in our possession show the corrections of later hands; and that the most searching, scholarly criticism of modern times has left an eighth of the words of the New Testament still open to criticism.

Moreover, that in the transmission of the Old Testament Scriptures to a Greek-speaking race, many of whom had no possible access to the sacred writings except through the LXX. version, no divine superintendence prevented the LXX. translators from changing and omitting the original words, or overruled their ignorance to prevent their making mistakes, and, in some cases, rendering the words of inspiration unintelligible.

But, it is said, we are not certain about the original Hebrew text. There may have been another text which, if discovered, would verify the renderings of the LXX. and New Testament.

To which it may be said:

1. That, granting the possibility, it is *only* a possibility, and that, not having the other text, we can base no conclusions upon it. We are forced to form our conclusions from the comparison of the texts which we have.

2. That that possibility does not help us in cases where the LXX. and the New Testament disagree.

3. That the assumption of another text followed by the LXX. is fatal to the inerrant, verbal inspiration of our *present* Hebrew text. We save the LXX. at the expense of the Hebrew.

Again, we are offered a sweeping and comprehensive relief in the doctrine of the *originally inerrant autographs*. Grant that discrepancies and even errors occur in our present texts, the *original autographs were verbally inerrant*. If we could recover these, all these blemishes would disappear.

With all respect for those who hold this view, and who seriously urge it as a reason why we should assert the verbal inerrancy of Scripture, I must say that this appeals to me as the most shadowy and the coldest piece of comfort that ever was offered to an inquiring mind. Not even shadowy indeed, for a shadow implies substance, and in this case there is no substance. It is very much as if I should approach a man who is bewailing his poverty, and should say to him: "My good sir, you have no reason whatever to be distressed. You are rich if you only knew it. Your great-grandfather was worth a million." It would not surprise me to hear the man reply in language more vigorous than polite. When the will of a deceased citizen is read, it is no uncommon thing for a son or daughter to say: "I *ought* to have had this or that. I know father *meant* I should have it. He *must* have intended to give it to me in his will." The legal adviser has only one reply to make: "It may have been so. I do not question it; but until you can find another will, duly attested, which makes that bequest, I cannot assign that piece of property to you. This is the only testament which I know, and I must administer according to that."

That exactly represents the case as respects the original autograph theory. God may have given inerrant autographs. I do not deny it; but neither have I any warrant for affirming it. Those autographs have not appeared. Until they do, I have only my Bible as it is to live by, to be saved by, to preach from. I do not know that I am warranted in assuming the possibility of a better Bible than the one I have. I feel that I am hardly warranted in assuming so positively that God *must* have made a Bible of a different kind from the one He has actually given me. The evidence of the Divine authority and power of that Bible which is in my hand is so convincing, that I should think it bordering on self-conceit if I should declare that *that* Book fell short of God's original ideal. I am inclined to think that what I have is about what He meant to give me. I have quite enough in my Bible, with all its departures from the standard of verbal inerrancy, to keep me busy, and happy, and near to God in Christ for the rest of my life, without speculating upon the perfections of a possible and assumed Bible. It will be time enough to consider the original inerrant autograph Bible when it shall appear.

I have heard it said recently that, by falling back on the original inerrant autographs, we have a *good theory* to start with and to work toward. The phrase, "a good theory," is a begging of the whole question. A theory can be vindicated as good only by facts; and this theory cannot appeal to a fact, nor to the record of a fact, nor to the ghost of a fact. The original inerrant autographs *simply do not exist*, so far as we know. *They never did exist*, so far as we know. There is no record, no hint that any living soul ever saw them or heard of them. They are simply a conceived possibility in the minds of those who assume, on abstract grounds, that they must have existed.

Surely it will not answer for us to attempt the vindication of the verbal inerrancy of Scripture to thoughtful men on the basis of a nonentity, nor to hang the inspiration of Scripture on this very brittle peg of verbal

inerrancy. I do not deny the possible existence of inerrant autographs, though, for myself, I do not believe that any such ever existed. I am not anxious to prove their non-existence, nor am I zealous to discover and to point out errors in Scripture. What I contend for is, that *the inerrant autographs simply do not come into the field of controversy at all, because there are no such things.* The issues of such a discussion are far too important to warrant us in reasoning from nonentities. If the inspiration of Scripture is to be successfully vindicated, it must be from the phenomena of Scripture as we have it; and if the phenomena do not agree with our preconceptions of inspiration, then we must modify our conception to suit the phenomena, and not be guilty of wresting Scripture in order to fit it into our conception. Scripture can take care of itself. The inspiration of Scripture can face and can stand all the facts of Scripture. It will not be destroyed nor impaired, but rather dignified and broadened and enriched for the mind of the Church by being recognized and accepted for what it really is. It matters very little that our ideals of inspiration go by the board (if that must needs be). The Word of the Lord no man can shake, no human scholarship impair.

The Bible must continue to be, as it has been, our infallible rule of faith and practice, the mainstay of Christian truth, the guide to salvation, the source of comfort for the weary and heavy-laden, the Church's manual of education. But the facts incident to the human element in the composition of the Bible, facts which cannot be denied nor evaded, and which go ever more clearly to show that it does not answer to human ideals of literary completeness and of minute consistency; the fact that it lays no stress on these; that it does not even define for us the ideal of its own inspiration; that it even nowhere calls itself *by itself,* the Word of God; the fact that it insists on experience rather than on knowledge, or on knowledge through experience; the fact that it emphasizes character above all things, and gathers up its whole teaching into the perfect manhood of Jesus Christ—all this seems to me to be pointing to one truth, which has been blurred and hidden by the smoke of the fierce conflict over *the Book*—the truth *that God's great primary purpose in revelation was not to set forth a book, but to set forth a God-man, to the end that men might believe on the Lord Jesus, might be conformed to the image of the Eternal Son, and might thus be saved.*

Certainly the Book is a means to this. Certainly the more Christ shall be exalted in human thought and faith, the more His true followers will cherish the Book. But as certainly, *Christ is more than the Book;* to be in Christ and like Christ is more than to have a correct theory of inspiration; and the great consummation of God's movement in human history, while it will gloriously vindicate the truthfulness of the Book, will be, not *the Book* on the throne, but *the Lamb* in the midst of the throne, with every knee bent and every tongue confessing that Christ is Lord.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN CONTROVERSY.

BY PROFESSOR W. SANDAY, D.D.

From *The Expositor* (London), January, 1892.

III. Relation to the Synoptic Gospels.

As I am just entering upon an examination of the internal evidence supplied by the Fourth Gospel, it may be well for me to preface the remarks I am about to make by explaining my silence upon a point which some may think an essential one. Neither in this paper nor in those which follow do I propose to say anything about the possibility of the supernatural, or the *a priori* credibility of narratives which imply the supernatural. I do this, not because I take it absolutely for granted, but because I think that if we are to set about a systematic and scientific examination of the grounds of the Christian faith, this question of the supernatural is in logical order the last with which we ought to deal, and because, so far as the subject matter of these papers is concerned, we are not yet in a position to deal with it satisfactorily. No doubt there are persons who cannot afford to wait for the solution of so momentous a question. To such I would strongly recommend the second of Mr. Gore's *Bampton Lectures,* or an excellent work entitled *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief,* by Dr. G. P. Fisher, of Yale. But to those who are content to take what I cannot but think the more excellent way of prolonging their inquiry, and breaking it up into its several steps and stages, I would submit that the proper order is this: First, to determine what documents we can use, and how far we can use them: then, by the help of these documents, to determine as nearly as we can what are the historical facts; and, lastly,

and not until that has been done, to consider the cause of those facts, and how far it transcends, or does not transcend, our common experience.

Our present inquiry belongs to the first of these stages. We are trying to ascertain who was the author of one of our documents ; and this can quite well be done, as I think it ought to be done, without raising the question of the supernatural. If the Gospel ascribed to St. John is not genuine *with* the supernatural, it will be not genuine *without* it. If it is not genuine, there must surely be other indications that it is not genuine besides the mere presence of miracles. There are certainly a multitude of other *data* which point one way or the other. And my contention is, that when we have thoroughly examined all those other *data*, it will be time, and the proper time, to raise the question of the supernatural. We put it on one side for the present, not because we are not prepared to meet it, or because we cannot, even as it is, give a rough and ready answer to it, but because at that future date of which I speak we shall be able to approach it with far greater firmness, sureness, and precision.

Measured by the standard of the Synoptics, objection has been taken to the Fourth Gospel on five—or throwing in a subordinate point which it may be convenient to treat here, we may say six—main grounds : (1) That the scene of our Lord's ministry is laid for the most part in Judæa rather than in Galilee ; (2) that its duration is extended over some two and a half years instead of one ; (3) that in particular a different day, Nisan 14th instead of 15th, is assigned to the crucifixion ; (4) that there is a further discrepancy of no great moment in connexion with this which involves however the question of the evangelist's reckoning of the hours of the day ; (5) that the historical narrative is wanting in development and progression, especially on the important point of our Lord's declaration of His Messiahship ; (6) that this goes along with a general heightening of His claims.

Of these six points the first three may be said to be practically given up. The fourth is really indifferent, though I should be glad to say a few words upon it. It is on the last two that the criticism which is adverse to St. John's authorship concentrates itself most tenaciously, and on these therefore that it will be well for us to give our best attention.

1 & 2. With reference to the scene of our Lord's ministry, and the repeated journeys from Galilee to Judæa, Schürer's judgment is as follows :

> "It is well known that the Synoptics only speak of a ministry of Jesus in Galilee, and do not make Him go to Judæa until the last period before His death. The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, makes Him come forward at the very beginning in Judæa, and then and several times travel backwards and forwards between Judæa and Galilee, and that in such a way as to give the preponderance to Judæa. Now Baur tried to explain all the particulars of this coming and going in St. John as dependent on the design which the evangelist had in view. It cannot be said that this explanation has proved satisfactory. On the other hand, Bleek pointed out that a repeated sojourn of Jesus in Judæa was in itself quite probable, and indeed that many indications in the Synoptics themselves were in its favour. In the more recent treatises there has not been so much stress laid upon this point as Baur and Bleek assigned to it. Rightly so, because it cannot be decisive. The Synoptic version is in this respect so vague, that in no case can it count as an adverse argument. But if the Johannean version is to be preferred, that proves no more than that the author had access to independent traditions." *

True, there are both possibilities, that the author drew from his own memory, and that he drew from a good tradition. But in any case this point at least must be set down to his credit ; it is an argument not against but for the historical character of the Gospel, as far as it goes.

That St. John is right about this Judæan ministry is surely overwhelmingly probable. The silence of the Synoptics, and the detailed allusions to such a ministry, have been excellently treated by Dr. Westcott † and other English commentators ; but I doubt if they have quite laid sufficient stress on the broad probabilities of the case. That the Messiah should offer Himself to His people, and only spend the last week of His life at the centre of the national life and the national religion, is too great a paradox. If He was aware, as His own lips tell us, that it could not be "that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem," ‡ can we believe that He would have been satisfied only to perish there ? Was it not further true, as St. John hints, that Jerusalem was the proper home of the prophets ? Had not the Jew —the genuine Jew, and not merely the Galilæan—that prerogative right on which St. Paul so often insists (Ἰουδαίῳ πρῶτον) to the offer of the gospel ? Was it not included in that deep, underlying necessity which marked out the lines of the Lord's manifestation, that He should really go to the heart of Israel and make Himself known there ? A number of details in the events

* *Vortrag*, p. 61 f. † Page lxxvii, ff. ‡ Luke xiii. 33.

of the last week—the crowds that come out to meet Him at the entry into Jerusalem ; the prompt recognition of His commands by the owners of the ass's colt and of the upper room ; His own words, "I sat daily in the temple ;" the solicitude of men like Joseph of Arimathæa—imply that He had so made Himself known there. But these details do not stand alone ; if the Fourth Gospel had not come down to us at all, we might have been sure that on this question of the scene of the ministry the Synoptic Gospels were incomplete.

By one little detail they seem to show that they are equally incomplete as to the time which it occupied. When the disciples pluck the ears of corn, quite early in the Galilæan ministry, that means that the corn was ripe, but not reaped. In other words, the time was between Passover and Pentecost.* This fits in well with St. John's statement (vi. 4), that one intermediate Passover was spent in Galilee. I am aware that Dr. Hort strains every nerve to eject τὸ πάσχα from this verse. This is quite the strongest piece of argument I know in favour of the one year's ministry. But at the end of his long and important note, I do not gather that even Dr. Hort would contend for more than that the omission should be noted in the margin ; and that with full consciousness of the weaknesses of readings which rest on patristic evidence alone, without support from MSS. and versions. We may add, on patristic evidence which is entirely indirect and inferential. Dr. Westcott in his commentary argues for the retention of the words.

The case stands thus : If we could get rid of the words τὸ πάσχα, the Johannean and Synoptic chronologies could be easily harmonized. But even with the words they can still be harmonized ; the simple fact being that the Synoptic Gospels are only a series of incidents loosely strung together, with no chronology at all worthy of the name.

3. In regard to the day of the Last Supper and of the crucifixion, they have something better than a chronology. They do not say expressly on what day of the month these two events took place ; but they let it appear by incidental allusions that the Last Supper was the Paschal meal, and that it therefore fell on the evening of Nisan 14–15 (the Jewish day beginning at dusk), and the crucifixion in the afternoon of the day following, still called Nisan 15. In St. John both events are to all appearance put back one day : the Last Supper falls on Nisan 13–14, and the crucifixion in the afternoon, as Nisan 14 is ending.

What are we to say to this ? Schürer once more sums up with judicial fairness.

"The arguments (he says) in favour as well of the one interpretation as of the other are so weighty, that a cautious person will hardly venture with full confidence to pronounce either the one or the other to be right." *

The advocate of the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel may well be content with this verdict. The case is certainly one of those which are more common than we might consider antecedently probable, where of two conclusions one only can be right, and yet a really substantial case may be made out for each. The question is, which can be interpreted into agreement with the other with the least forcing? When I wrote on this Gospel twenty years ago, I argued strongly in favour of the *prima facie* sense of St. John. I have not even now formed an opinion which I should regard as absolutely final ; but if I were to express the opinion to which I incline at this moment, it would be rather the other way. The considerations on which this different estimate turns are these. (1) I am inclined to rate more highly the indirect evidence that the Supper described in the Synoptics is really the Paschal meal. (2) I satisfied myself with too little inquiry that St. John's phrase, "to eat the Passover" (φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα), must refer to the eating of the Paschal lamb. With our associations it is natural to think this, and I have before me a monograph of Schürer's in which this view is held. But Dr. Schürer's opinion is challenged by a higher authority on such a point even than his—Dr. Edersheim.† It appears to be certain that the term "Passover" was applied, not merely to the Paschal lamb, but to all the sacrifices of the Paschal feast, especially to the *Chagigah*, or peace offering brought on Nisan 15. It appears also to be proved that the Pharisees by entering a heathen house would be debarred from eating there, but not debarred from eating the Passover in the narrowest sense, because their defilement would only last till evening, *after* which the Supper commenced. Dr. Edersheim puts it thus :

"No competent Jewish archæologist would care to deny that *Pesach* may refer to the *Chagigah* ; while the motive assigned to the Sanhedrists by St. John implies that in this instance it *must* refer to this, and not to the Paschal Lamb." ‡

Many other writers, notably Wieseler and McClellan, have argued ably to the same

* P. Ewald, *Hauptproblem*, etc., p. 52 ; McClellan, *Gospels*, p. 553.

* *Vortrag*, p. 63.
† *Life and Times*, etc., vol. ii., p. 566 ff., ed. 4.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 568.

effect.* (3) I was also too hasty in assuming that the day when the Paschal lamb was sacrificed would be marked by a more complete cessation from work and trade than the other days. As a fact, it was not so strictly kept as the Sabbath. Work was stopped, but not traffic. There would be no obstacle either to Judas buying *Chagigah*, or to Joseph of Arimathæa and the women procuring linen and spices.† It seems probable that Simon of Cyrene, like so many other pilgrims, lodged outside the city, and was coming in to the temple worship, not from work.

The other difficulties are not serious. Παρασκευή alone had come to be the regular Jewish word for "Friday," and παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα ‡ may be quite as well "Friday in Paschal week" as the "day of preparation for the Passover." Or rather, the latter interpretation must be considered extremely doubtful, if, as it is asserted by McClellan and Wieseler, there is no example of the phrase bearing that sense. We should also expect the article in the latter case, not in the former. Another point on which I laid some stress, πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα (John xiii. 1), I do not think will hold. It is a rather remarkable peculiarity of the Fourth Gospel that it brings into close juxtaposition events, or events and sayings, which so near together seem almost to contradict each other. For instance, at the marriage-feast at Cana, our Lord is made to say, "My hour" (*i.e.* for working miracles) "is not yet come," though a few minutes later He acts as if His "hour" had come; in vii. 8 (according to the reading which is perhaps, on the whole, more probable), He is made to say that He will not go up to the Feast of Tabernacles, yet He does go up in time to arrive at the middle of the feast. So here I think it quite possible that "before the Feast of the Passover" may mean an hour or so before, and not a whole day before.

On these grounds I now incline to harmonize St. John with the Synoptics; but I feel that the casting vote upon the question must be reserved for specialists in Jewish antiquities. In any case, there is nothing to prevent the account in the Fourth Gospel from being written by an Apostle.

4. Another smaller question of the same kind, which it may be well to touch upon here, relates to the reckoning of *hours of the day* in the Gospel. This too is to a small extent a question of harmonizing, but nothing of any importance turns upon it. According to St. Mark the succession of events is this:

Delivery to Pilate	...	about 6 a.m.
(πρωΐ, Mark xv. 1.)		
Crucifixion	... ...	9 a.m.
(ὥρα τρίτη, Mark xv. 25.)		
Darkness	... ...	12–3 p.m.
(γενομένης ὥρας ἕκτης	...	ἕως ὥρας
ἐννάτης, Mark xv. 33.)		

In St. John the note of time is inserted in the account of the hearing before Pilate: "Now it was the Preparation of the Passover (rather perhaps 'Friday in the Paschal week'): it was about the sixth hour" (John xix. 14). Clearly this does not agree if by the sixth hour is meant, as it usually would, "noon." But all would fall beautifully into place if by "sixth hour" could be meant "6 a.m.," as with us. Such harmonizing as this is perfectly legitimate where it can be done without putting a strain upon the evidence. Even if the Gospel were written in the middle of the second century, there would be no reason to assume gratuitous contradictions. And it happened that in this particular instance there were a number of similar notes of time,* *all* of which seemed to be a degree more satisfactorily explained in connexion with their context if the reckoning were from midnight and midday as with us. Could St. John have adopted such a reckoning? It is well known that it has often been contended, especially in England, but also by writers like Tholuck, Meyer (not, however, Weiss in the sixth and following editions of Meyer), Ewald, and Wieseler, that he could. Writing with Wieseler's elaborate discussion before me, I nevertheless hesitated to claim more than a possibility for this view. Since then it has been maintained with his usual ability and accuracy by McClellan, and adopted also by Bishop Westcott. The subject has been recently reviewed, rather in a negative sense, by the Rev. J. A. Cross.† This has led me to go over the evidence again as well as I could with the help of two extremely full monographs by Dr. Gustav Bilfinger, *Der bürgerliche Tag* and *Die antiken Stundenangaben*, both published at Stuttgart in 1888. In consequence of this I should be obliged myself to take the negative view. The natural and common

* Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 242 ff.; McClellan, *Gospels*, p. 486 ff.
† See the Talmudic references in Nösgen, *Gesch. d. Neutest. Offenb.*, vol. i., p. 579; Dillmann Knobel on Exod. xii. 16; Edersheim, *Life and Times*, p. 508 n., and App. xvii., p. 783.
‡ See ref. to Josephus in McClellan on Matt. xxvii. 62, and the note on John xix. 14; also p. 485.

* i. 39; iv. 6, 7, 52, 53. Cf. McClellan, *Gospels*, p. 742, etc.; Westcott, *St. John*, p. 282.
† *Class. Rev.*, June, 1891, p. 245 ff.

reckoning among the Romans, as well as other peoples, was the working day from sunrise to sunset. For certain legal purposes, however, the day was held to begin at midnight. This had a religious or ceremonial ground in the practice of augury. The auspices must be taken at night, and they must also be taken on the same day with the action to which they referred. Hence it was clearly necessary to annex a portion of the preceding night to the day. This portion began with midnight. From the sphere of religious ceremony this passed into the sphere of law; anything which happened before midnight was held to fall in the day past, anything after midnight in the day begun. This determined in particular the day of birth. The day so reckoned was called the "civil day." *

There is however no evidence that this reckoning of the *days* carried with it a corresponding reckoning of the *hours*. And further I agree with Mr. Cross in his general conclusion, if not in quite all of his arguments, that the proof that this mode of reckoning hours prevailed in Asia Minor breaks down. The passage of Pliny on which greatest stress is laid (*Epp.* iii. 5) refers to 1 and 2 a.m. and midnight. Roman habits were very much earlier than ours. And the evidence that the Asiatic martyrdoms took place in the forenoon is much too remote to be conclusive. Bilfinger touches upon the hypothesis, only to reject it peremptorily.†

It will be remembered that Eusebius has a wholly different solution of the difficulty. He explains "the sixth hour" in St. John as a textual corruption, Ϛ (=3) being misread as digamma Ϝ (=6). And the reading is actually found in a rather strong group of authorities with a Western cast, just as the converse change has some slight support in St. Mark. We must leave the discrepancy as we find it.

5. With the next point we pass on to more serious ground. It will be well to take Schürer's statement, because if this held good it would constitute a really formidable indictment. I hope, however, to show (1) that it is not an accurate representation of the facts; (2) that so far as it does represent them, the implied inference does not follow.

The charge is that between the Fourth Gospel and the earliest Synoptic document there is a *deep-seated difference respecting the whole course of the ministry of Christ.*

"According to the version in our St. Mark (says Schürer), it is in the highest degree probable that Jesus did not from the first come forward as the Messiah. (*a*) He is indeed absolutely certain of His mission. He challenges faith in the fact that through Him God offers His grace and His help to man. But with the claim to be the Messiah, the Son of God, with this title, in true pædagogic wisdom He only presents Himself at a later period and gradually. (*b*) To this attitude on His part there corresponds also the attitude of His disciples. They join themselves to Him as their Teacher without any question being raised as to His Messiahship. Even at the stilling of the storm at sea the disciples say with surprise (Mark iv. 41), 'Who is this, that the wind and the sea obey Him?'—an expression of astonishment which would be impossible if they had already recognized Him as the Messiah. Not until Cæsarea Philippi does Peter for the first time break out into the confession, 'Thou art the Messiah' (Mark viii. 29). The solemnity with which this is related shows plainly that we have to do with the first breaking forth of this conviction in the consciousness of the disciples. Yet even then Jesus still forbids His disciples to speak of it in public. He wishes not to rouse the unspiritual enthusiasm of the multitude. Only just at the end of His ministry does He allow the multitudes to pay homage to Him as the Messiah. (*c*) With the whole of this presentation agrees the portraiture of John the Baptist in the oldest Synoptic tradition. The oldest report, as it is preserved in Mark and Luke, knows nothing about John recognising Jesus as the Messiah at the baptism. On the contrary, it is well known how the Synoptics relate that John, even when he was in prison, has the question put to Jesus whether He is the Messiah (Matt. xi. 2–6 = Luke vii. 18–23). In the context of the Synoptic narrative this is not the question of one who has, after the fact, become doubtful, but the question of one in whom this belief flames up for the first time. All this gives a thoroughly consistent picture.

"Just as consistent, but in all respects opposed to it, is that which is drawn for us in the Fourth Gospel. Here from the first Jesus comes forward with the full claim to Divine sonship and Messiahship. (*a*) One of His first acts is that, in virtue of His supreme (*höherem*) authority, He cleanses the temple from all secular traffic,—an event which the Synoptists put at the very end of the public ministry. Such a step assumes the full claim to supreme, nay Divine dignity. (*b*) And so, according to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus is from the first acknowledged by His disciples too as the Messiah. 'We have found the Messiah,' says Andrew to his brother Simon (i. 41). 'We have found Him of whom Moses and the prophets wrote,' exclaims Philip to Nathanael. The disciples therefore attach themselves to Jesus, not only as pupils to a teacher, but because they have recognised in Him the Messiah. (*c*) And as the disciples, so also is John the Baptist from the first fixed in his belief in Jesus as the Messiah; indeed, his is the first clearly uttered testimony to the Divine mission of Jesus, and it is through him that, at His very first appearance, Jesus receives His credentials before the world.

"It is clear that these two portraits mutually exclude each other. If the first is historical, the second cannot be; but then the hand that drew it cannot be that of an Apostle, cannot be that of an actual disciple of the Lord." *

* Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* iii. 2 (= Macrob., *Saturn.* i. 3. 2–10); Censorinus, *De Die Nat.*, c. 23. Cf. Bilfinger, *Der bürg. Tag*, pp. 12, 198–206.

† *Die antiken Stundenangaben*, p. 112.

* *Vortrag*, pp 63–65.

Certainly an impressive argument, if the facts were as they are stated. But before testing them, let us pause for a moment over the inference at the end. Surely if there is one thing which characterizes the action of memory, especially of memory looking back over a wide interval, it is the tendency to *foreshorten*. Events lose their perspective. Features in the picture are inserted out of place. The mind is so full of the significance of what followed, that the traces of that significance are antedated, they are thrown backward to a time when they had not yet discovered themselves. This is a matter of extremely common experience. I could therefore allow that there was some antedating in the narrative of the Fourth Gospel, without denying it to be the work of an Apostle. It would be the easier to do this because the author, whoever he was, had just the kind of mind which is most liable to such displacements. He has not the simplicity or *naïveté* of the second evangelist; but ideas take the strongest hold upon him, and he sees facts in the light of them. That in such a mind, setting itself to write history, there should be an element of anticipation would not be at all surprising.

But is it the case that the Synoptic versions and the Johannean version are so diametrically opposed as they are made out to be? I cannot admit that they are.

We are pursued by the influence of names and the associations which we attach to them. Because Andrew or Philip say, "We have found the Messiah," and because we have learnt to read into that title the whole depth of Pauline and Johannean theology, we at once imagine that they also must have done the same thing. We forget that there were twenty Messiahs in the period between the death of Herod and the Jewish War, most of whom were extinguished before they had time to become formidable. The impulse which led the few friends and neighbours to follow the mysterious intimations of John, and attach themselves to the Person of Jesus, was a most tentative thing. If they did call Him "the Messiah," they knew not what they said. Even John, we may well believe, did not know all that he said. He spoke under the prophetic *afflatus*, which lifted him above his natural level; and when this subsided, his views of things would become more ordinary again. The Triple Synopsis makes him predict the coming of One mightier than himself, who would baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire. The Triple Synopsis also leaves no doubt of the signs which accompanied the baptism of Jesus, and asserts that the Holy Spirit itself visibly rested upon Him. The Fourth Gospel adds a different feature, "the Lamb of God," but nothing which essentially goes beyond what we have already had in the Synoptics.

It is, I cannot but think, an unimaginative criticism which finds it necessary to explain away the access of doubt which came over John in prison. The wonder is that any one who shared the expectations which all Israel entertained of their Messiah could keep up his faith in One who so deliberately and persistently contradicted them. Jesus by His reply gave him a sign. He recalled to his mind a forgotten prophecy, which hit the central truth of what the Messiah was to be. By meditating on that, John might be led to recast his own idea and rise to a higher one.

The temptation to round off a telling antithesis has sadly spoiled Dr. Schürer's presentment of the facts. Why is there such lofty assumption involved in the cleansing of the Temple? Is it not an act that any prophet might have done? Again, is it true that St. John takes no note of the reserve of Christ in proclaiming His Messiahship? "According to the Synoptics," says Schürer, "He does not wish to rouse the unspiritual enthusiasm of the multitude." What of that incident where Jesus retires into solitude to escape the crowd which would come "to take Him by force and make Him king"?* What, again, of that taunt and the reason alleged for it: "If Thou doest these things, show Thyself to the world: for neither did His brethren believe on Him"? The family of Jesus is incredulous in the Synoptics; it is incredulous also in St. John. The seventh chapter takes us straight into the middle of the public ministry; it gives us a picture of the current feeling and notions about Christ: is that a picture of implicit faith, of commanding and unquestioned Godhead? And quite late in the day we are told how the Jews crowded round our Lord with the demand, "How long dost Thou hold us in suspense (τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν αἴρεις)? If Thou art the Christ, tell us plainly."†

There are as many and as unequivocal signs of the reserve of Christ in St. John as in the Synoptics, if we will but look for them.

6. Lastly, we have another point, which is no doubt also of serious moment. The Fourth Gospel gives us another *Christus-*

* St. John vi. 15. † St. John x. 24.

bild, a portrait of Christ which is all divinity. "That Jesus came forth from the Father, that He is one with Him, that all He says and does is a revelation of God Himself, and that therefore the salvation of men depends upon His acceptance or rejection—these," says Schürer,* "are the almost exclusive themes of the Johannean discourses, and they have only one clear parallel in the Synoptics (Matt. xi. 2)."

Again let us begin by allowing that here too there may be a certain selection, and that that selection may be influenced and guided by the meditation of a profound mind upon those "greater things" which had been wrought in the Spirit and Name of Jesus after His departure. Looking back over the fifty or sixty years which had elapsed, the Apostle saw what were the really fundamental truths in the life which he had been permitted to witness. He carefully gathers up and reproduces all the hints which had been given of these truths,—sometimes, it may be, making them fuller and more explicit.

So far we may go, but no further.

In the first place, let us note that the great passage, Matthew xi. 25–27, is reproduced almost exactly in Luke x. 21, 22, where it follows immediately upon the record of the return of the seventy and of their success in the exercise of miraculous powers. This Jesus accepts as proof of the overthrow of the Satanic kingdom; and He goes on solemnly to confer upon them higher powers still from the fulness of those with which He is Himself invested,—though not without a reminder that for them personally there is a yet more excellent way ("Rejoice not that the devils are subject to you," etc.). We may take it that the whole of this passage—in any case the crucial verse—comes from the *Logia*, the oldest of all evangelical compositions. It is introduced easily and naturally, and stands out by no apparent peculiarity from the surrounding context; and yet the language is full of what we consider characteristically Johannean expressions (ὁ πατήρ—ὁ υἱός; παραδιδόναι, of the entrusting of forces or powers; ἐπιγινώσκειν; ἀποκαλύπτειν). It is clear that such expressions were current as "words of the Lord," many years before St. John conceived the thought of writing a gospel. The degree of frequency with which they were repeated in other narratives would be a matter of accident or of the idiosyncrasy of the writer.

The Synoptics, it is true, give a more photographic account of the life of Christ as He went in and out among the peasants of Galilee; but when we come to look at them a little more closely, we see that they have really the same substratum, the same underlying ideas, as the Fourth Gospel. They are not one whit less *Christo-centric*. The Son of man there too forgives sins, there too legislates for His Church, there too claims the devotion of His disciples, whose acts acquire value from being done "for His sake," "in His name." There too the Son is also Lord; there too He promises to dwell like the Shekinah among His people, and to give them help and inspiration after He is gone; there too He seals a new covenant with His blood; there too He declares that He will come again to judge.

What then is wanting? The criticism of the Fourth Gospel rings the changes upon one idea—the idea of pre-existence. This Schürer urges is in St. John always in the background, while in the Synoptic it is entirely wanting. There are two ways in which St. John teaches this doctrine of pre-existence, and in regard to each of these he employs a different cycle of language. The doctrine of the Logos in the prologue is one thing, the doctrine contained in the discourses of our Lord Himself is another. Still they approximate to each other. The idea of "sending" which occurs so often (with both verbs πέμπω and ἀποστέλλω) would not of itself imply pre-existence, because the prophets also were "sent;" but taken as it is in close connexion with the filial relation, "sending by the Father," and also in connexion with the communication of the things of the Father ("we speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen"), it does seem to contain a reference to the pre-existent state. The commonest form of phrase is "He that (the Bread that, etc.), came down out of heaven," "He that cometh from above." But we get very near to the doctrine of the Logos in such sayings as "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day: and he saw it, and was glad;" "before Abraham was, I am;" and, still more, in "the glory which I had with Thee before the world was;" and "Thou lovedst Me before the foundation of the world." *

All these are no doubt remarkable expressions. But let us consider for a moment. Have we heard nothing like them? When St. Peter speaks of the "Spirit of Christ" being in the prophets, and testifying through them to the sufferings of Christ; †

* Page 66.

* St. John viii. 56, 58; xvii. 5, 24. † 1 Pet. i. 11.

when St. Paul speaks of the second Man as "the Lord from heaven," and of God as sending "*forth* His Son;" when he speaks of Him who, "though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor," of Him who "existed in the form of God," of Him through whom "all things were created," who was "before all things," and in whom "all things consist;"* when the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of the Son through whom God "made the worlds," who "upholds all things by the word of His power" †—we are naturally driven back to some common source from which these three writers are drawing. Already in the year 57, if not earlier, St. Paul implies the existence of the doctrine. He refers to it as something which he takes for granted, and not as one propounding anything new.‡ Does not this bring us back very near the foundation-head of all Christian doctrine? Should we not be led to suspect, even if we had had no Fourth Gospel, that Christ Himself had laid the foundation on which His followers were building? But if that is so, the absence of this doctrine from the Synoptics and its presence in the Fourth Gospel only means that it has preserved what they had not preserved. And the argument on which so much stress has been laid turns out to be not against but for the ancient view, that we have in it the work of one who had lain on the breast of the Lord.

THE DANGER OF APOSTASY.

BY REV. P. J. GLOAG, D.D.

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HEB. vi. 4–6.

Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας γευσαμένους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου καὶ μετόχους γενηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ καλὸν γευσαμένους θεοῦ ῥῆμα δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ παραπεσόντας πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν, ἀνασταυροῦντας ἑαυτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραδειγματίζοντας.

Authorized Version.—For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame.

Revised Version.—For as touching those who were once enlightened, and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the age to come, and *then* fell away, it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame.

THERE is hardly any difference in the readings of these verses in the various manuscripts; so that the words may be assumed to be those written by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. One important correction of the Authorised Version is made by the Revisers in the omission of the conditional conjunction *if*—"if they shall fall away"—which has no existence in the original, and the insertion of which imparts an erroneous meaning to the passage. Some suppose it was designedly inserted by the translators of the Authorised Version for the purpose of lessening the difficulty of the passage and of favouring the Calvinistic doctrines of the indefectibility of grace and the perseverance of the saints, as if the case mentioned were a mere hypothesis; but it is now admitted that this charge of dishonesty on the part of the translators is an unwarrantable assumption. But the Revised Version itself is somewhat defective. There is no reason for removing the words "it is impossible" from the beginning of the sentence, or of translating the aorist sometimes in the perfect and sometimes in the past tense. Upon the whole we prefer the translation given by Dean Alford in his revised New Testament: "For it is impossible in the case of those who have been once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, and have fallen away,—to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves afresh the Son of God, and put Him to an open shame."

The interpretation of the passage is extremely difficult: it certainly constitutes one of those things in Scripture which are hard to be understood. The five particulars stated in the case of those who have fallen away are ambiguous, and have given rise to a variety of meanings. The passage also has been the occasion of numerous controversies in the Christian Church. In the age of the Fathers it was the cause of the disputes between those heretical sects who held severe rules of discipline and the Catholic Church. And in modern times it has been one of those crucial passages which have been urged by the Calvinists and Arminians in the maintenance of their respective doctrines; the one asserting and

* 1 Cor. xv. 47; Gal. iv. 4; 2 Cor. viii. 9; Phil. ii. 6; Col. i. 16, 17.

† Heb. i. 2, 3.

‡ For this reason I think the view that the doctrine owes its origin to St. Paul, and that the other writers are all dependent upon him, very questionable.

the other denying the indefectibility of grace and the perseverance of the saints; the one affirming that the reference must be to those who were never regenerated, but had experienced only the so-called common influences of the Spirit, and the other that the writer here expressly teaches that the regenerate may fall from the faith. Accordingly we must proceed to the elucidation of the passage with the greatest caution, with an unbiassed and unprejudiced mind, and must be careful not to interpret it in accordance with our preconceived opinions.

The first thing to be done is to consider the exegesis of the passage. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ: *for it is impossible.* Some, in order to lessen the difficulty and soften the severity of the expression, think that ἀδύνατον is to be taken relatively as an expression merely of extreme difficulty. Thus in the Latin versions of the Codices D and E the words are *difficile est.* Just as in common parlance, when a man is extremely ill, we say that it is impossible that he can recover, meaning thereby, not an absolute impossibility, but a high degree of improbability. Others soften the declaration by referring the impossibility to man, to human effort, but not denying the possibility to God. What is impossible with man may be possible with God. And certainly with God all things not implying a contradiction or moral inconsistency are possible. The word ἀδύνατον, as used in the New Testament, implies absolute impossibility, and cannot be weakened or explained away. Thus: "With men this is impossible;" "It is impossible for God to lie;" "It is impossible for the blood of bulls and of goats to take away sin;" "Without faith, it is impossible to please God." In all these passages the word implies not only extreme difficulty, but that the thing was wholly impracticable; it could not be done. Whether it was impossible with God to recover those who had apostatised; whether it implied a moral contradiction; whether, whilst human efforts are insufficient and the resources of the ministry of reconciliation are exhausted, there may not be some divine method of restoration—is not precisely affirmed, and we would not limit either the mercies or the power of God.

τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας: *who have been once enlightened.* The adverb ἅπαξ is a favourite term with the author of this Epistle, occurring in it eight times. Here it does not mean formerly, at one time; but once for all, already; it belongs not only to φωτισθέντας, but to all the particulars which follow. "Enlightened" or illuminated denotes called out of darkness into light. Here, of course, it denotes spiritual illumination: called out of the darkness of heathenism or of Judaism into the light of the Gospel. It is equivalent to "having received the knowledge of the truth" in this Epistle (Heb. x. 26). And in another place the author bids his readers to "call to remembrance the former days in which they were illuminated" (Heb. x. 32). So St. Paul speaks of those who were "delivered from the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son" (Col. i. 13); and he prays for his converts that "the eyes of their understanding might be enlightened" (Eph. i. 18). Formerly they were in darkness, but now they are light in the Lord. As Erasmus expresses it, "who have for once left the darkness of their former life, being illuminated by the light of the Gospel."

γευσαμένους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου: *and have tasted of the heavenly gift.* The verb to *taste* here evidently means to experience, to be made personally a partaker of. Thus, "If so be ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious" (1 Peter ii. 3). "O taste and see that the Lord is good" (Ps. xxxiv. 8). Those spoken of have had a personal and conscious experience of the heavenly gift. Whilst there is little difficulty in the interpretation of the first particular "once enlightened," this second particular has given rise to many interpretations. We can only here give a bare list of them, without stating by whom they have been suggested, or the arguments by which they have been supported. Thus, some understand by "the heavenly gift" the Holy Ghost, as the gift of God; others, regeneration in general, the gift of spiritual life; others, the Lord's Supper, interpreting the former particular of baptism; others, the possession of eternal life, which is elsewhere called the gift of God; others, Christ, the unspeakable gift; others, the righteousness of Christ imparted to us; others, the forgiveness of sins, which is the free gift of God; and others, peace of mind, the legacy of Christ to His Church. Others, giving force to the particle τε as connecting the second clause with the first, "the enlightenment imparted through the preaching of the Gospel": who have been once enlightened, namely, by having tasted of the heavenly gift. It appears best to understand the clause generally as denoting the blessings of the Gospel—all those precious gifts which Christ has bestowed upon men—the abundant grace of Christianity. They were not

only enlightened as to the knowledge of these gifts, but they experienced them in their own souls; they were made partakers of them. His gift or gifts are called heavenly, inasmuch as Christ came from heaven to purchase and bestow them, and as in heaven only they receive their full realisation.

καὶ μετόχους γενηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου: *and have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost.* In the interpretation of these words there is also a difference of opinion. Some refer them to the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, as prophesying, the speaking with tongues, the working of miracles, the gifts of healing which were bestowed upon the early Christians but are now withdrawn from the Church. Thus Paul asked certain Ephesian converts whether they had received the Holy Ghost since they believed; and when they answered in the negative he laid his hands on them, and the Holy Ghost came upon them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied (Acts xix. 6). And so also Peter and John came down from Jerusalem to Samaria, and laid their hands on the Samaritan converts, and they received the Holy Ghost (Acts ix. 17). Others affirm that there is nothing in the text limiting this assertion; and that the reception of the Holy Ghost must include all His influences—both those which are miraculous and those which are ordinary. Those who have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost were those in whom the Holy Ghost dwelt, who had experienced His sanctifying influences. They were *made partakers* of the Holy Ghost, namely by God, for whatever may be the instrument of participation, whether the laying on of hands, or the sacrament of baptism, or the word of God, He only is the efficient Agent.

καὶ καλὸν γευσαμένους θεοῦ ῥῆμα: *and have tasted the good word of God.* There is here a change on the construction of the verb γεύεσθαι. In the former clause it governs the genitive—"and have tasted of the heavenly gift;" here it governs the accusative—"and have tasted the good word of God." The construction with the genitive belongs to classical Greek, that with the accusative to Hellenistic Greek. Some suppose that this makes no difference in the meaning of the verb, but that the author here varies the construction to prevent the ambiguity that might arise from two genitives following each other. Others give the distinction as follows: The verb "tasting" takes the genitive when the thing partaken of is only partially partaken; it takes the accusative when the object partaken is considered as a whole. The heavenly gift is apprehended little by little unto the end; whereas the word of God is apprehended as a whole. By the good word of God is evidently meant the Gospel, those glad tidings of great joy, announcing salvation and the restoration of the fallen and degraded to the favour and image of God. "Thanks," says the Apostle, "be unto God for His unspeakable gift," namely, for salvation through Jesus Christ. But whilst the Gospel generally is here meant, the consolations of the Gospel are specially intended—the revelation of forgiveness to the guilty, of rest to the weary, of comfort to the distressed. There are come parts of the Gospel which are of a severe character, as the denouncement of the wrath of God upon the ungodly; but by the epithet "good" (καλὸν), the promises rather than the threatenings of the Gospel are intended. Others consider that ῥῆμα is here to be taken as a personified attribute of God, equivalent to λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, but there appears no reason for this conjecture.

δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶνος: *and the powers of the world to come.* Some suppose that by "the world to come" is meant the heavenly world. Those who taste the powers of the world to come are kept under the influences of eternity; they walk by faith and not by sight; they feel the awful importance of preparation for death and the realities of a future life; they look not at the things that are seen, but at the things which are not seen. They have tasted the powers of the world to come, have experienced the foretaste of glory. Others, again, as the Revisers, interpret the phrase of the Gospel dispensation, of the age of the Messiah—"the powers of the age to come." The age to come was the name given by the Jews of the Messianic age. Thus in Isaiah ix. 6, where Christ is called "the everlasting Father," the Septuagint renders the words, "the Father of the coming age." It is doubtful if the words imply this, as the author is writing not before but after the coming of the Messiah. By the *powers* of the world to come is meant the miraculous powers attending the publication of the Gospel: "God bearing witness with them both by signs and wonders, and by manifold powers and the gifts of the Holy Ghost" (Heb. ii. 4). But here also, as in the former case, there is no reason to limit those powers to miraculous gifts; they may include also those spiritual powers, those gifts of the Holy Ghost, conferred on those who embrace the Gospel, in strengthening and confirming them in the faith, in assisting them in prayer, and in enabling them

to resist temptation. There are spiritual powers within and around us which assist us in our conflict with the world, the flesh, and the devil; we are surrounded on all sides by the supernatural.

καὶ παραπεσόντας: *and have fallen away.* Παραπίπτω is to swerve, to fall into sin, here to apostatise. The statement is not to be understood conditionally as in the Authorised Version, but is a continuation of the description of the case stated. Those alluded to had tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come, and had fallen away. Every sin is a falling away (παράπτωμα); but the case here alluded to is evidently not a partial, but an entire falling away—complete apostasy. No gross sin is here alluded to, or any partial defection. Many have thus fallen away who have been afterwards fully restored. As Calvin remarks: "The Apostle speaks not here of theft, or perjury, or murder, or drunkenness, or adultery; but he refers to a total defection or falling away from the Gospel, when a sinner offends God not in some one thing, but entirely renounces His grace." Nor is it an inadvertent fall that is here spoken of, as when a man is surprised into the commission of some heinous wickedness, but wilful and deliberate apostasy. The words are similar to those used by the author in the parallel passage: "If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth" (Heb. x. 26). The man not only made a profession of religion, but he was spiritually illuminated; he had experienced a sense of the blessings of the Gospel and the influences of the Spirit; he had felt the consolations of the word of God, and his soul had been powerfully impressed with divine things; yet, notwithstanding all this experience, he had fallen from the faith. The Hebrews addressed in this Epistle were in peculiar danger of apostasy. They were strongly tempted to renounce Christianity, and to relapse into Judaism and open opposition to Christ; and therefore they required this special warning. So, also, in a similar manner St. Paul writes to the Galatians, who were in a similar danger of relapsing into Judaism: "Ye are severed from Christ, ye who would be justified by the law; ye are fallen away from grace" (Gal. v. 4).

πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν: *to renew them again unto repentance.* To those words ἀδύνατον has to be attached. It is impossible to renew again those above described to repentance. The words πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν are not to be considered as a pleonasm, as if the verb *renew* contained in itself the idea of *again*. Those mentioned had already been renewed when they were enlightened and made partakers of the Holy Ghost; and what is denied with regard to them is a second renewal—to renew them again (πάλιν) after they had fallen away. It is also to be observed that it is not said that it is impossible to renew them by repentance (διὰ μετανοίας); if they repented of their apostasy they would be restored. But what is affirmed is that it is impossible to renew them unto repentance (εἰς μετάνοιαν); their wilful apostasy made them morally incapable of repentance; they had fallen into a state of hardened impenitence: nothing can now be done to arouse them; they have closed the door of grace against themselves.

ἀναστανροῦντας ἑαυτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραδειγματίζοντας: *having crucified to themselves afresh the Son of God, and put Him to an open shame.* Ἀναστανρεῖν is to re crucify, hence to crucify again or afresh. The reason of the impossibility of their repentance is here assigned: they here committed the awful crime of crucifying anew the Lord Jesus Christ. The title, Son of God, is here given to emphasise the enormity of their sin. They have re-acted the part of the Jews in crucifying Christ; nay, as Ebrard remarks, they have surpassed the Jews in their wickedness. "The Jews crucified in their madness a pseudo-Messiah, or at the worse a prophet. But he who has known and experienced Jesus as his Saviour and Redeemer, and yet after all falls away from Christianity, actually declares Him whom he has known as the Son of God to be a pseudo-Messiah and contemns Him." As in the parallel passage in this Epistle, "they have trodden under foot the Son of God, and have counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith they were sanctified, an unholy thing" (Heb. x. 29). It is said that they have crucified Christ to themselves (ἑαυτοῖς); that is, to their own great peril and guilt; they are guilty of the crucifixion of Christ, as the same disposition which induced the Jews to crucify Him actuates them. It is added, *and have put Him to an open shame.* The allusion may be to the shameful death of the Cross. They dishonour Christ among men, and give occasion to the enemies of the cross to blaspheme. By having first professed Christ, and afterwards denied Him, they have exposed Him to the reproaches of an ungodly world.

Such is the exegesis of the passage. We now come to the consideration of the different views which have been taken of it, and

of the controversies which have arisen from it. Before entering upon this subject, we have to observe that we have not here to deal with the supposed case. Some get over the difficulties of the passage by asserting that the writer here only advances a supposition, states a hypothetical case which can never possibly happen ; no one who has passed through all the experiences here mentioned—who has been spiritually illuminated, who has been made a partaker of the Holy Ghost, can actually fall from the faith. The author mentions an impossible case, in order to impress upon the Hebrews the awful danger of every approach to apostasy. But this certainly is a most inadequate explanation, and would render the admonition of the sacred writer useless. It is not a mere hypothesis which he gives, but an actual case which might and which did happen.

1. In the primitive Church this passage was one great argument by which the Montanists, Novatians, Donatists, and other sects who held severe notions of ecclesiastical discipline supported their views. According to them, the lapsed should not be restored to the Christian Church. They who from fear of martyrdom had fallen from the faith and denied Christ, or had been guilty of certain heinous sins as licentiousness and murder, and had thus crucified the Son of God afresh, were incapable of restoration to the Christian Church ; by no repentance could they be restored. Thus Tertullian, when he became a Montanist, quotes this passage in confirmation of the opinion that apostates cannot be restored. He attributes the Epistle to the Hebrews to Barnabas, and, after quoting the words under consideration and similar declarations, he says : " He (Barnabas), who learnt this from the Apostles and taught it with the Apostles, never knew of any second repentance promised by the Apostles to the adulterer and the fornicator." It is, however, to be observed that they did not deny the divine forgiveness : God, they admitted, may forgive such sinners on their repentance, but it was impossible for the Church to do so ; its gates were forever barred against such heinous offenders. The Fathers in general took an opposite view. According to them, if the lapsed repented, they were to be restored. The passage does not relate to penitent sinners, but to those who by their conduct rendered themselves incapable of repentance. And certainly this milder view of the subject is fully justified.

2. The Fathers, in general, understand the passage not as a declaration of the impossibility of repentance for apostates, but as a prohibition against the repetition of baptism. Thus Justin Martyr employs the words φωτισμός and φωτίζειν to denote baptism : " This washing (baptism) is called illuminative (φωτισμός), because they who learn these things are illuminated (φωτιζόμενοι) in their understandings." Chrysostom justifies the name φωτισμός given to baptism by reference to the two places where it occurs in this Epistle. According to this view, the whole passage has a reference to baptism : those who were once enlightened are those who have experienced spiritual illumination as a preparation for baptism ; those who have tasted of the heavenly gift are those who have been made partakers of the grace conferred by baptism ; those who have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost are those who have experienced baptismal regeneration ; and those who have felt the powers of the world to come are those who have experienced those spiritual powers which result from baptism. If those who have been baptised fall away, they may be re-admitted into the Christian Church on their repentance, but are not to be re-baptised : to do so would amount to crucifying the Son of God afresh, and putting Him to an open shame. Such a view is very ingenious, and was much employed by the Fathers in their contest with the Montanists and Novatians. It is now almost entirely relinquished as being too artificial and not borne out by the correct explanation of the particulars.

3. The Calvinists, in the interests of the doctrines of the indefectibility of grace and the perseverance of the saints, suppose that the persons here alluded to were never really regenerated, but had only experienced the convincing influences of the Spirit ; they were mere professors, and had never attained to the condition of true believers. Thus Calvin observes : " The elect are beyond the danger of finally falling away ; for the Father who gave them to be preserved in Christ the Son is greater than all, and Christ promises to watch over them all so that none may perish. But I cannot admit that all this is any reason why He should not grant the reprobate also some taste of grace, why he should not irradiate their minds with some sparks of light, why He should not give them some perception of His goodness, and in some sort engrave His word on their hearts." According to this view, having been once enlightened refers to an external knowledge of the Gospel ; having tasted of

the heavenly gift refers to the common privileges of the Gospel; having been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, refers to the convincing influences of the Spirit; having tasted the good word of God, refers to the joy with which some receive the word, but have no root in themselves; and having tasted the powers of the world to come, refers to those who have been deeply impressed with the truths of the Gospel, but whose impressions have worn away. Assuming the doctrine of the indefectibility of grace, that if a man is once in a state of grace he cannot fall from it, they hold that this passage must be explained in conformity with the testimony of Scripture in other places; that what is difficult must be explained with what is plain and evident. The well-known anecdote of Oliver Cromwell illustrates this view. When on his death-bed, and recalling with dismay the later events of his life, he asked his chaplain if the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints was a reality, and being answered in the affirmative, he replied, "I can now die in peace, for I am sure that I was once in a state of grace."

4. The Arminians, on the other hand, hold that this passage teaches the defectibility of grace, that a regenerate person may fall from the faith. The expressions they consider to be too strong and cumulative to be toned down so as to denote nothing more than a mere nominal profession of Christianity. The phrase, "to renew again," can have no meaning if there were not a previous renewal. And if the persons spoken of had never been regenerated, how can it be more difficult to bring them to repentance than others who are also unconverted? Accordingly, they affirm that the passage does plainly teach that the regenerate may fall from the faith. "Our passage," observes Ebrard, "unmistakably declares the possibility that a regenerate person may fall away."

Such are the respective views of the Calvinists and Arminians on the verse: the one holding that the passage does not necessarily teach the falling away of the regenerate; the other, that it does evidently imply this. Both interpret the verse according to their dogmatic views. We must come to the study of the subject with unbiassed minds. The doctrine of the perseverance of the saints is a doctrine of logic rather than of experience, and does not admit of much practical application. The motives of our conduct are so complicated, and our hearts are so deceitful, that it is our wisdom not to trust to any sense of security. St. Paul says that he judged not himself, although he knew nothing against himself. So we, although we may indulge a good hope through grace, yet must work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, and fear lest, even after all our experience, we should be castaways. Many who apparently were converted have fallen from the faith.

But, it may be asked, wherein does this impossibility of repentance consist? Not because it is beyond the power of God; God is able to do all things that are not inconsistent with His moral perfections, and do not involve a natural impossibility. Not because it is beyond the efficacy of the atonement of Christ; for the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin, and He is able to save to the uttermost. Not because God will not receive such a sinner on his repentance; for no sinner who turns to Him with sincere repentance will ever be rejected. But the reason is because the man has lost the power to repent: it is impossible to renew him again unto repentance; and without repentance he cannot be saved. He has rejected the only method of salvation; he has turned a deaf ear to the invitations of the Gospel. Besides it is to be observed that it is not a single act that is here described, but a fixed and stated condition, a deliberate and wilful apostasy, and as long as a man continues in a state of apostasy, he is beyond the pale of salvation. In the solemn words of the author of this Epistle, in language tantamount to that of the passage under consideration, "If we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking-for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries."

The sin here mentioned bears a striking resemblance to the sin against the Holy Ghost mentioned by our Saviour. Like it, it is unpardonable; like it, it manifests itself in obstinate impenitence, and in the final rejection of the Saviour; like it, it is the continued resistance to the influence of the Spirit—"doing despite to the Spirit of grace"—such a prolonged resistance as causes the Spirit to withdraw and give up the man to a reprobate mind. In various parts of Scripture mention is made of unpardonable sin, as in the passage under consideration and in that similar passage often adverted to in this same Epistle; in our Lord's declaration concerning the sin against the Holy Ghost; and in those words of St. John: "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask,

and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it" (1 John. v. 16). These are solemn considerations—dark, impenetrable mysteries. We can only stand with our heads uncovered and bow before the Judge of all the earth; hoping that such a sin as is here described is seldom committed, and that what is impossible with man is possible with God. The judgments of God are a great depth which our feeble reason cannot fathom, and which must be left to the disclosures of a future life. "If Thou Lord shouldst mark iniquity, who can stand? But there is forgiveness with Thee that Thou mayst be feared."

WOMAN'S PLACE IN CHURCH WORK.

BY MRS. JOSEPHINE BUTLER, MRS. SHELDON AMOS, AND MRS. BRAMWELL BOOTH.

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I.

Mrs. Josephine Butler.

You have asked me for a few words on "Woman's Work in the Church." It is perhaps the most difficult subject which could be presented to me to write about. It would be easier for me to speak of the work of women outside the Churches, or, in spite of the Church; and not difficult, though the subject is large, to speak of "Woman's Work for Christ." It seems to me that "the Church" has treated woman very much as "the world"—as Society has treated her, from the earliest days till now. Yet I am not wholly a rebel in this matter. I see that her position would have been far worse but for the light which Christ shed upon it, a few broken rays of which light have been permitted to fall upon her state, athwart the complicated inventions of Churchmen and of men of the world with the name of Christians. In the early Christian days certainly, saintship was acknowledged as attainable by women equally with men; and up to the 12th or 13th century one cannot help observing that in one respect the Church was mindful of the truth that in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female. I do not think we find in Protestant annals of Christian lives any such recognition of that principle so clear or so eloquent as is to be found in the "Acta Sanctorum." The "lives of the Saints" (active as well as contemplative Saints) in that noble record include both sexes. It has been a true consolation to me to study those annals, in which the annalists appear gloriously oblivious in many cases as to the sex of the Saints of whom they are writing; who were equally God-appointed messengers to the world, sometimes as active administrators and divinely inspired politicians, as well as teachers, healers, or solitary students of Divine things. I think we Protestants are rather at a loss what to do with our Saints. We put up painted windows, or erect some charitable building in their honour, or write a biography—in the latter case, if the subject be a woman, with more or less of an apology or explanation, for her having a little stepped out of the "woman's sphere" (that prison house for so much that is good) and having encroached a little on the man's field of activity. We have no tribunal for judgment of the standard which merits canonization, no "devil's advocate" of the old style (a very useful person), and no effort on the part of our reformed Churches to gather into one great fragrant bouquet the memories of those among us who have lived nearest to God. Well, perhaps this is for the best, so apt are we to carry our admiration and worship to beings lower than God Himself, and to lapse into idolatry. But we have lost something nevertheless, and women have been the greatest sufferers by the loss.

The shabby, disrespectful way in which I have heard Protestant ministers speak of the Mother of Christ—as if she was the most ordinary of women, a mere instrument and no more—has made me wonder less at the small amount of recognition given in our Churches to the fact that woman is, equally with man, God's minister upon the earth in matters spiritual, though not necessarily chosen to work in precisely the same fashion; no, happily not.

The Church of the first centuries, however, seems, save in the case of exceptionally sainted or gifted women, not to have risen much, if at all, above the accepted theories of the mass of the men of the times, in its treatment of women in general. They were in subjection, often abjectly so. The Church has always allowed herself to be bound, held back, dragged down, more or less, by the overpowering weight of unregenerate male feeling and opinion in this matter, aided, since the Reformation, by the narrow Pauline directions, which (given for the correction of the conduct of silly and ignorant Greek women of the day),

men have elected to apply to all women in all times, and have allowed to override the teaching of Christ on this matter, a teaching which sets in the fullest light the principles which ought to have been dear to the Church, and to have been her guide in this vital matter.

"Woman's Work in the Church." The very words raise up the first great difficulty to me, an unlearned person. What is the Church? I have read the various definitions, and still do not see that people always clearly know what they mean when they speak of the Church. Is the word meant to express a single outward organisation, august, ancient, and venerable; or a number of outward organisations, more or less united by the common acceptance of a great central truth; or the narrow English view of "the Church," the Anglican State Church; or the great spiritual host of believers? In any of these cases I should not venture to write of woman's work "in the Church," for I have not sufficient knowledge. I see in your *Review of the Churches*, which I read with increasing interest, that you record duly work done by women in the different denominations. I read this record with thankfulness—but a limited thankfulness. It proves that Christian men have come on a step or two; that they are coming on, as fast perhaps as one can expect, in the matter of placing women more by their side in all Church work, and not solely under their direction and in subordinate positions. For too long a time women have been graciously permitted only to sweep out the church, to wash the ecclesiastical robes of the Catholic or Protestant popes and priests, to feed the poor under their supervision, and to read the Bible inside poor people's houses. And women themselves have been very slavish. It is humiliating to see a gifted woman, with dignity enough for a Bishop or a Prime Minister, putting herself willingly under the guidance of some inexperienced, *not* gifted clergyboy. The process is very injurious to the clergyboy.

I do not ask that the positions should be reversed. I only desire freedom; freedom for women as well as men, to expand, and to fulfil, in any and every direction, the spiritual destiny of which God has made them capable. Neither do I despise small and even menial services. All are ennobled, if done for love's sake to God and man. But here again there should be freedom and equality. The humblest offices should be undertaken alike by men and women; the highest offices open alike to men and women.

I said that I read the record of the present work of women in the various Churches with a limited thankfulness; limited, because to my ambitious soul *office* seems but a poor thing. To climb any ladder to office, even if it be the highest outward office in Church or State, is not my first ambition for my fellow women.

I am glad to see office attainable by them because it proves that the sense of justice is gaining ground in the minds of men; and I utter daily a hearty "God bless them" for the men whose eyes are so far opened.

But now I must try to come into the presence of Christ. Here, my words labour, and I speak with a sense of utter dependence on the teaching of His Spirit. I speak not as a theologian, nor as yet a deeply taught student of Scripture, but as a woman—a woman who has fought a hard battle, with but partial help, during the burden and heat of the day, from the Churches (and with direct opposition from many members of the Churches), and who was driven to turn quite round, away from all other authority or teaching, and to come, with her broken heart, to the feet of the Master—the only Wise, the only Holy, the only *Just* One. It was a question not so much of woman's work in the Church, as of the equality of men and women in moral matters, in which I believed God had called me to act. I turned to the eighth chapter of St. John's Gospel, which shows Christ revolutionising the ideas of society in His reception of the woman in the Temple. His words and acts in that case have been my sheet-anchor in all my life's work since then. The significance of these words and acts, it seems to me, have been, to some extent, missed or denied by the Churches from the beginning; and what do I find the learned among the Churches doing now? Labouring to take from me and all women that particular portion of Christ's life and teaching; taking pains to prove to us that this chapter, if not the whole of the Gospel of St. John, is unauthentic and spurious. To one, however, who has come very near to Christ about this question, and has heard Him speak, it does not much matter what divines and scholars may say as to there never having been any such interview (as that recorded) in the Temple. No doubt, it would be a great relief to some men if it could be proved that Christ never pronounced such a word of emancipation for a woman, or so terrible a censure of the sins of men.

In those early days of woman's uprising against inequality in moral matters, we had

to bear the condemnation of men high in the churches, even saintly men. I dare to speak of it now because every one of those who wrote to me terrible letters of denunciation and censure (Mr. Spurgeon, Lord Shaftesbury, the late Bishop of Carlisle, and the late Archbishop of York were of the number), repented sooner or later of having so written, and showed his repentance in action. At first they thought that for a woman to know or to speak of certain evils was a monstrous thing—a sin against God.

My only resource was to spread these letters before the Lord, after the manner of Hezekiah, and simply to say to Him, "Thou Lord seest the words of Mr. Spurgeon, Lord Shaftesbury, and the others," and to wait. I waited; and He was faithful. Another learned Bishop who had so written to me, wrote a year later: "Pardon me. I have asked pardon of God. I am a foolish and ignorant old man, but He has shown me how falsely I judged your position." That was a Bishop indeed!

But to return to our more immediate subject. When Jesus called to Him seventy disciples to appoint them as missionaries to their countrymen, it seems there were no women among them; neither were there among the chosen Twelve. Thus it would seem that it was not His design that women should at that time bear the dignity of office in the Church. This has often struck me; and it has strengthened many an argument in favour of closing to women every avenue of exalted service in the Church. But stay! Is office among the "best gifts" which we are to "covet earnestly," or only second-best? And if to women is emphatically granted a higher gift, and even a higher calling, perhaps they may let the other go, and learn to see a deep and gracious meaning, and a divine equality, in Christ's disposition of gifts and offices. Who were the first messengers of the completed Gospel? They were women, who being first at the sepulchre, became, not officially appointed, but divinely-inspired revealers of the highest truth to man. Perhaps the love in their souls made their eyes clearer than men's eyes. They saw first, and first believed, and then eagerly propagated their belief. I am content. No *office* in the Church can reach to this. "Christ is Risen." "Life has come to the world." Give us freedom; refuse us office if you like, though it would be more just in you to share all offices with women. But give us only freedom in the name and in the Spirit of Christ; and then you shall see what God may do with women, in the great work of the world's salvation. But you will go on, doubtless, for a time, following in the steps of the Apostles, asking dubiously concerning women's messages, "Idle tales, idle tales, are they not?" "For the words of the women seemed unto them as idle tales." Unto whom? Unto those Apostles who had received that commission from the Master to go and preach and heal throughout the land. When the Church, or the Churches, become more deeply humble; when they have realised, even more than they do now, their desperate need of the help of woman *as man's equal, absolutely*, in her relation to spiritual things, they will grant the freedom we ask; and then good gifts will no longer languish in a prison-house of conventionalities, and women's energies will not have to be folded in napkins and buried under the church floor. The Salvation Army have led the way in this spiritual equality, and emancipation of women's powers. May the Churches follow!

II.

Mrs. Sheldon Amos.

The two common rival definitions of the Church would involve quite different forms of answer to the question what women's work in it properly is. But to my mind the answers would be radically the same. If the question were what women's work has historically been, the matter would be quite different again, because women's work has been narrowed down in the Church as everywhere else to drudgery and toil without recompense, recognition, or honour, and has only been illuminated by its regular self-abnegation, and by the occasional brilliance of some brain and heart that nothing could quench or conceal. The two definitions of the Church make it (1) the company of the true believers under all names, skies, and circumstances, and (2) the ecclesiastical organisations of these believers. I imagine that under the first definition it would be generally held that women's work among the faithful would be admitted to be whatever they can do to increase the number and to promote the welfare of believers; while under the second definition it would be commonly held that women's work was to serve the interests of such organisations in diligent subordination to authority. These are practically the same thing. But they do not appear to me satisfactory. The very existence of the *Review* points to a defini-

tion of the Church as consisting of organisations of believers who recognise each other as co-ordinate parts of a great ideal whole, which they strive to realise as a unity. And I like to go further and to think of each of these smaller "Churches" as consisting of what St. Paul speaks of again and again as "the Church that is in so and-so's house." That is the beau ideal of Christianity, that each house should be a centre of organised Christian life and work, a part of a larger Church, similarly organised, and that part of the one complete and perfect Church in Heaven and on earth.

Now, if we take this as granted, the position and work of women is plain. In the beginning man and woman had the one command given to them to have dominion over the Creation as a whole. The woman is created to be man's helper, not because he was to be saved from drudgery, but because he was not doing well alone. The woman's help was essential to make his life good. After the fall he calls her "Life"—the thing he had come so near forfeiting—"because she was the mother of all living," although she had as yet no children. He felt the essential motherhood in her relation even to the brutes, her capacity for tender care of things she had to exercise dominion over. He leaves to her the naming of the children, whom she declares to have been given to her by God. These are two items of her work: to protect and cherish the creatures, and to educate and control the children. To man falls the routine of daily labour on inanimate nature. Plurality of wives appears soon to have been a snare to men, who probably misunderstood the order to replenish the earth, and must have produced inequality between the sexes, although Lamech acknowledges the authority of his wives in matters concerning life and death, when it is to them that he exculpates himself for homicide. Then, in Noah's time, God sets the matter straight once more by saving an equal number of men and women to replenish the earth. Now, if we take the work of the Church to be the establishing of the Kingdom of God on earth, these early indications of God's plan for the government of the world are invaluable, and they place the questions of life and death, of management of children, and the duty of controlling of the lower creatures, at least equally on women and on men. In the curse there is indeed a lower function assigned to the man, who is to till the ground, while the woman is to bear children. Evil grew, and when Moses had to organise the Jewish Church, the nations around had become so debased that for a woman to be a priestess, or have any function or office in connection with any pagan religion involved the lowest degradation. The service of the Temple was also, in a large degree, the slaughtering and burning of animals, and involved work peculiarly unsuited for married women. It is, therefore, no matter of surprise that women had no official part in the Jewish Church. They gave freely to the collection for the tabernacle, even devoting their mirrors as well as their ornaments, and spinning and weaving the coverings; and though they were not commanded to go up regularly to the Temple like the men, such accommodation was made for them as shows they were expected to be there in large numbers. Mr. Thomas Lynch used to say that the Lord knew that while the men had to be told to go up, He knew that the women were often hindered, but would go if they could.

As soon as we turn the page from the Old to the New Testament we begin to feel that we have got back to the original idea. I suppose no one would deny that our Lord's birth might have been miraculously ordered in other ways than the one God chose as most suitable to His design. He put honour on a woman of choice, not of necessity. He continued the initial idea that the woman has special hold on life, and once more lifted her up to her original place, from which man's sin and her submission had degraded her. It was not at once obvious. She who had been greeted by the archangel as "highly favoured among women" was supposed by her neighbours to have lost her virtue, but a woman's heart recognised, "shouting with a loud cry," that she was the mother of the Lord. That courageous proclamation by Elizabeth is worthy of imitation, and it is worthy of consideration. Women have always been apt to defer recognition of each other's wonderful gifts until men have or have not seen them; and to that may be attributed a large portion of the paralysis of women's minds, souls, and bodies, from which the Christian Church and the surrounding world suffers. The recognition by the Church of women's gifts is and has been tardy, unwilling, and often completely withheld. And it becomes the duty of women in the Church to lead the way in recognising their own natural women leaders, their own capacities and call. It is better to obey God than man.

There is a great tendency, too, to treat women whose pre-eminence cannot be disputed as quite exceptional beings, quite outside the law which must still restrict the

sphere of ordinary women, and in fact to utilise them as contrasts to deepen the shadows suitable to other women's lives. Such souls in men's bodies are recognised as leaders whose advance gains fresh territory for the men who follow them. The universal church is the loser; not women only. Its hesitation to give men and women equal place in its organisations arises from various causes. One is the Judaism which still prevails in the Christian Church and clips the wings of those who would rise above sacerdotalism. Another cause is the paganism which Greek thought grafted on to Christian doctrine, and which tolerates a theory of impurity in relation to women, and even such subtle laxity of morality as degrades the thought of women who ought to be beacons guiding to purity. Another is the perhaps congenital, but certainly inherited desire of men, as men, to assert authority over women as women, an authority which has no sanction anywhere. Another is the strange belief that St. Paul snubbed women, and that this has not been blown to the winds is largely the fault of slavishly-submissive women. In fact he sends equal greetings to men and women, frequently emphasizing the women's labours with and for him and for Christian societies more than he does men's. He advises that women should wear veils on their heads as a sign of authority and because they are the glory of man as man is the glory of God, and apparently in order to hide the beauty of their hair. One thinks of the veil that Moses wore. Commentators have said that wearing the veil was to show they were under authority, or that they derived authority from men. But St. Paul does not say that. He does say that he does not suffer the women to teach at Corinth, but he does not suggest that they were not able to do it. In fact he again advises the women to cover their heads in public assemblies in order that things may go on peaceably in what are otherwise shown to be very disorderly communities.

There is every reason for women to stand on the original idea and command of God, to which the Redemption has restored us, of equality and identity of dominion, of capacity, and so of responsibility for the setting up of the Kingdom of God on earth, which is the Church's vocation. Women must, like Elizabeth, loudly recognise the coming of their Lord, even before the shepherds or the aged priest. To some of them such prophetic discernment is given, and woe is them if they fail in its use from cowardice, or false modesty, or the restraints of custom. The women whose record runs like a golden thread through the whole Bible have been such as Miriam, who led the host of Israel with songs, Deborah, who broke the customary reserve of the Jewish woman to save and to judge and reorganise her country, Esther, who risked life and all and waged a successful single-handed warfare against the all-powerful Haman for the deliverance of her people, Elizabeth, Mary, the woman whose faith was the greatest our Lord had met with, the woman whose sense of her need of healing overcame all natural shrinking from publicity, the woman of Samaria, who was so well snubbed by the men for bearing testimony to Christ, the group who followed Him far outside the city when the disciples had all fled; the three who alone cared to go early to the sepulchre to tend the body of the executed malefactor in spite of the Roman soldiers there. These were all content to do unusual things at the bidding of their consciences. Such courage is what women need to show in these days. Calmly, steadily, though sometimes "lifting up their voices with a loud cry," give themselves to set the household of faith in order and take their proper place of authority in it. St. Paul says it is his will that they should rule the household. Those who with open eyes study the condition of that part of the world which calls itself Christendom, and in that Christendom the society which passes by the name of Christian, and in that again what calls itself the Church of Christ know only too well how dark the dark places are, how full of lust and avarice, and cruelty, and greed, and all that is opposed to God. And it is not they who would hinder Christian women from efforts in the strength of God to bring the light of the Gospel into these dark places.

III.

Mrs. Bramwell Booth.

It is some time since George Fox, and later John Wesley, strove against the evil of priestly monopoly, and led the advance guard of lay-preachers and workers, which have since done such noble service in the Lord's battlefield. The victory is perhaps even now only partially gained, and much yet remains to be done; nevertheless, a prejudice, which in their day had been made almost invulnerable by ignorance, has been largely removed. From quarters, whence no help was ever expected, have come some of the most powerful auxiliaries to the

cause of Christ, and the armies of the Church Militant are richer by many thousands of soldiers than they could ever have been had the victory of the local preacher and the lay-helper never been won.

Just such another battle in another cause is, I think, now contesting. For this also a leader is not wanting. The man whom God has chosen has espoused the cause of *Woman*, and, among the soldiers of the cross whom he leads on to war, she is given the position which rightly belongs to her, and the opportunity for fighting the good fight to which she has been called by her Master.

Many have expressed it as their opinion that the direct results of the Salvation Army, wonderful as they are, have even been exceeded by the indirect, in the stimulating effect of its example upon the Churches. If in this also—the emancipation of woman from the traditional boycott of custom—the Churches still follow its lead, as much, if not more, will be accomplished as in any other direction for the extension of God's kingdom.

Outside the ranks of the Salvation Army (except, in perhaps, the Society of Friends) no one can fail to see that there is a vast inequality in the position of man and woman. The Deaconess Phœbe of Cenchrea has scarcely a counterpart in our Churches. Women may visit the sick, it is true, may teach in the Sunday-school, may make the brethren comfortable by hard toiling at anniversary festivities, and even amuse them by taking part in public church entertainments, but to place them on a level with man in work, to give them any position in the control of, or responsibility for, the main business of the Church, seems to be regarded as an unmixed evil.

Is it not a fact that many eminent divines and ministers would feel compelled to refuse to join in any public meeting if a woman were included among the speakers? "It is all very well for a lady to teach in the Sunday-school, or to tell a few anecdotes to a mothers' meeting, but she is not fit to take any more important work," was a remark made a short time since by an important dignitary of the Church of England, and it expresses the opinion of many of his colleagues and even of his Nonconformist brethren. All arguments in favour of an equal position for the sexes are summarily put to silence by what is considered the Divinely-sanctioned prohibition of Paul. (If there is any real difficulty on this point in the mind of the reader, it will be satisfactorily solved by a careful reading of Mrs. General Booth's pamphlet entitled "Female Ministry; or, Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel.")

This state of affairs is so much a matter of custom and prejudice, that it has largely become a second nature. It is difficult for many, who would willingly sacrifice cherished opinions when convinced of their error, to realise how widely in our treatment of women we differ from the early Christians, and how grievously we have diverged from the directions and intentions of the Churches' Head.

It is a cause of continual thankfulness to me that my circumstances have been such that I was but very slightly brought under the power of religious customs. Prejudice here seems able to take deeper root than elsewhere, and indeed seems sometimes ineradicable. All my practical religious experience has been gained in the ranks of the Salvation Army, by the voice of whose sainted mother the Holy Spirit first brought to my heart the glad tidings of the Saviour of the world. I have found in our Army family the fullest opportunity for the exercise of all a woman's powers, a sphere of work to employ all her energy, a boundless occasion for the wealth of her heart's deepest affections, and the largest scope for her highest ambitions. To me, and to my comrades trained in like liberty, it seems as natural for woman to take a prominent place in the Church family as in the home.

To the English matron accustomed to rule her own household, and if circumstances make it necessary, to take the husband's place as the head of the family, the unnatural restrictions of her sisters in India are deplorable. She hears with sorrow of the horrible living deaths of the wives and children of the high-class opium-smoker, prevented by the national customs from earning their own living, not allowed to go out to market, or to take part in any outside work, and compelled therefore to wait in the retirement of the harem the pleasure of their lord and master. If he sacrifices their interests and the money which should support them on his lust for the deadly narcotic, his wives and little ones must slowly starve, helpless to help themselves. The parallel which exists in the restrictions on woman's liberty prevailing in the Christian Church at the present time seems to me none the less disastrous, and, practically, delegates women to spiritual seclusion and starvation in a like manner.

Many of the shortcomings and failings quoted to prove the incapability and unsuitability of the sex to be trusted with further

responsibility, and therefore to justify the restrictions placed on them, are brought about by these very trammels. Give women more work and authority, and they will cease to be idlers and gossips. Qualities and capacities undreamed of at present will surprise those who have hitherto regarded the female members of the Church as little more than a species of pious peacock or religious magpie! It is the old story of the decay and final disappearance of powers which are not exercised. Uselessness is the inevitable Nemesis of idleness.

What are the arguments that can be urged against women occupying a far more important position in the Church than she holds at present—indeed, are there any sufficient reasons against her taking a position of equality with the other sex? I do not know of any, nor have I ever met anybody that did. It seems to me that, no matter how weighty they may be, there is much that is weightier still on the other side. The essential qualifications necessary to become a true member of the Church, are they not open alike to women as to men? They are not such as are more easily obtained by man than woman, and are as frequently, if not more often, brought to their highest degree of perfection in the latter. Will any one dare to declare that woman has not an equal right with man to the salvation obtained by Jesus Christ, an equal responsibility to shine as a light in the world, to endure hardness as a good soldier, and to prove if needs be (as hundreds of women have) by facing death in its most horrible forms, the power of witnessing grace?

On the Day of Pentecost, *the women*, who had shared His shame even when the brethren all forsook Him and fled, had watched by His gloomy sepulchre when the brethren were away debating what they should do next, and whose eyes were first blessed with a sight of their Risen Lord—THE WOMEN were with one accord waiting for and expecting the promise to be fulfilled for themselves, as for the men. They were not disappointed. They had heard their Lord's voice equally with their brethren, and they also now heard the sound from Heaven as of a mighty rushing wind, and were not afraid, but lifting their heads, in expectation of answered prayer, the outward sign of the supernatural gift they had received was seen to sit on each of them. Then was the promise fulfilled which was to be accomplished a hundred and a thousand times in all the centuries since: "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy;" and that there be no mistake, "Also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out My spirit." Not only to the distinguished and respected women, but to the most insignificant of their race, to the female slaves, was this, the one great essential, nay the one only qualification of Christian fellowship and Christian service, promised and bestowed.

The fruits of this blessing, are they not such as may be cultivated by the Spirit in the fullest measure in the heart of a woman as of a man? Whose heart is more quickly moved by love, or who more readily returns love again for love bestowed; whose spirit can more deeply, truly delight in the joy of the Lord and give Him more truly the simple faith of a child, than a woman's? Longsuffering and gentleness, are these not almost naturally her qualifications? and nowhere do they reign more powerfully than upon the throne of a woman's sanctified heart.

To grant that she is weak, that she comes behind in intellectual power, is but to establish her claim; for "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."

What a glorious roll-call might we not give, and what thousands will only be known as they answer to their names at the last great roll-call of the nations—not of exceptional Deborahs merely, but of ordinary so-called weak women, who have obtained a good report by faith, and walked worthy of their high vocation!

The position of women in the Jewish Dispensation and the Christian economy was a brilliant contrast. In the present day the contrast seems to me to be actually reversed! While in every other sphere—in the family as wife and mother, or as daughter and heiress, in politics, in science, in art, and in labour—woman is day by day improving her position, and claiming and securing equal rights with the man for whose completeness she was made, the last, and I would almost say the highest, work of her Creator, in the Church she is still silent, subordinate, and largely unoccupied. To be a woman means for the most part to have little or no responsibility there, to have no place in the testimony of praise or the voice of prayer.

In a powerful country, upon the throne of which, during a period of nearly sixty years, reverenced and loved by all her people, a woman has worn the Imperial crown, what can there be of incongruity in afford-

ing some share in the definite responsibility for the direction and control of their Churches to women—and I am sure they abound—who are, by their piety, their gifts, and their aspirations, as well fitted for the service of God and man as their husbands and brethren?

Are not the principles upon which God has chosen to govern the world of perpetual application? When He said: "It is not good that the man should be alone," was He not giving expression to a law which has never changed, and which never will change? It cannot apply merely to the temporal and physical conditions of a man's life, but in the intellectual, the moral, and the spiritual realm must also be of supreme importance. "It is not good that the man should be alone. I will make him an help-meet for him." An help-meet! The world has in practice put every possible interpretation on the term, from a paramour to a lap-dog. Surely God's meaning was, when He sent her into the Garden of Eden—that first Church of His own planting—that she should be a sharer in the privileges, the responsibilities, and the authority of the man she was to help.

When will the women of Israel arise and fulfil the high prophecies of the Bible, and realise the boundless promises of their God?

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD IN PREDESTINATION AS HELD BY MANY REPRESENTATIVE CALVINISTIC THEOLOGIANS.

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II.

In an article published in the *Standard* of Jan. 14 we considered the widely prevalent idea of the sovereignty of God, as an optional power in virtue of which he is absolutely free to will the exact opposite of that which he does will in regard to the eternal destiny of every human being, and affirmed that it involved, logically, the denial of the divine benevolence. In this paper we propose to examine the view which teaches that there is *nothing* in the way of difference between men to which God has regard as among the grounds, or causes, or reasons, or conditions, of his action in deciding to whom to extend, and from whom to withhold, renewing and pardoning grace. This conception of divine sovereignty differs somewhat from the one previously considered as will be apparent in the course of the discussion.

The Conception as Defined.

Westminster Confession, chapter III., 5. "Those of mankind who are predestinated unto life, God . . . hath chosen in Christ . . . without any foresight of faith, or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or *any other thing* in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereunto."

Cunningham, the Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation, 434—"The Calvinistic doctrine is, that, in making the selection of some men and in resolving to save them, God was not influenced by anything existing in them, or foreseen in them, by which they were distinguished from other men, or by any reason known to, or comprehensible by us, but only by his own good pleasure."

Hodge, Outlines of Theology, 206,—"The decrees of God are sovereign in the sense that while they determine absolutely whatever occurs without God, their whole reason and motive is within the divine nature, and they are neither suggested by, nor conditioned upon, anything whatever without him." The position which we shall attempt to establish in this discussion is that the theory that in forming the decrees of election and preterition (non-election, rejection) God acted irrespective of *any difference* between those appointed to these infinitely diverse destinies, necessarily implies purely arbitrary and capricious action in dealing with mankind.

That the decree of individual election necessarily involves the antithetic decree of individual rejection (non-election, preterition) is affirmed by the great body of representative Calvinists—Calvin, Turretin, Ridgley, Owen, Gill, Dick, Cunningham, Edwards, Hodge, Shedd, Patton. Two quotations will express the view of all. Dick, Lectures on Theology, 191—"Election and rejection are correlative terms, and men impose on themselves and imagine that they conceive what it is impossible for them to conceive, when they admit election and deny reprobation. When of several objects some are chosen, the rest are rejected. It is of no purpose to say that nothing has been done to them, but that they are left in the state in which they were found. In one sense this is true, and in another sense

it is not true : because, as they might have been chosen, but were not, there has been an act of the mind refusing to choose them."

Shedd, "Proposed Revision," etc., 41, 42, "Preterition is the contrary of election and one of two contraries implies the other. . . . No one should contend that there is an election of individuals but not a preterition. . . . It is impossible to think of individual election by itself, or to teach it alone by itself. To affirm in a creed the decree of individual election, and to deny that of preterition, is the height of absurdity."

This position would seem to be an inexorable logical necessity, being demanded, as President Patton remarks, by the axiom that the whole is greater than its part.

The Question to be Considered.

That God loves all men in the sense of having a desire to save each and every one, is made certain by the plainest declarations of the Bible : John iii. 16, "God so loved *the world* that he gave his only begotten Son, that *whosoever* believeth on him should not perish but have eternal life ;" 1 Tim. ii. 4, "God our Saviour *willeth* that *all* men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth ;" 2 Peter, iii. 9, "The Lord is long-suffering to you-ward, *not wishing* that any should perish, but that *all* should come to repentance ;" 1 John ii. 2, "Jesus Christ is the propitiation for our sins ; and not for ours only, but *also* for (the sins of) *the whole* world ;" Rom. xi. 32, "For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon *all*." Since Jesus Christ is "the image of the invisible God," (Col. i. 15,) "the effulgence of his glory and the very image of his substance," (Heb. i. 3,) since he and the Father are one in nature and spirit (John xiv. 9), we must regard his words recorded in Luke xiii. 34, xix. 41, 42 as a most tender and pathetic expression of divine compassion towards those whose wickedness was rapidly rising to its culmination : "O, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, *and ye would not.*" "And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace !"

In view of these and numerous other passages of similar import there can be no question that in the work of salvation God was moved wholly by causes lying in himself—his spontaneous and infinite compassion for the souls of men. The question which we are to consider in this paper is, whether of two individuals between whom there is *no difference* as regards the total reasons of his action, God ordains one to eternal life, and decides "to pass by" the other.

It is of course admitted by the advocates of this theory that there are differences many and great between men in intellectual endowments, in learning, in adaptation to usefulness, in the boldness with which they defy the authority and trample upon the laws of God, in their attitude toward the appointed means of grace, etc. But these and all other differences are held to be of no account as regards the matter in hand,—they furnish not only no "moving causes" but no "conditions" of those divine discriminations which decide the eternal destinies of the members of our race.

But if there is *no difference* between men which God takes into account in determining whom to elect and whom to reject or pass by ; if men are, as regards the grounds, or causes, or reasons, or conditions of his decisions so absolutely alike that omniscience can discern no difference between them, then to say that he *discriminates* between them in view of certain inscrutable reasons lying in his own nature, is to use words to which no possible meaning can be attached. According to this representation the purpose to save certain individuals and to "pass by" the rest, must be regarded as purely arbitrary—there being *no* motive for electing or rejecting one man *rather than* another.

It will not remove or lessen this difficulty to say that there may be reasons in the universe apart from men in view of which the decrees of election and rejection are formed. Reasons, whether lying in the nature of God, or existing in the universe viewed apart from man, cannot render the choice between objects which are identical in his regard conceivable, much less rational and wise. The only tenable position which can be taken is, that it was in the highest degree worthy of God to propose to extend saving grace to some and to withhold it from others ; but as regards the *particular individuals* to be embraced in these respective classes it was to him a matter of absolute indifference ; a position which compels us to hold that his purposes would have been as wise and glorious if they had been reversed, as regards the individuals included in them ;—those having been elected who were reprobated—Pharaoh, Ahab, Herod, Judas, etc., and

those reprobated who were elected—Abraham, David, Paul, Augustine, Edwards, Judson, etc.

A good illustration and one sometimes used to set forth this method (?) of divine procedure is the following : A regiment becomes insubordinate and it is deemed best, for public reasons, that some of the men should be shot. But as there is no difference between the men why some should be chosen for punishment rather than others, it is decided to select by lot and punish with death every tenth man. "The death of these particular men is for reasons, but the reasons are not in the men."

The application of the illustration is obvious. Men have rebelled against God and certain reasons, unrevealed and inscrutable, require that some should receive the punishment which all deserve. And so disregarding all differences between men, viewing them as a mass of indistinguishable units, God decides the question of the particular men to be ordained to dishonor and wrath in a manner as arbitrary as that of casting lots for the decimation of a regiment. Is it credible that the infinitely wise God acts, in a matter of transcendent importance, in a manner in the slightest degree analogous to this clumsy, non-moral, or rather immoral human expedient? Granting, as we must grant, that there are the highest reasons why the infinitely wise and compassionate God purposed not to bestow eternal life upon a part of mankind ; can we accept a theory which necessarily implies that he acted without reason in selecting rather than others the particular individuals to whom he refuses to grant the gracious help without which their everlasting sin and misery is not only certain, but inevitable ?

The Difficulty to be Met.

It is essential that we see clearly just what the difficulty is which confronts us here.

1. It is not that God purposed to save a part of our race and to leave the rest to perish in their sins ; "for in the case of criminals the pardon of some does not originate a claim, in justice, for pardon on the part of others."

2. It is not that the reasons of God's acts in this affair are regarded as not only unrevealed, but of such a nature that they cannot be made known to us ; "for as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are his ways higher than our ways, and his thoughts higher than our thoughts."

3. It is not that in all his dealings with mankind God acts from reasons lying in himself, for this would be true were he to regenerate those whom he leaves in unregeneracy and to leave in unregeneracy those whom he regenerates.

4. But the absolutely fatal objection is that the theory under discussion excludes every possible reason, known or unknown, for discriminating between mankind—the elect and the non-elect being as regards the total reasons or conditions of his action as absolutely alike as are the parts of space or the moments of duration ; a position which logically implies, as we have said, that though it was in the highest degree worthy of God to extend saving grace to some and to withhold it from others, the question of the particular individuals to be embraced in these respective purposes, must have been to him a matter of entire indifference. And does not this compel us to believe that his decisions respecting the eternal life or the eternal death of the members of our race are as arbitrary as they would be were he to determine *by lot* the destiny of every man ?

Again, the universe, physical and moral, is one system—the unfolding of one eternal plan, embracing all things that have been, that are and that shall be, all parts of which stand to each other and to the whole in definite and fixed relations. Inductive science teaches that the physical creation is a system of necessarily-related and inter-dependent substances and forces, all ceaselessly acting and re-acting upon each other. The creation or the annihilation of a world or of an atom, would affect instantly and forever every world and every atom to the utmost bounds of the material system. The history of the human race is a development in which all individuals and all events sustain to each other necessary, natural, and organic relations. The history of our world —one person or one event being left out— would present a problem which no intelligence, finite or infinite, could solve.

Now it is certain that men differ from each other in many respects, and if God does not take these differences into account in forming the decrees of election and preterition, they exist all the same, and necessarily become important factors in the world's history. If God had appointed some other man than Abraham to be the founder of the Jewish nation, or some other man than Paul to be the apostle to the Gentiles, or some other man than Luther to inaugurate the Reformation, the course of events in the world would have differed beyond our power of conception from its actual course. Or if he had decreed to regenerate

those whom he decreed to leave in unregeneracy, and to leave in unregeneracy those whom he decreed to regenerate, the history of our race would have been infinitely different from what it has been and will be.

But if there is no difference between men to which, as foreseen, God had respect in deciding whom to elect and whom to pass by, there can be no difference in his view, in point of excellency or perfection, between the diverse courses of events in the world's history as determined by these men, according as they are elected or rejected. If of two individuals, A and B, the election of A and the rejection of B would be necessary to the most perfect plan of the world's government, and the election of B and the rejection of A would be inconsistent with that plan, then it would not be optional with God to elect B and to reject A, for it cannot be optional with God to adopt any other than the most wise and perfect plan of the world's government. Hence, whatever decrees God might have formed there could have been no difference in his view in point of perfection as expressions of his manifold attributes, between the infinitely diverse results in history according to the infinitely diverse ways in which he was free to exercise his sovereignty in determining the destiny of the individuals of our race. But the human race is a part—perhaps the most important part—of God's universal empire ; a part of that hierarchy of spiritual beings, rising rank above rank in power and dignity, the crowning glory of all his works. And as every individual must affect the world's history differently according as he is appointed to be a "vessel of mercy," or a "vessel of wrath," so every individual must make the whole universe infinitely different, in some respects, according as he is appointed to dwell with the devil and his angels, or to dwell forever with Jesus Christ. Hence, there must have been an infinite number of diverse plans of creation, precisely equal or identical in his esteem, as manifestations of his perfections.

1. The plan which he adopted including the election of a certain number and the preterition of a certain number was infinitely wise and perfect.

2. Had he adopted a plan which involved the reversal of these decrees as regards the individuals embraced in them—the election of those reprobated and the reprobation of those elected, it would have been infinitely wise and perfect.

3. Had he adopted any one of the infinity of possible plans which would have embraced the election of one or more of those reprobated and the reprobation of one or more of those elected it would have been infinitely worse and perfect. And according to the idea of sovereignty considered in our former paper—

4. Had he adopted a plan which included the reprobation of all it would have been infinitely wise and perfect.

5. Had he adopted a plan which included the salvation of all it would have been infinitely wise and perfect.

All these supposable plans, infinite in number and diversity, were, it is affirmed, optional with God, and therefore, so exactly equivalent or identical in excellency as expressions of his essential glory, that omniscience itself could discern no difference between them. Hence, in adopting the present plan, in preference to all others he made a choice—or rather he performed an act—for which he could give no reason to his own mind, which is the very essence of arbitrariness—the action of will unregulated by intelligence.

It is worthy of notice in this discussion that Edwards, Chalmers, Turretin and many other Calvinists adopt the principle of "philosophical necessity" as of universal application, as the law of the divine mind and of all finite intelligences. Every rational being must choose according to the last dictate of the understanding as to what is best or most desirable. The idea of an alternative choice in any case is declared to be absurd. Edwards, ii. 146—"If God's will is steadily and surely determined in everything by supreme wisdom, then it is in everything necessarily determined to that which is most wise. It is no more to God's dishonor to be necessarily wise than to be necessarily holy. And if neither of them be to his dishonor, then it is not to his dishonor necessarily to act holily and wisely. And if it be not dishonorable to be necessarily holy and wise, in the highest possible degree, no more is it mean and dishonorable to act holily, and wisely in the highest possible degree ; or, which is the same thing, to do that, in every case which above all other things is wisest and best."

Edwards discusses at length the objection to his view, "that in many instances we must suppose there is absolutely no difference between various possible objects of choice which God has in view," and urges in reply, that "it is a thousand to one—yea, an infinite number to one—that there are no two things in the universe exactly alike." And yet the theory that the decrees of election and preterition were formed irrespective of any difference between men self-evidently

implies the existence in the mind of God of an infinite number of systems, precisely equal or identical in the only respect in which he can regard them as possible objects of choice, viz : their excellency as manifestations of his essential perfections.

To conclude the discussion of this point ; there is one, and in our judgment, but one supposable way by which the divine decisions in the matter of election and non-election can be vindicated against the charge of pure arbitrariness, viz : the acceptance of the position that there is *some* difference or differences between men to which God has respect which are, if not "moving causes," yet "conditions," of his decisions. As there are, in fact, differences among men, it is as certain that he takes these differences into account in determining the diverse destinies of men in the future world as that he does so in determining their diverse conditions and careers in this world.

Implied Solutions.

Every theological system — Pelagian, Semi-Pelagian, Arminian, Calvinistic, moderate and strict, either explicitly assert, or take positions which involve, logically, the view that there is *something* in men which determines God in choosing one man rather than another.

We will attempt in the briefest possible manner to justify this statement.

The Arminians.

1. Arminianism may be considered as representing all non-Calvinistic systems as regards the point under consideration. This theory is that the purpose of election is based, or conditioned, on foreseen repentance and faith, and perseverance in the same till death. The difference, then, between men to which God has respect in election is the radical difference between repentance and faith, impenitence and unbelief. But we believe that this representation is unscriptural, that renewal—passing from death to life—is not an act of will—the acceptance of Jesus Christ—but is the exclusive work of God, at the center of the soul, changing its moral bias, originating a holy disposition which abides as the foundation of all holy activity. When a man exercises repentance and faith he is already renewed—these acts are expressions of the new life.

Though man has a measure of freedom, "a remainder of liberty," in the exercise of which his acts, under divine grace, may have a decisively favorable bearing upon his eternal destiny, it is not an ability by virtue of which he can will himself from darkness into light, from death into life,—can create himself anew in Jesus Christ. He is not, of course, passive, listless, inert, but is active, often intensely so, before and at the time of renewal ; but in the origination of the new life he has no agency. At times the Holy Spirit flashes the illuminating and burning rays of divine truth into the soul, dispelling its darkness, starting into intense action the dormant and deadly principles of sin, setting the conscience on fire, awakening regret, shame, fear, remorse, appealing to the higher and nobler aspirations which sin has not destroyed, and which point the soul to the height from which it has fallen ; prompting to intense and persevering efforts, to arduous and agonizing struggles, to obtain eternal life. But these manifold activities are not the new life, they have no inherent power to produce spiritual renovation, they might continue forever with no other result than that of intensifying the soul's opposition to God. But in the midst of these varied activities of reason, conscience, sensibility and will,—beneath them all, below conscience itself, at the centre of the soul, there is a divine touch opening the blind eyes, emancipating the enslaved will, and calling into exercise faith, and love, and hope, and every other spiritual principle of our being. Thus repentance and faith are, in the logical order, subsequent to regeneration, which is the exclusive work of God, and which necessarily presupposes an eternal purpose of salvation.

Some Calvinists.

2. The view somewhat prevalent among Calvinists that benevolence is the fundamental ethical perfection of God, necessarily implies that there are differences among men which determine God in the formation of his decrees ; furnishing a reason or condition, one and the same, in the case of all the elect, to which he had respect in deciding to elect them rather than to pass them by ; and a reason, one and the same, in the case of all those passed by, to which he had respect in deciding to leave them in sin rather than to save them. This reason or condition is the relation of every man to the end which is of paramount value in his esteem—the greatest good of creation. He purposed to deal with every man according to the immutable requirement of this supreme end ; to elect such and so many as

are necessary to secure the greatest aggregate good of the universe. Had he decided to save the whole world, or to save all, or even one of those whom he decided to refuse to save, he would have defeated the end of infinite benevolence, choosing an inferior in preference to a superior good, which would be a denial of himself. He decides to deliver men from sin, or to leave them in sin, according as these diverse destinies will enhance, in the highest degree, the happiness of the universe. This theory clearly implies, in the strong language once widely current in our country, as expressive of the teaching of one of its most logical and powerful advocates, "that we ought to be willing to be damned for the glory of God," in case our existence in misery forever were necessary to the greatest aggregate good of the rational creation.

As the perdition of a part of mankind *is* essential to this end, and as the divine plan, determined in all its parts by this end, may include any member of our race, it was urged that men ought to be willing and even to desire to be damned for the glory of God, or for the promotion of the end which has the first place in his regard and which is identical with his glory. Not a few Christians were driven to despair, in the first half of the present century, because of their failure to find satisfactory evidence of their regenerate state by the application of this cruel and absurd test. They found in themselves not only no willingness, but a most vehement unwillingness, to go to hell for the greatest good of the universe, or for any other reason. Is it not extraordinary that a theory should have advocates among Christian thinkers which finds the ultimate explanation of all the sin and misery in the universe in the divine purpose to advance a part of the moral creation to the summit of honor and blessedness? Is it not axiomatically certain that there is not a being in the universe confirmed in holiness who would not unhesitatingly choose to share with all mankind a degree of good however low, than to enjoy a degree of good however high, on condition of the everlasting sin and anguish of even one human being? And can it be otherwise than axiomatically certain that the infinitely holy and benevolent God could not purpose to consign one soul to the endless misery of hell merely in order to secure to the rest a higher measure of blessedness?

We reject, therefore, the idea which this theory presents as to the nature of the difference between men to which God has respect in determining the diverse conditions of men in the future world, viz.: the necessary relation of these states to the greatest good of creation.

Most Calvinists.

3. But the great body of Calvinists hold that the final end of God in creation is not the greatest aggregate good of his creatures, but the perfect revelation of his attributes. This is the glory of God, the excellency of his acts as determined by the law of his own absolute ethical perfection. Whether he calls into existence one or innumerable orders of moral beings; whether he permits the fall of none, or of a part, or of all these beings; whether he saves all the fallen, or none, or a part of them; whether he annihilates the incorrigible, or keeps them in existence forever; whenever, and however he acts, on earth, in heaven, or in hell, his final end is one and the same, to do what is most worthy of himself as a Being of infinite excellency. Whatever he can do consistently with this supreme rule of action to promote the well-being of all personal agents it is infallibly certain that he will do, but he will not, because he *cannot*, put forth one act derogatory to himself to save one order or all orders of personal agents from self-ruin.

Now the execution of his eternal decrees of election and reprobation is an essential part of God's perfect self-revelation. Is it credible that he is determined in all his acts by the purpose to make the most perfect self-revelation, and yet that in the matter of predestination he acts irrespective of all differences between men, differences, which are, in fact, great even in the case of any two individuals who are the most alike, and which must render the universe infinitely different according as the one or the other is ordained unto life? It is said that "we cannot discover any general rule in God's dealings, unless it be this, that in election God seeks to illustrate the greatness and variety of his grace—the reasons lying, therefore, not in men, but in God." Would the fact that a physician were moved by reasons lying in himself—his benevolence or his desire to display his skill, prevent him from taking into account any differences between his patients as "conditions" of his diverse treatment? And if God in election seeks "to illustrate the greatness and variety of his grace," there must be *something* in the men chosen by virtue of which they are better fitted than those passed by, to the end in view. If their superior fitness for "illustrating the greatness and variety of his grace," is not the "moving cause,"

it certainly is the indispensable "condition" of his action in electing them. Of two men *equally* suited to be the means of "illustrating the greatness and variety of his grace" he could not, under the supposed rule of action, without pure arbitrariness, chose one and reject the other. And of two men *differing* in fitness in relation to the end in view, he could not, without contradicting the principle of action suggested, elect the one of inferior and reject the one of superior fitness. God acts from "reasons lying in himself" in dealing with the regenerate, but this does not prevent him from taking into account the differences between them in his providential and gracious discipline. He acts from "reasons lying in himself"—his holy displeasure against sin—in punishing the incorrigible but this fact does not prevent him from discriminating between them and rendering to every one according to his guilt. The differences between the regenerate and between the incorrigible, if not the immanent motives of his action, are yet among the reasons of his diverse treatment.

Paul's Testimony.

The Apostle Paul mentions one fact connected with himself as a reason why he was chosen, 1 Tim. i. 15, 16: "Faithful is the saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief. Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me as chief might Jesus Christ show forth his long suffering for an example of those who should hereafter believe on him to eternal life." In this passage Paul declares that the reason, or one of the reasons, why God chose him was that he was the chief of sinners. We have here a statement made by the apostle of a reason in himself, the greatness of his sons, which determined or conditioned the act of God in his election. This declaration touching the point before us, giving a reason or one of the reasons why he was chosen, seems to us an explicit contradiction of the position that there is *nothing* in men which determines God's choice of one man rather than another; a position involved in the Augustino-Calvinistic theory that the decrees of God in predestination are, in the logical order, antecedent to and independent of all personal action as foreseen. Mozley, Predestination, 393—"Augustine and Calvin alike hold an eternal divine decree, which, antecedently to all action, separates one portion of mankind from another, and ordains one to everlasting life and the other to everlasting punishment. That is the fundamental statement of both; and it is evident that while this fundamental statement is the same there can be no substantial difference in the two doctrines. This statement is the sum and substance of the doctrine of predestination."

Paul's personal sins as foreseen could not, therefore, have been on this hypothesis, a reason, or cause, or condition of the bestowment of mercy upon him. God bestowed mercy upon Paul because he eternally purposed to do so, and the reason for the actual bestowment of saving grace must be the same as that which caused or determined the purpose to bestow it. And since the greatness of his sins was a cause, or reason, or condition of God's act in renewing and pardoning him, the greatness of his sins *as foreseen* must have been among the considerations causing or determining God to bestow renewing and pardoning grace. But this is a demonstrable logical impossibility according to the theory we are examining, which teaches that the *foresight* of the personal action of men is, in the logical order, subsequent to and dependent upon the decrees of election and preterition. Hence, it is impossible, that Paul's sins as *foreseen* could have been a ground or a cause, or a condition, or an occasion of God's decree to make him a vessel of mercy. But the apostle declares explicitly that the reason why God chose him was that he was so great a sinner.

There is another statement of Paul respecting himself equally irreconcilable with this theory: 1 Tim. i. 13—"But I obtained mercy because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." In this passage the apostle clearly implies that if he had blasphemed Christ and persecuted his church, knowing the truth concerning him, he would have excluded himself from the possibility of divine mercy. But the view before us teaches that God's decree to bestow mercy on Paul was formed in absolute independence of the *foresight* of his personal action; that during his whole career of wickedness he was acting under the dealing of God with him as embraced in the purpose of election from the first moment of his antenatal existence, and with sole regard to his legal and moral condition as unborn; that, consequently, the foresight of his personal sins, of whatever magnitude they might have been, could have had no influence in preventing the bestowment of mercy; that it was because he had already been made the recipient of mercy in God's purpose of election that he

has kept from committing the sins which would have excluded him from the possibility of forgiveness. These declarations are not inconsistent with each other; they teach that while the greatness of the sinner's sin may be a reason for the bestowment of mercy, his sins may be of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of pardon.

It is reasonable to suppose that the greatness of their sins is among the reasons or conditions of God's purpose to extend saving grace to many in every age. But this cannot give the general rule of his action in the choice of men, for he saves those whose sins are of every degree of magnitude—the least as well as the greatest sinners.

The question, then, remains to be answered: Is there a difference between men in which we can discover a *general rule* in God's dealing with them in the matter of salvation; a difference not in point of repentance, or faith, or merit, or of anything "which can be pleaded as a ground of acceptance with God;" still *something* to which God, dealing with men in a state of gracious probation, can wisely and properly have respect, in deciding to save one man rather than another?

We believe that no adequate rational or Scriptural evidence can be adduced in support of either of these propositions:

1. That the sovereignty of God is a prerogative in the exercise of which he is absolutely free to will the exact opposite of that which he does will in relation to the destiny of every human being.

2. That there is *no difference* between men to which God has respect as among the reasons or conditions of his choice of one man rather than another.

3. That the purpose to pass by—to withhold renewing grace—is, in the logical order, antecedent to and independent of *the actual foresight* of the personal action of those included in that purpose.

The first proposition involves, logically, the denial of the divine benevolence; both the first and second necessarily imply purely arbitrary and capricious action on the part of God in dealing with mankind; while the third requires us to believe, according to the theory of strict Calvinism:

(1) That the perdition of a part of mankind—the non-elect—is not only certain, but *inevitable*, let them do what they can to obtain salvation, even in the way appointed in the gospel.

(2) That God has no compassion for this class and is not dealing with them in good faith.

These propositions are no part of "the gospel of the grace of God," no part of "the good news to *all* people" which Christ and his apostles preached, but metaphysical speculations by which Christian theology has been burdened to its serious injury.

In conclusion we are moved to ask if the words of Chalmers (Institutes of Theology II. 419) are as applicable to our day as they were to his own: "The middle age of science and civilization is now terminated, but Christianity also had its middle age, and this, perhaps, is not yet fully terminated. There is still a remainder of the old spell, even the spell of human authority, and by which a certain cramp or confinement has been laid on the genius of Christianity. We cannot doubt that the time of its complete emancipation is coming, when it shall break loose from the imprisonment in which it is held; but meanwhile there is, as it were, a stricture upon it not yet wholly removed, and in virtue of which the largeness and liberality of heaven's own purposes have been made to descend in partial and scanty droppings through the strainers of an artificial theology, instead of falling, as they ought, in a universal shower upon the world."

And are the cause of this "imprisonment" and the way of "emancipation" indicated in the following words of Dr. Bruce; Kingdom of God 127 (Italics our own): "Has not Christendom been slow to learn the revelation of the Father? Have we not yet to learn it, by accepting the Jesus of the Gospels as an absolutely true and full manifestation of the divine being, and believing without reserve that he and God are in spirit one? *A thoroughly Christian idea of God is still a desideratum, and when the church has reached it, the kingdom of God shall have come in power.*"

Morgan Park, Ill.

CHURCH FOLK-LORE.

BY J. EDWARD VAUX.

From *The Newbery House Magazine* (London), March, 1892.

II.

The Congregation in Church.

From the number of communications received from all parts of the country, it is evident that the custom of dividing the

sexes, when worshipping in church, prevailed very widely in rural parishes. This custom is one of great antiquity, as it is referred to in the "Apostolic Constitutions," a document which is certainly not later than the middle of the fourth century. According to the "Constitutions," it was the duty of the deaconesses to attend at the women's gate of the church, while the doorkeepers took charge of that set apart for the men. S. Chrysostom seems to indicate that in his day the churches were divided into two portions by a barrier of wood. In the Eastern Church it was customary for the men to occupy the ground floor, and for the women to be in the porticos or galleries above them. It is uncertain whether in the Western Church the men or the women were on the north side of the nave, but tradition is rather in favour of assigning the north side to the women and the south to the men, as the custom most usually followed. Similarity in principle, accompanied by divergence in practice, has prevailed in this country as regards the relative positions of men and women in church.

"In this part of Essex," wrote the Vicar of Thaxted in 1873, "the separation of the sexes is almost universal among the poorer classes, and I remember at Little Easton Church before its restoration, Lord and Lady Maynard each had a large pew on opposite sides of the church, and they always used to sit each in his or her own pew."

"So far back as 1825," says another correspondent, "how long before I know not, it was the custom to divide the sexes in the church of S. Weonard's, Herefordshire. This was done away with in 1840 or thereabouts."

Next take London. In the chapels belonging to the Inns of Court the sexes have, I am told, always been divided. At Gray's Inn Chapel some of the women were accustomed to sit in a gallery.

A gentleman, writing in 1873, says that at Marston S. Lawrence, in Northamptonshire, the squire and the males of his family or friends have always occupied one large family pew, and his wife and daughters and their lady friends the other. This custom the then squire still retained.

At Christchurch, Birmingham, it was formerly the rule for the sexes to sit apart, but it was abolished in 1860. Traces of it, however, remained until ten years ago. The old custom gave rise to the following humorous doggerel :—

"The Churches and Chapels we usually find,
Are places where men unto women are joined,
But at Christ Church, it seems, they are more cruel-hearted,
For men and their wives are brought there to be parted."

Let us go northwards, and we have a former curate of Helmsley, Yorkshire, stating, in 1872, that the division of the sexes was still customary in a district church there, and had been so in the parish church until it was lost when the building was reseated about five years before. In his letter, he noted also a very curious fact—viz., that he once looked into a dissenting meeting-house near Cambridge, and found that even there the old church custom had been adopted, and that the men and women sat apart.

That the usage was common in Cambridgeshire the following incident will show. On one occasion, the curate of a parish in that county stopped during his sermon, as some one was talking, and said, "I hear a noise." The occupant of a seat on the woman's side of the church said, "Please, sir, it is not us." Curate : "I'm glad to hear it, it will be the sooner over."

The following will recall what was mentioned above as to the rule laid down in the "Apostolic Constitutions."

Formerly it was the custom at Stanton Harcourt Church, Oxfordshire, for the men to enter by the north transept door, but the Vicar has told me that this door was walled up in 1845, when the whole of the church, with the exception of the chancel, was restored by Dr. Harcourt, then Archbishop of York. The north transept door was at a considerable distance from the door into the nave, through which, I presume, the women entered. At S. Mary's, Kiddington, in the same county, the north doorway, though blocked, was up to fifty years ago, known as "the bachelors' door."

Again referring to ancient precedent, we find that, as regards the side, whether north or south, on which the men and women respectively were accustomed to sit, it varied in different parishes. Thus at Marks Tey, in Essex, in the middle of the century, it was the custom for all the women, excepting those belonging to the Rector's family, and to those of some of the large farmers, to sit together on the south side of the church, apart from the men. Then at Weston Birt, Gloucestershire, as the Rector has informed me, the men take the south side in the aisle, and the women the north side in the body of the church.

"I remember when I was a boy," writes a gentleman from Abingdon, "a young couple coming into the church here on a Sunday

afternoon and seating themselves together on the women's side. The man was soon turned out of his seat by the verger, with the remark, uttered in an audible voice, 'We don't have no sweethearting here.'"

A less common arrangement of the sexes in church than that mentioned above must be noted.

Mr. F. H. Dickenson has stated that in Somersetshire it is customary for the men to sit in front and the women behind in church. He added that he had seen a regulation, put forth by a Diocesan Synod held at Exeter, ordering this, but that he could not lay his hand upon it.

The like custom prevailed in some churches near Daventry in Northamptonshire in 1846, and perhaps does still. A gentleman, writing in 1873, states that he that year witnessed the same arrangement at Barrington Church, near Cambridge. If necessary I could state other instances. At Bradford-on-Avon the men used to sit in a gallery, called "the country gallery," and the women in the body of the church.

At Durham Cathedral there is a very curious arrangement, which is said to date from time immemorial. Any men who are present in the choir unofficially occupy any of the stalls which happen to be vacant, but women have certain pews set apart for them alone, behind and to the east of the stalls.

I will give one more example of the division of the sexes in church, as it introduces a new feature. Some twenty years ago a former Vicar of Woolavington, near Bridgwater, wrote to a friend as follows:—"I have officiated in churches where the separation of the sexes was very striking, from the men all wearing the rustic costume of a white smock frock, and the women all red cloaks and black bonnets. The nave of the very large church at Saffron Walden was always filled with red cloaks, the wearers each bringing a stool from the bottom of the church for her use, and taking it back again after service."

Let us now go on to inquire about another usage on the part of church-goers—that of bowing to the altar on entering or leaving church. Of late years this has, to a great extent, fallen into disuse, at least among working-folk, but it was common during the last century.

A writer of a hundred and fifty years ago makes a bitter moan because he saw that in one of the greatest of the cathedrals in this country, the reader going to the lectern "made a sort of obeisance to the altar, but instantly whirling about made another at least as profound reverence to the stalls." His complaint was that the same reverence was shown to the dignitaries as was shown to God. "Shall [said he] *Viri ecclesiastici*, as some of them plainly do, refuse to pay this reverence, *Domino Deo, et Altare Ejus*, and yet sacrilegiously assume it to themselves? Is this our zeal against Popery? to affect the very badge of anti-Christ, who, as God, sitteth in the temple of God."

A later correspondent to the same periodical, and one who held quite different opinions, scoffs at what he called "altar worship," speaking of it as an "ill custom at cathedrals."

This "ill custom" is still continued at some of our cathedral churches. A friend tells me that at Carlisle, when the bishop is present at a service, the canons conduct him to the throne, and the bishop, before going to his seat, bows first to the altar and then to the members of the chapter.

As to the habit of members of the Universities making a reverence to the altar in their college chapels, a few examples must be given. Thus at Christ Church, Oxford, the dean and canons used to stop at the chancel door as they left the chapel, turn round to the east, and bow. And similarly at Balliol, which in our day is certainly not distinguished by any exceptional regard for Church traditions.

A correspondent writing some years ago stated that his father, who was elected a fellow of Balliol in 1784, had told him that Dr. Leigh, who had been Master of the college about half a century, always bowed to the altar, both on entering and leaving chapel.

The like custom might have been seen practised at Cambridge in the earlier part of this century. Old inhabitants of the town can remember that, amongst others, Dr. Wood, who was Master of St. John's from 1815 to 1839, always on entering and leaving the chapel used to turn round and bow to the altar.

Coming down to our own time, a clergyman in the north of England has told me that an old woman who lived in his parish always used to make a courtesy to the altar before going to her seat in church. On referring to her custom one day, she replied: "Lord bless you, parson, if my father had seen that we did not make our reverence, he'd a' been vexed for a week." This old woman, as well as others, always bowed low at the *Gloria*. The practice of bowing, my informant says, he himself learnt from the people of Laxey, in the Isle of Man, where he had his first curacy in 1849.

Bowing, taking the word in its strict sense, was not the usage in some places where the principle involved was carried out. A clergyman tells me that at Addingham, Wharfdale, where he was brought up, the men used to strike their "toppings" or foreheads, as they came into church. My informant was told, when he asked about the custom, that "it was the proper thing to do."

It may be thought that in country places the custom which we are considering was mostly confined to ignorant working people in villages. This is a mistake, for I find that the Ven. J. Bartholomew, who was Archdeacon of Barnstaple, and died in 1866, always bowed to the altar in his church at Morchard Bishop, North Devon. He said that he had learnt the habit from his father, the Rev. Robert Bartholomew.

In addition to the customary "reverence" on entering and leaving church, I am told by a former curate of a parish in Yorkshire, that the communicants on going to and coming from the altar always either bowed, plucking their forelocks, or dropped a courtesy.

A friend tells me, in writing about this subject, that he possesses a "Companion to the Altar," bound up with a Book of Common Prayer, and dated 1770, which contains the following direction for communicants:—"As soon as you conveniently may, after receiving the Cup, if there be a numerous Communion, rise from your knees, bow towards the altar, and return to your seat."

It is always gratifying to find a man who has the sense to tell a good story against himself. A clergyman has put the following upon record:—

"Nearly forty years ago—*i.e.*, about 1850—I officiated amongst a simple people on the borders of Worcestershire and Herefordshire, where the practice of bowing to the altar was not uncommon; but to me, a young clergymen, from the neighborhood of London, it was novel, and I imagined myself to be the object of reverence. I remonstrated with an aged parishioner, who gave me to understand that the reverence was made to the Almighty, not to a fellow-creature. Her decided manner at the time is vividly impressed upon my mind. A neighbour to whom I recently related the anecdote, remarked that the same mistake was once made by H.R.H. the late Prince Consort, and that it met with a similar rebuff."

The custom of bowing to the altar seems to have been taken for granted a couple of hundred years ago. In a pamphlet written in 1700, and entitled, "Mrs. Abigail; or, a Female Skirmish between the Wife of a Country Squire and the Wife of a D.D.," we have the following: Speaking of the subserviency of the poorer clergy to those who were at that time of higher social rank, we read:—"This little Sir John (the chaplain) always very mannerly arose at the serving of the second course, and *with a bow as low as to the Altar*, took with him the plate he had ate on, &c. &c." It should be noted that the pamphlet was very far from being a High Church publication.

Everybody is in the habit of saying, or appearing to say, some sort of brief prayer upon taking his place in church. I am told that formerly an old man in a parish in Yorkshire used to say his preparatory prayer facing round in turn to each corner of his pew. Is it possible that this queer usage was somehow connected with the old familiar formula:

> "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
> Bless the bed that I lie on.
> Four corners to my bed,
> Four Angels round me spread,
> Two at foot, and two at head,
> And four to carry me when I'm dead."

Let us go a step further; we all know that outward expressions of reverence to inanimate representations of sacred things are by many in our own day regarded as alien to the spirit of the Church of England. In relation to this I give an extract from a treatise against Popery by Archbishop Wake, who, previous to his advancement to the Episcopate, had been chaplain to William of Orange. It ran thus:

> "When the pictures of God the Father, and of God the Holy Ghost, so directly contrary to the Second Commandment, and to S. Paul's doctrine, shall be taken away, and those of our Saviour and the blessed Saints be, with all necessary cautions, rendered truly the books, not the snares of the ignorant, then will we respect the images of our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin. And as some of us now bow down toward the Altar, and all of us are enjoined to do so at the name of our Lord Jesus, so will we not fail to testify all due respect to His representation."

Another reverential usage, which appears to have been widely spread in former days, was that of giving an outward expression of homage when the verse in the *Venite*, "O come let us worship and fall down, &c.," was recited. It was formerly the custom for the Dean and Canons of Durham to kneel down in their stalls when these words were sung. Dean Cornwallis, Dr. Durell, and Dr. Prosser used to do this. Their immediate successors only bowed, and then the custom disappeared entirely. At S. John's,

Edinburgh, about 1846, the whole congregation knelt at the words cited above, and the well-known chant, Purcell in G, was changed into a minor key for that verse only.

There are several other parts in the Church Service where outward tokens of reverence were wont to be rendered by the congregation in olden times. For example, a lady at Swansea has told me that at S. Mary's Church, Brecknock, bowing at the *Gloria* was formerly the common custom of the older and poorer members of the congregation. Also, that at the thrice repeated "Holy" in the *Te Deum*, the old women used to courtesy three times. This, adds my informant, was continued till within the last thirty years. Similarly, at Ampney Crucis, in Gloucestershire, the old women, twenty years ago, courtesied at the *Gloria*, and at every mention of the names of the Three Persons in the Blessed Trinity. At S. Leonard's, Shoreditch, it was the custom till quite lately for most of the old people to bow at the words "Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ," in the *Te Deum*. I trust that this is continued, but I have no information.

A correspondent, whose name I have unfortunately mislaid, wrote to me in 1880 to say that when he was at Cuddesdon, the present Bishop of Lincoln, who was chaplain and assistant lecturer there from 1858 to 1863, told him that at Stone, Dartford, Kent (so far as my correspondent's memory served him as to the name of the village), it was customary when Psalm cl. occurred in the service, for the whole of the congregation to say it together.

A few words must be said about turning to the east at the Creeds. I was told by the late Canon Humble that, in his younger days, all the congregations in the City of Durham observed this practice, and that he believed it was general throughout the county. In the city it was more noticeable from the dreadful way in which most of the churches were seated. The pews to the east of the desk and pulpit were arranged so that the people might face the reader or preacher. Thus the occupants had to turn right round. At Grewell, near Odiham, Hampshire, before the church was altered, there was a men's gallery at the eastern end of the nave, facing westward, and the same custom prevailed. At Alton, Hants, members of the congregation, whose seats faced westwards, turned to the east at the Gospel as well as at the Creed. Mr. F. J. Ames, the postmaster at Crondall, tells me that this was discontinued in 1859. Probably the church was reseated in that year, and the whole congregation faced east.

Everybody must have noticed that in our churches now almost all present bow when the Holy Name is mentioned in the Creed, but only a few persons make a "reverence" when it occurs in the Hymns or Lessons. Bearing upon this, a well-known clerical author says that in Cumberland it is the custom for every one to bow at the Holy Name at funerals, at baptisms, and at the Holy Communion when receiving, though they may not do it at any other time.

The custom of bowing at the *Gloria*, mentioned above, seems to have been very commonly observed in past days, and the "reverence" usually took place when the word "Son" was pronounced. In relation to this custom the Vicar of Thaxted has drawn my attention to a book which enjoyed very considerable popularity at the beginning of the last century. It was entitled "Devotions in the ancient way of Offices, reformed by a Person of Quality." The name of Geo. Hickes, D.D., appears on the title-page as editor or sponsor, I presume, and in 1712 it had reached a fourth edition. After a direction to say the Psalms standing, it proceeds:

> "At the end of every Psalm let A. say 'Glory, &c.,' and B. 'As it was, &c.,' both continuing to stand, and showing some other sign of worship by bowing the head, or lifting up the eyes to heaven. For in all devotion the exterior worship is never to be neglected, and those stiff, morose, and saturnine votists who are so sparing of bodily adoration in our most solemn services, refusing to stand at the singing of Psalms and Anthems, or to bow to God before His holy altars, act against the common notions of mankind, and the nature of Divine service."

In some places it was the custom for the congregation to turn to the east at the *Gloria*. This was the case at the old church in Manchester, now the Cathedral, and I believe that it is still retained. At Talaton Church, near Ottery S. Mary, Devon, it was formerly the custom for the people in church to turn to the west when the singing began, but to turn to the east at the Doxologies. This usage was dropped through the influence of a churchwarden, who, in a late Rector's time, attempted to put a stop to the custom of turning to the west. This was in 1857 or 1858. But his well-meant action resulted in the people turning to the west as before, but not turning to the east at the Doxologies. Since that date the Church has been repaired, the gallery removed, and the fiddles and the flutes abolished. The organ is at the west end of the church, but nevertheless the people are

gradually leaving off the custom of turning to it.

It is by no means uncommon in our own day for congregations to stand up when the Lord's Prayer occurs in the Second Lesson. In the old parish church of Begborough, near Taunton, it was the habit of the people to kneel on such an occasion. This usage was formerly observed in Exeter Cathedral. In Scotland, in churches of the nonjuring type, as the late Canon Humble has told me, the people were wont to rise when (*a*) the Lord's Prayer, (*b*) the Scriptural Canticles, and (*c*) the Angelic Salutation, were read in the course of the Lessons. Also when the Ten Commandments were read in the Lesson the people used to stand, and perhaps do so still.

Another out-of-the way custom may be noted, but I have only two examples of it, and it was probably not very commonly observed. This was for the congregation to kneel at the "Ascription" after the sermon. This, I am told, was the case at Hexham in former days, and the custom prevailed at Crondall Church, Hants, until about the year 1861.

In all well-ordered churches it is now the custom for the congregation to stand when the clergy and choir come to the stalls from the vestry. This is doubtless the revival of an ancient custom, for a clergyman who was at Hoby Leicestershire in 1843, has told me that it was then the custom for all the congregation to stand when the officiating clergymen entered the church. He further stated that at Marks Tey, in Essex, in 1833, the people always waited for the Rector to precede them in going out of church.

Akin to this I understand that formerly it was the custom at St. Helen's Church, Abingdon, for the congregation to rise whenever the Mayor and Corporation attended the church in their official capacity.

The following note has a thoroughly pre-Reformation flavour. A correspondent of the *Ecclesiologist* in 1841 states that, until very lately, it was the custom for the people of Stringston, in Somersetshire, to do obeisance to the churchyard cross.

There is, or was, until twenty years ago, the following odd usage at Ampney Crucis, Cirencester. At the club feast on the Wednesday in Whitsun week, all the members of the club took off their hats on entering the churchyard, and did not put them on again after service until they were again in the road. This was never done by any one at any other time.

Let us now go on to consider the question of daily prayers in our churches in olden times. There can be no doubt as to the intention of the Church of England in regard to this matter. The words "The Order of Morning and Evening Prayer daily to be said and used throughout the year," cannot mean that it is to be said and used on Sundays only. Nevertheless, except in cathedrals and college chapels, I think it would be difficult to name a church in which the rule had been strictly observed since our present Book of Common Prayer was taken into general use in 1662 after the last revision. If any one can give a trustworthy instance of such observance I shall thankfully acknowledge my error.

It is not a little curious to examine the published Charges and Pastoral Letters issued by the Bishops in the past. The reproofs and suggestions contained in them give us a tolerably fair notion of the condition of church matters in olden times. Amongst other things, they show how churchmanship varied in different dioceses. Thus, by way of instance, we have "A Discourse to his Clergy" by Bishop Sprat, of Rochester, in 1695, wherein the recitation of daily service is taken for granted. On the other hand, Bishop Turner, of Ely, in 1686, told his clergy :

> "There is one thing more which I do exceedingly long to see introduced, and would fain obtain that which the Rubric, in the true intent of it, still exacts of you—to have Morning and Evening Prayer every day of the week in your church, if you live upon your cure, or keep a curate upon it, and not extreme far from the church. And if by any means in the world you can prevail with at least a few of your parishioners, which sure cannot be wanting in most parishes, where there are some devout gentry or persons of quality, or at least some piously disposed people ; and to all such I could almost kneel most earnestly, begging of them, as they love God, and their own and other Christian souls, that they will do their part towards the promoting of so good a work, perhaps the best and the most public good they can ever do in the places where they live, and where there are either poor widows, who may well afford to be at prayers for those whose pensioners they are ; or where there are any children taught by a schoolmaster or mistress, there it is very hard if some little congregation might not be found, would but the minister attempt and labour it with as much application and zeal as the thing mightily deserves. Nay, better the minister, with or without his parish clerk, and with but some of his own family, that he may say, 'When two or three are gathered together in Thy name,' than not to begin this worthy design of prayers twice a day in your churches ; but where that cannot be for the distance of your houses, there to have them without fail in your private families."

I have given this extract at length, because, if read between the lines, it supplies some sketchy notion of the state of our par-

ishes at the end of the seventeenth century ; and chiefly because it gives expression to the thoroughly religious sentiments of one of those noble Bishops who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and suffered deprivation and poverty rather than do violence to their consciences.

Bishop Turner's earnest expostulation does not seem to have had much effect, for a very few years later we find his successor, Bishop Patrick, again speaking seriously to the clergy in the diocese of Ely in reference to the same subject.

In a very large number of the Bishops' Charges we find the obligation of the clergy to have daily service conveniently shirked. There is a great deal about preaching and catechising, and carefulness in reading the service ; but the duty of affording to the people opportunities for daily public worship only occasionally finds a place in these addresses. It is tolerably evident that their Lordships found it impracticable to enforce it, even if they desired to have the practice observed.

And while speaking of Bishop's Charges, and of what they omitted to speak about, I cannot, in passing, refrain from mentioning a topic upon which one Church dignitary warmly enlarged. This was Archbishop Hort, of Tuam, who at his primary visitation, in 1742, suggested, in sufficiently plain language, that it was the duty of every clergyman who had not an estate, independent of his clerical income, to provide that his widow should not be driven to some "charity house," or his daughters left at the mercy of profligates for the sake of a subsistence. Would it not have been much better if his Grace had told the younger clergy that, unless they had sufficient private incomes to justify such a step, they had no right, morally, to marry ? I wish that our present Bishops would be straightforward enough to speak out plainly upon this most important and common-sense matter.

But as to the daily service, it was the High Church clergy who argued in its favour. While Richard Baxter considered that it was something more than a waste of time, men like Sancroft, Beveridge, and Nelson, were strongly in favour of its importance. Most cultured people know that there was a strong High Church reaction in Queen Anne's reign, and a very remarkable expression of enthusiasm in favour of High Church principles was manifested. I do not know anything more striking in post-Reformation Church History than the record of week-day services, which Paterson has handed down to us in his "Pietas Londinensis." Of course, in reading such a list of City services as he gives, we must make allowance for the change of circumstances which has taken place. With the exception of caretakers, there are very few residents in the City now. But enthusiasm, however excellent in starting a work, is but a very weak staff to trust to as regards its continuance. As a matter of fact, the popular feeling in favour of daily services very soon died out, and before the middle of the last century, supposing that we had any accredited record, the list would show a very sad falling off when contrasted with that given by Paterson. Then again, London is not the only place in the world ; to gauge the religious condition of a nation we must go into the smaller towns and villages. This test will prove more true, because in such places religious sentiment will be likely to be more real, and less a matter of excitement, example, and fashion. Then, whichever way we look at it, there was everything against the practice of daily service. It was, as it is now, a mark of respectability to attend church on Sundays ; but worship on week-days subjected religious people to the charge of trying to make themselves out better than their neighbours ; add to which, the gradual change in social habits, and in business habits, both of which militated strongly against the daily prayers.

Wednesday and Friday services remained popular for some time after the daily services had been given up. Archbishop Secker, in a charge delivered by him in 1761, said that there should always be prayers on those days, and John Wesley expressed the same opinion. This practice, however, gradually dwindled down.

We cannot wonder that the lay folk had no very great regard for prayers alone, when so many of the clergy themselves considered their recitation as suited only for assistant curates, and quite below the dignity of rectors and other such exalted personages. Let any one try to imagine how things must have been when it was necessary for a Bishop of Rochester at the end of the seventeenth century to say : "The devout and decent reading of the Holy Offices of the Church is so far from being a perfunctory and superficial work, a mean and vulgar accomplishment, or a subordinate lower administration, only fit for a curate, &c. &c."

A few words must be added about congregational singing.

It is difficult to know exactly what was

meant by the term which was common in the last century, "The Singing Psalms," whether "Sternhold and Hopkins" or "Tate and Brady." The former of these two metrical versions seems to have come into use about 1562, and to have continued for more than 200 years. I believe it to be a fact, that even so late as 1828 a new edition of this version was published with the idea of its being used in church. That by Tate and Brady was issued about 1698; but it was far from popular at first, and it took something like a hundred years before it secured anything like a foothold in this country. To the present generation the two versions are equally unknown, so that it may be worth while to indicate the general style of the "New Version." Take Psalm xli. v. 6. It runs thus in the Psalter: "And if he come to see me he speaketh vanity, and his heart conceiveth falsehood within itself, and when he cometh forth he telleth it." This was made to apply to the scandal talked at morning calls. Thus:

> "Suppose they formal visits make,
> It's all but empty show;
> They gather mischief in their hearts,
> And vent it where they go."

Its teaching was, of course, delightfully direct, but whether it quite represented what the Psalmist meant is another question.

And as to the best means of encouraging congregational singing, and consequently a devotional tone given to the service, the Bishop of London, about 150 years ago, told his clergy that, in country parishes especially, they should instruct their parish clerks to read the Psalm line by line as they went on. It will be difficult for young people of the present day to imagine the possibility of such a barbarous custom as that mentioned, yet it lasted till a comparatively recent date. I remember having, as a boy, heard the lines of Tate and Brady read out one by one, and thinking the effect comical. Let an ordinary worshipper, say at St. Andrew's, Wells Street, throw himself, in imagination, back into the past days of which I am speaking, and he would scarcely think that the plan proposed by the Bishop of London was calculated to advance the dignity of Church worship or to conduce to the devotion of the people.

In these days we laugh at the idea of Tate and Brady being sung in church; but it would be well to remember that the well-known hymn to be found in most collections, "Through all the changing scenes of life," is simply their rendering of Psalm xxxiv. The familiar "O God of Hosts, the mighty Lord," is only a rhyming version of Psalm lxxxiv., and is also the work of Tate and Brady.

If, with our present habits and experience, we could, in imagination, join an olden-time church congregation, we should find not a little to surprise and shock us. Before Charles I.'s reign it was very much the custom for men to wear their hats in church. Again and again, in the *Spectator*, Addison condemned the irreverent habits of people who went to church in his day. Thus, if a stranger came to a church to preach, it seems to have been a common thing for the members of the congregation to make gestures to one another, if there happened to be anything peculiar about his intonation or style, while the ladies would giggle behind their fans. Or again, we have a description of the demeanour of a friend of "Will Honeycomb": "He seldom comes in till prayers are about half over, and when he has entered his seat, instead of joining with the congregation, he devoutly holds his hat before his face for three or four moments, then bows to all his acquaintance, sits down, takes a pinch of snuff, and spends the remaining time in surveying the congregation." In the *Examiner* and the *Guardian* similar criticisms may be found. The following passage from the Sixth Satire in Young's "Love of Fame," published about the middle of the last century, illustrates this, while recalling the delightful pictures of character which William Law had given some twenty years before in his "Serious Call:"

> "Lavinia is polite, but not profane,
> To church as constant as to Drury Lane.
> She decently in form pays Heaven its due,
> And makes a civil visit to her pew.
> Her lifted fan, to give a solemn air,
> Conceals her face, which passes for a prayer.
> Curtsies to curtsies then with grace succeed,
> Not one the fair omits, but at the Creed."

The satire contained in the last line must not be missed.

WHEN IS THE POPE INFALLIBLE?

BY THE VERY REV. MGR. JOSEPH SCHROEDER, D.D., PH.D., PROFESSOR OF DOGMATIC THEOLOGY IN THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, March 10, 1892.

ACCORDING to the Catholic doctrine, Jesus Christ has instituted in his Church

an apostolic succession, a teaching body, invested with the mission of announcing to all peoples the revealed truth, and speaking to the faithful with a divine authority, based on the formal promise of the special protection of the Divine Saviour and the assistance of the Holy Spirit of Truth. This protection of Christ, assured to his Apostles "until the consummation of the ages," this assistance of the Spirit of Truth, who was to remain with them "until the end," guaranteed to the teaching authority the gift of infallibility in the exercise of its mission, and imposes upon the faithful what St. Paul calls, in his energetic language, "the obedience of faith."

There exists, then, in the Church of Jesus Christ a living, perpetual and infallible authority, constituted, according to the will of Christ, by the successors of Peter and of the other Apostles—the Pope and the Bishops of the Catholic Church. The Pope and the Episcopate united to him, whether they be assembled in a council or not, are the *subjects* of the infallibility of the Church; they form the *Ecclesia Docens*. This doctrine is the fundamental one in the controversy between Catholics and Protestants.

The question proposed at the Council of the Vatican was this: Has Jesus Christ, in building his Church upon Peter, in giving him the charge of confirming his brothers in the faith, and in charging him to feed his lambs and his sheep, thereby promised infallibility to Peter himself and his successors? In other words, Is the Pope, by himself alone, *also* the subject of infallibility? Has it been promised to him in the person of St. Peter, the first Pope?

The Council answered in the affirmative by defining that "the Pope, defining ex cathedrâ, enjoys the same infallibility as that with which Christ has been pleased to invest his Church."

This definition contains in germ the explanation of the exalted prerogative in question. For from it the following conclusions necessarily flow:

1. There is no essential difference between a definition emanating from the Pope alone, and the definition of a General Council (which cannot be such without union with the Pope); that is to say, the value of the act of the judicial sentence is the same, and the teaching authority is the same in the two cases, and, consequently, Catholics are obliged to submit themselves to them equally. The difference can only be accidental: a doctrinal decision emanating from the united magisterium of the Pope and the bishops has naturally more solemnity and more *éclat*, as well in itself as in its effect.

2. The *intrinsic cause* of the infallibility of the Pope is the same as for that of the entire Teaching Church. The Catholic doctrine has always taught that the definitions of the Church are not based on *new divine revelations;* on the contrary, it is a dogma that the "Catholic revelation," that is to say, the revelation of truths of faith to be believed by every Catholic as revealed by God, was completed by the Holy Ghost in the Apostles, and that there will not be an objective increment of the deposit of faith in the present economy, but only a subjective increment; *i.e.*, a more perfect knowledge of the doctrine once revealed, by its more explicit explanation and proposition.

It will be understood from this in what sense the Catholic can speak of the history of dogmas; *i.e.*, the history of the explication of dogmas.

This shows also the essential difference which there is between revelation, properly so-called, and revelations called *private*, made by God to one or several persons. Whoever admits the existence of the supernatural order should recognize the possibility of these private revelations; the one who receives, or believes himself to receive, divine revelations will be equally bound to believe their contents; but these private revelations as such can never become a part of the *depositum fidei*, and consequently cannot be an object of "Catholic faith."

Infallibility, accordingly, is not a gift communicated by infusion; it gives neither to the bishops of a council nor to a Pope an infused knowledge. The gift of infallibility consists only in this: that the Holy Spirit assists the Teaching Church and prevents it from falling into error. So, in the words of the Council, the Pope is infallible, "*by the divine assistance* which has been promised to him in the person of blessed St. Peter."

3. The Pope has, like the entire Teaching Church, the charge of "guarding the deposit of faith." This deposit is contained in Holy Scripture and in tradition. He is, then, like the Council, infallible *only* when there is question of preserving this deposit in all its integrity, of explaining its true sense, and of defending it against errors. Hence, it is said, that Holy Scripture and tradition are for every Catholic the *remote rule of faith*. The Church proposes infallibly the truths contained in them, as the unity of the faith may require. These truths proposed by the Church as revealed

truths are called *dogmas*, and Catholics are bound to believe all of them with divine faith (*fide divina*).

Furthermore, the Church guards and defends the deposit of faith infallibly when she makes a definite judgment on doctrines or facts closely connected with revelation. The infallibility of the Church or of the Pope relatively to these last truths or facts which, without being revealed, are, however, connected with revelation, has never been explicitly *defined*, and is, therefore, not yet a dogma; but it follows logically from the dogma, and is consequently admitted by the consensus of Catholic theologians, so that one cannot deny it without falling into grievous error and committing a sin against faith. The Catholic believes truths thus defined, not as revealed, but as proposed by an authority the infallibility of which is revealed (*fide ecclesiastica* or *mediate divina*).

This proposition of religious truths, made authentically by all the Teaching Church together, or by the Pope alone, is an infallible proposition. In virtue of the assistance of the Holy Spirit promised by Jesus Christ to his Church, and it is the *proximate or immediate* rule of faith.

4. The *end* of the infallibility of the Pope is the same as that of the infallibility of the Teaching Church; it is, in a few words, the unity of the Church in the faith. Its *object* is the divine deposit, inasmuch as the Pope is its guardian, interpreter and defender, in order that it may be preserved intact by all the faithful. The Council of the Vatican determines this object by saying that the Pope is infallible "when he defines a doctrine relating to faith or morals to be held by all the faithful."

5. From the foregoing considerations it follows that the infallibility of the Pope is not communicated to him by the Church, that the value of his decision does not depend upon the assent accorded to it by the bishops or the faithful. He will never define a truth which is not contained in the deposit of faith either explicitly or implicitly, but no one in the Church has the right to make his assent depend upon a preliminary examination for the purpose of ascertaining that the doctrine in question is really a part of revelation. The Catholic must, on the contrary, reason as follows: The Pope has defined such a doctrine as revealed; I must then believe it to be revealed, because he makes the definition with the assistance of the Holy Spirit. In this sense the Council defined that "these judgments of the Popes are in themselves, and not from the consent of the Church, irreformable." In the same sense it is true also that this infallibility is a personal gift; that is to say, the person of the Pope is its subject. It is proper to him, not inasmuch as he is a private person, but inasmuch as he is a public person, because he is the foundation stone of the Church, the confirmer of his brethren, the shepherd of all the sheep, the doctor of all Christians; in a word, because he is the head of the Church. That is why the Council adds that the Pope is infallible when he defines, "in his capacity of pastor and doctor of all Christians, in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority."

It is evident that the Pope in his governmental and administrative measures as temporal sovereign of the Pontifical States never was and never will be any more infallible than other secular princes.

So, too, his infallibility does not extend to his acts of ecclesiastical administration, such as excommunication, the erection of dioceses, the appointment of bishops, and the abolishing or suspending of religious orders.

6. When, therefore, it is certain that a Papal definition is ex cathedrâ, it is equally certain for every Catholic that this definition is infallible, by the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and that it ought to receive the assent of faith. Certainly the Pope, before making a decision, will investigate, consult theological sources, in order to know the revelation better, as a General Council also does; but the infallibility of his judgment is in no way based on these investigations. I do not believe it because the Pope is a great theologian, because he has surrounded himself by the lights of other theologians or of bishops; the formal reason, the *ultimate motive* of my faith is solely the assistance of the Holy Spirit. It is this that renders our faith "a reasonable service." Consequently, as soon as an ex cathedrâ definition presents itself, I make an act of faith, saying: "I believe, because the Pope defines this doctrine, and because the Pope in defining it is protected against all error by the Holy Spirit who assists him." From the very fact of the definition given follows the obligation of the faithful to submit to it; no one can require as a condition of his submission a knowledge of the human means by which the Pope or the Council have availed themselves before giving the definition of faith.

7. In order to be obliged to submit themselves to a judgment of a Pope ex cathedrâ, Catholics must know with certainty that there is question of a doctrine that all must

hold, and that it is proposed in virtue of an infallible authority; in other words, that the Pope has the intention of exercising his supreme authority of Doctor of the Faithful, by such a decree. This criterion is contained in the definition of the Council. It is notified to the faithful that the Pope teaches in virtue of his supreme and infallible authority, when he teaches as a public person, as pastor and doctor of all the faithful and when he teaches a doctrine which is to be held by all. The Pope may say it explicitly, but this is not necessary, for he can also indicate it by the very manner in which he exercises his authority. But it is certain that he must indicate in some way or another his intention to make a definition. Thus the formulæ: "If any one say . . . let him be anathema," or "we define," or the declaration that such or such a doctrine is "heretical," or even "erroneous," "false," leading to "heresy," etc., indicate clearly in the decrees of councils or of Popes the intention of exercising the infallible magisterium.

The following examples may be cited of Papal utterances during the last hundred years which are considered as undoubtedly infallible definitions ex cathedrâ: The constitution "*Auctorem Fidei*" (August 28th, 1794), in which Pius VI condemned the doctrine of the Synod of Pistoia, declaring some propositions heretical, and qualifying others as false, temerarious, etc., indicating clearly that all Catholics are forbidden "to think or judge of these positions otherwise;" the encyclical "*Mirari Vos,*" of August 15th, 1832, in which Gregory XVI condemned indifferentism; the bull "*Ineffabilis*" (December 8th, 1854), by which Pius IX defined the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and the encyclical "*Quanta Cura*" (December 8th, 1864), against modern "Naturalism." In regard to the Syllabus, which forms an appendix to the last-named encyclical, and which is only a *résumé* of modern errors already censured in other Pontifical documents, it can certainly be said that the mode of publication (it was sent to the bishops by order of the Pope by Cardinal Antonelli), does not characterize it as an utterance ex cathedrâ; but its dogmatic value is incontestable, in view of its contents and the circumstances of its publication; so much the more that it has received the explicit adhesion of the entire Episcopate.

8. Two questions present themselves here: (*a*) Must the teaching of the Pope be addressed immediately to the whole Church, in order to be ex cathedrâ? Is this a condition *sine quâ non?* (*b*) Do all documents addressed to the whole Church, notably the encyclical letters, become, by that very fact, definitions ex cathedrâ?

(*a*) The answer to the first question can be only a matter of theological opinion. We consider it more probable that a doctrinal decree may be addressed immediately to a part of the Church, and even to one particular bishop, and yet at the same time be ex cathedrâ, if the nature of the decree itself indicates that it is directed immediately and virtually to the entire Church; in other words, if the Pope proposes in it a doctrine which must be held by all. It goes without saying that the other faithful must know authentically that it is a definition of the Pope, in order to be obliged to believe in it; but in this case no other definition on the point is necessary.

By way of example may be cited the decision of Innocent I, in the affair of the Pelagians; this was sent only to the African bishops, but yet St. Augustine declared the matter ended—"*Roma locuta, causa finita.*" Similarly the dogmatic letter of Leo I to Flavian, in the year 449, sent by the Pope in order to put an end to the controversy at Constantinople; the profession of faith sent by Hormisdas to the bishops of the Orient; and the condemnation of the errors of Bajus, addressed to the University of Louvain, by Pius V, in 1567.

(*b*) To the second question we answer: No, it cannot be said that all the teachings of popes addressed to the whole Church are definitions ex cathedrâ. In order to understand well this affirmation, and not to draw from it inexact and false conclusions, it is absolutely necessary to have before one's eyes the following distinctions:

1. The Church is a society, a perfect society, a visible society. Its unity is unity in the faith, and also a social unity. The Pope is both the center and the principle of unity. He is the principle of unity in the faith; all Catholics owe the obedience *of faith* to all his doctrinal decisions. But he is at the same time the pastor and supreme ruler of the Church; he has full and entire jurisdiction over all its members, and all owe a true obedience to his orders and his directions. This last obedience does not consist in an act of faith, but it is based on the faith which teaches us that the sovereignty of the Church is confided by Jesus Christ to the Pope, and that all owe to its sovereignty a *filial submission.* The Pope can then speak to the whole Church as its

supreme ruler without making use of his prerogative of infallible teacher.

2. Every act of the pontifical magisterium is not, therefore, a definition ex cathedrâ, and, consequently, an infallible judgment, to which the Catholic owes the assent of faith ; the supreme teacher does not always act as the defining and infallible teacher. Thus the decrees of the Roman congregations are called "decrees of the Holy See," in ecclesiastical parlance, and with reason. But the Pope cannot communicate to others his infallibility ; the decrees of congregations are not infallible definitions, not even when the Pope confirms them. This confirmation is certainly that of the supreme authority of the Church, but it is not the exercise of this supreme authority in all its intensity. For such a decree to have the value of a decision ex cathedrâ, the Pope must make it his, and indicate in promulgating it, his intention of defining a doctrine that all the Church must hold. The decrees of the congregations confirmed by the Pope have certainly a great authority, and Catholics owe obedience to them (*assensum religiosum*) ; but this obedience is not the obedience of faith due to the definitions of the Church or of the Pope.

The Pope is equally the high priest of the Church ; it is to him that belongs the supreme power of regulating all that relates to worship. It is thus that he announces the jubilee, that he accords indulgences as privileges, that he prescribes common practices of piety, certain prayers, etc.

It follows from what precedes that the Pope can address himself in his encyclicals, constitutions, letters, etc., to the entire Church in his capacity of supreme teacher, supreme ruler, or supreme priest of the Church, without giving in them definitions ex cathedrâ. In any case the Catholic owes to him perfect *obedience ;* he must regulate his views and his actions according to the word of thePope, that is for all really "the norm to which their minds and actions should conform."

We will add, finally, that in a document of the Pope or of a Council which contains a definition ex cathedrâ, it is necessary to distinguish between this and the other teachings, expositions and developments of doctrine which are found in it. The infallibility extends only to the definition.

Leo XIII speaks as the supreme teacher of the Church when he "provides for the teaching of philosophy" "*ad fidei catholicæ normam*" (encyclical "*Æterni Patris*"), when he "presents the Catholic doctrine, gives salutary admonitions in the struggle against socialism" (encyclical "*Quod Apostolici Muneris*"), when he "unveils the dangers of secret societies" (encyclical "*Humanum Genus*"), when he "teaches what the Church prescribes in regard to the constitution and the direction of States" (encyclical "*Immortale Dei*"). He exercises his power of supreme ruler of the Church when he vindicates the liberty of the Holy See (allocution "*Post Excitatos,*" epistle "*Quantumque,*" etc.), when he indicates the rules to be followed in the choice of bishops (Constitution "*Immortalis*"), and when he defends the religious orders (epistle "*Perlecta a Nobis*"). He shows his solicitude as supreme priest in recommending and prescribing the recitation of the rosary (encyclical "*Supremi Apostolatus*"), and in according new privileges to the Third Order of St. Francis, etc.*

All the great encyclicals, allocutions, epistles and constitutions of Leo XIII explain some point or other of Catholic doctrine ; all these documents throw new and copious lights upon the doctrines of which they treat ; all contain wise and practical rules of conduct. They repeat in part principles by which Catholics have always had to be guided ; they propose and give precise form to others which were not so well known, and above all not generally observed, as in the encyclical "*De Conditione Opificum.*"

All these doctrines and precepts should be for the Catholic "a norm of opinion and conduct." In every case the Catholic is obliged to conform himself to the judgment of the Holy See, to regulate by it his sentiments and his professions. This perfect and absolute obedience to the Holy See is, as was clearly explained by Leo XIII, in the encyclical "*Immortale Dei,*" the characteristic mark whereby true Catholics have always been and are recognized. It is the *touchstone of Catholicity.* It is thus that the Church should realize the words of St. Paul : "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms among you, but that you be perfect in the same mind and in the same judgment" (1 Cor. i. 1).

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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* My learned colleague, the Rev. Prof. Thomas Bouquillon, D.D , has published a collection of encyclicals and other documents emanating from Leo XIII, in which the contents are in each case clearly and judiciously indicated in marginal notes. Its title-page is as follows : "*Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Leonis Papæ XIII., Allocutiones, Epistolæ, Constitutiones aliaque Acta præcipua. Vol. I,* 1878-1832 ; *Vol. II.*, 1883-1887. *Typis Societatis Sancti Augustini. Desclée, De Brouwer et Soc., Brugis et Insulis,* 1887.

BOOKS THAT HAVE MOULDED CHARACTER.

BY SAMUEL C. BARTLETT, D.D., LL.D., PRESIDENT OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

From *The Golden Rule* (Undenom.), Boston, February 25, 1892.

In speaking of books that have moulded character it is unnecessary to speak of the Book of books. That stands alone, both in its total influence and in the vast number of its particular texts and passages that have come home with critical and determining power to a great multitude of persons. Other good books are the reflection of its light and warmth. But it is of the latter only I shall speak, omitting also all reference to the ruinous influence of bad books, which would be a theme of itself and one of impressive magnitude. If the books mentioned be largely in the religious sphere, it will be simply because books of that type have been so largely the moulding influences. It does not appear that the moral philosophers of the best classic times, Plato, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, and the like, ever formed a character to the practice of virtue by their maxims. Nor can we trace such influences, in any considerable degree, to the bright lights of literature, such as Shakespeare and Goethe, however much we may admire them. We must turn to a different class of works.

One of the most remarkable and influential volumes, Augustine's "Confessions," was written just before the beginning of the Dark Ages, so called. The portraiture of a soul in conflict, restless, lost, rescued, at rest and in peace, its profound introspection and fiery fervor, had a charm and a power that carried it into every Christian tongue, and gave it a singular and lasting interest and influence.

Second to it alone, if second to it, was another book written at the close of the Dark Ages, Thomas à Kempis's "Imitation of Christ," which is said to have been "translated into more languages than any other book save the Bible, and to have moved the hearts of so many men of all nations, characters, and conditions of life." Both these volumes are still unforgotten and occasionally to be met with. Of the same tendency, but of a far less extensive and protracted influence in modern times, have been Baxter's "Saint's Rest," and perhaps one might add Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying" and Law's "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life." The "Imitation of Christ" is said, whether rightly or not, to have passed through five hundred editions during the present century.

Probably no uninspired volume in later times has exerted a wider or deeper influence than Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." It rivals, if not exceeds, the "Imitation of Christ" in the number of languages into which it has been translated, and certainly in the absorbing interest with which readers of every variety, old and young, learned and unlearned, have followed its narrative, finding each a special message to himself. Macaulay well calls it "that wonderful book" which "has been read by many thousands with tears," and, he might have added, by many hundred thousands with lasting benefit.

Half a century later came another work, Butler's "Analogy between Religion and Nature," which has undoubtedly moulded character by stimulating clear, broad, solid thinking more effectually than any other book in the English language. It is a volume not for easy reading, but for hard study. It has enlightened and settled many of the strongest thinkers, to the present day, and, though ignored and sometimes sneered at in recent times, in the line of argument it has not been answered.

I will not include in the list the famous "Thoughts" and "Provincial Letters" of Pascal, for, although the former did much for the thinking of Europe and the other contributed largely to the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, they had to do less directly with character. It is difficult, however, to estimate the full effects of John Foster's "Essays on Decision of Character." The book was a power in its day, and is a power not yet spent. There are few better tonics for the young. Very different in method and in weight is Edward Everett Hale's "Ten Times One is Ten," yet deserving a passing mention for the wide currency it has given to those four great maxims on page 130, the first three of which are a compact rendering of Philippians 3 : 13, 14, and the fourth a familiar condensation of Galatians 6 : 10, and other like passages. Fifty years ago the young men of England and America were powerfully affected by Carlyle's vigorous onslaughts on "Shams," as conveyed in his "Heroes and Hero-Worship," and in his writings generally, and a more limited circle have been invigorated by the essays of Emerson, the central force of which is embodied in that on self-reliance. Jacob Abbott's "Young Christian" did a good work in its day for many young persons, and Todd's "Student's Manual" had a whole-

some popularity and a great circulation in this country and in England.

As books have multiplied in later years so marvellously, each is necessarily restricted to a more limited sphere, and it is difficult to fix upon treatises that have influenced men on so broad a scale as of old. But such a book as Smiles's "Self-Help" deserves to be mentioned as one which must have nerved up many a reader to faithful and persevering effort. It is a profitable volume for any young man.

In recent times books of formal instruction and counsel are giving way to those which stimulate and encourage by the presentation of living examples. No doubt such kinds of influence have always been exerted to an extent which cannot be adequately set forth, for the reason that many a life has been shaped by a book or some striking suggestion in a book, which has never been put on record. Sometimes it is, so to speak, accidental and incidental, deriving its force from the peculiar state of mind in the reader. It was not to be expected that the perusal of Cook's voyages should have turned William Carey to the work of a foreign missionary. It was more natural that Schliemann's purpose to excavate Troy crystallized when he was eight years old and saw in Jerrer's Universal History an engraving representing Troy in flames, with its huge walls and Scæan gate. It was still more natural that Hugh Miller, as he tells us, became "thoroughly a Scot" in his tenth year, when he read Blind Harry's "Wallace," and the desire to be a sailor, with which he had vexed his mother, passed away.

This leads to the suggestion that to a great degree in former times, and to a still greater degree in recent times, good biographies of the best men in the various lines of life have been among the most effective of all moulding agencies. There is no more attractive and no more useful reading for the young, considered with reference to its direct influence on the character for good, and often in unexpected ways. There surely was little in common between the rigid and, many would say, bigoted Puritan, Cotton Mather, and Benjamin Franklin, the typical man of this world. But Mather wrote a book, "Essays to Do Good," now known to few readers, founded on his own life, and to the early reading of this book Franklin attributed his own usefulness and success. How many men besides Samuel Drew and others who have referred to the fact have had their lives shaped by Franklin's autobiography we can only conjecture. How many of the best teachers in England and America for the last forty or fifty years have felt the power, directly or indirectly, of Stanley's life of Arnold! And it is noteworthy that the lives of the noblest men are those whose effects can be most distinctly traced. It is so in high art and so in the spheres of philanthropy and religion. The life of a great painter stimulated Reynolds to his life-work, and the career of Reynolds decided that of Haydon. Luther is said to have been greatly encouraged and strengthened for his arduous task by the life and writings of John Huss. This tendency is remarkably illustrated in the missionary sphere. The life of Francis Xavier sent forth Dr. Wolff on his striking career; the lives of Eliot and Brainerd, profoundly impressing the mind of a mother, carried Samuel J. Mills to the missionary field, and the life of Mills prompted Sarah Boardman Judson. That of Harriet Newell moved Levi Parsons and others—more than will be known in this world. Buchanan's "Star in the East" drew Adoniram Judson, and Judson's own life and that of his wife have been doubtless far more influential. The impression made by the life of Henry Martyn in its day is indicated by the number of persons that bear his name incorporated with their own. In this same line of moulding power toward the same work are such recent books as the lives of two remarkable men, John G. Paton and Alexander McKay, and, twenty years earlier, Mary Lyon.

There is a set of biographical sketches that ought to have served a wider use than it has actually accomplished, containing the encouragement of example and success in every form of achievement. It is a pity that it could not be republished, with additions, and be placed in the hands of every young man in the country. I refer to B. B. Edwards's "Biography of Self-taught Men." It contains clear, condensed accounts of the struggles and victories of more than forty men who had passed away during the century preceding, and had left their permanent mark upon the world. It includes such names as Roger Sherman, Heyne, Professor Lee, Rittenhouse, Niebuhr, Davy, Thomas, Scott, Adam Clarke, Count Rumford, John Opie, Benjamin West, Captain Cook, John Hunter, Bowditch, Ferguson, Watt, Whitney, Milner, Sir Wm. Jones, and the like,—a goodly company, illustrating every walk of life. There can be no more stimulating and moulding reading than such lives as most of these.

If it be thought that in these suggestions religious books and the lives of religious

men preponderate, it is from the facts and the necessity of the case. These have been the greatest moulding forces. Comparatively few biographies of great statesmen, warriors, and public men, however interesting in the perusal, have any deep and abiding impression to benefit the life of the reader,—such lives, for example, as those of Walpole, Burleigh, Pitt, Fox, Clive, Hastings, Talleyrand, Metternich, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and the long catalogue of such men. Perhaps the one impressive feature of these lives, when fully told—and it is powerfully impressive when seen—is the difficulties, discouragements, risks, struggles, emergencies, and hairbreadth escapes through which they almost invariably made their way, and the precarious tenure with which they held their places. All success is through discouragements and difficulties; but then, perhaps, it is greatest of all. There is one recent and remarkable exception to the lack of specific moral lesson, and that is found in the life of Abraham Lincoln. There are few more inspiring influences than his whole career—his early obstacles, his steady, sturdy struggles, his fidelity, his magnanimity and kindness of heart, his integrity of life, his powers expanding with his sphere and his faithfulness, his patience, his fairness, his justice, and his singular wisdom that had its fountain largely in a true and noble heart. It is an example which, we may hope, in the midst of all the restless strivings, false ambitions, selfish passions, and evil tendencies of the times, will shine forth and assert its power as long as the nation shall last.

Hanover, N. H.

DENOMINATIONAL SELFISHNESS.

BY EDWARD JUDSON, D.D.

From *The Examiner* (Bapt.), New York, February 25, 1892.

THE objects in life most worthy of search are often best secured, not by direct approach, but, as it were, around a corner. It is not by concentrating his attention upon himself that a man can best keep his body quiet and motionless. Let him, rather, fix his gaze upon some distant object of interest, and, without trying, he attains to the immobility of a statue. The carpenter on a high scaffold makes no conscious effort to keep from falling, but simply absorbs himself in the work he is doing. If you want to make a straight track across a wide field covered with freshly fallen snow, you do not look down at your feet, but, fastening your eye upon some far off-pine, you walk straight on toward it. When sitting for a picture, you cannot by an act of will bring your soul into your face and assume a noble and impressive look. Forget yourself, rather, recall some exquisite rustic scene, or occupy your mind with some elevated and poetic thought, and you may be sure that your features will look as handsome and interesting as the nature of the case admits.

Health is not secured by direct search. We become hale and hearty by forgetting that we have any pulse and liver and stomach. The valetudinarian habit is sure to defeat itself. This is why physicians prescribe travel. The patient secures self-forgetfulness and an outward gaze. Unfortunately, we are not transparent like a jelly-fish. And since we are left in uncertainty regarding our interior economy, the imagination has full play. When our attention is withdrawn from the more recondite organs of the body, and is occupied with nature or society, we begin to mend. The same principle applies to art. The best oratory, for instance, is self-forgetful. "If you want me to weep," writes Horace, "you must first weep yourself." It is as Faust says: "If you do not feel it yourself, you will not get it by hunting after it." "You will never bring heart to heart, unless it comes from your heart." "If you are in earnest to say anything, is it necessary to hunt after words?" "Your discourses which are so polished are as unrefreshing as the mist-wind that soughs in autumn through the withered leaves." So with singing. You may try to adjust your vocal organs to produce a *crescendo*, but a better way is to have the bosom swell with a vast emotion.

We arrive at everything good in life around a corner. Happiness eludes our hottest chase, but dogs our footsteps when we turn away from it and walk in the narrow path of duty. The butterfly pleasure which the worldling chases from flower to flower alights on the Christian's shoulder. "All these blessings," Moses said to Israel, "shall come on thee and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God." The beginner in the Christian life attains to assurance, not by directly seeking it, but by doing the will of God. Then Christ and the Father come unto him and make their abode with him. We approach Christian perfection by the pathway of self-forgetfulness and service of

others. "Whosoever loseth his life for my sake, the same shall save it."

"That is the doctrine, simple, ancient, true:
Such is life's trial, as old earth smiles and knows.
If you loved only what were worth your love,
Love were clear gain, and wholly well for you;
Make the low nature better by your throes!
Give earth yourself, go up for gain above!"

Selfishness, however beaten and foiled everywhere else, at last takes sanctuary in religion. A Christian feels instinctively that he has a right to be selfish regarding his own church or denomination. Is it not written, *they shall prosper that love thee?* With many people, about all the religion they have is an intense denominationalism. The sleepiest prayer-meeting is aroused to new life by an allusion to our own distinctive denominational tenets or to the interests of our particular branch of Zion. How repulsive is selfishness when she masquerades in the seamless robe of Christ!

Distinctive Truths Presented.

Each one of us finds himself bounded by three concentric horizons. The innermost circle is the local church, which may be defined as himself with those of his fellow-believers who habitually receive the bread and the cup at the same communion table. These little nuclei are grouped into a larger social organism called the denomination, which comprehends Christians, who, while they cherish with others the great essential truths of Christendom, stoutly hold certain distinctive tenets of their own. This forms our second horizon. We cannot find denominationalism in the Bible. Nevertheless, it is a stubborn historic fact, and must be taken account of. The outermost horizon of all is the spiritual church—that vague and majestic conception which glimmers here and there in Holy Scripture, and reminds us that all, whether members of any local church or not, who by personal faith and love accept Christ as their Saviour and Guide belong to one flock and have one Shepherd. Each one of us dwells within the embrace of these three concentric horizons—church, denomination, Christianity.

Now each denomination of Christians, whether Episcopalian, or Presbyterian, or Congregationalist, or Methodist, or Baptist, witnesses to certain distinctive truths. Each fancies that it embraces the whole sphere of revealed truth, while in reality it is merely engaged in rounding out a segment of the sphere, so that through the co-operation of all the whole system of Christian doctrine will finally assume in the minds of men its full-orbed proportions. How futile, then, is denominational selfishness! For when a denomination has borne complete witness to the truths providentially committed to its charge, and they have little by little filtered through the consciousness of Christendom, and have become the common property and belief of Christians at large, then its very *raison d'être* ceases to exist. It has performed its mission. There is nothing left for it but to distribute its assets, put up the shutters, and go out of business. Denominational triumph means denominational dissolution. There is no copyright on truth. What we believe, if it is true, will be gradually believed by everybody. The doctrines which each denomination stands for, if they are true, will be silently appropriated by others, and it will not even get the credit of them. People will not join the denomination, but its truth will join the people where they are. All truth is essentially pervasive. The Christian world is becoming more and more like the England which Tennyson describes:

"A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where Freedom broadens slowly down,
From precedent to precedent.

"Where faction seldom gathers head,
But by degrees of fulness wrought,
The strength of some diffusive thought
Hath time and space to work and spread."

Interfusion of Religious Ideas.

Christians are not all going to become Baptists. I have given up that idea long ago. But whatever of the Baptist faith is essentially true, other Christians will silently appropriate without even giving the Baptists the credit of it. This wide, subtle process is constantly going on. The Baptists stoutly maintained liberty of conscience and shed their blood for it. Now, everybody believes it, without, however, becoming a Baptist. Baptists have always stood for a regenerate church-membership, holding that personal acceptance of Christ should precede the initiatory rite of baptism—that the inside should precede the outside, and not that we should put on an outside, hoping that sometime or other an inside will come to match it. Now Christians in general believe in a regenerate church-membership, and infant baptism is gradually passing into innocuous desuetude; but people do not on that account become Baptists. Again, Baptists believe that immersion is a holy, divinely appointed symbol, gathering up and expressing in sign language the great

central verities of the Christian faith, and that in symbols, as in all works of genius and art, the form, however inconvenient, is altogether essential, else the truth is not revealed by them, but obscured. Now, in many influential churches outside of the Baptist communion, you will find the baptistery quietly taking its place beside the font, and Bishop Potter tells me that a baptistery will be one of the most beautiful features in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. I have used as an illustration the one of the denominations with which I chance to be the most familiar. But you may trace out the same process with regard to them all. The liturgical spirit and philanthropic energy of the Anglican communion is pervading the whole Christian world, and we even hear the most eminent Presbyterian divine in New York sighing for an old-fashioned Wesleyan revival.

The denominational partitions are all the time growing thinner, and distinctive truths are oozing and leaking through, so that we shall wake up some fine morning and discover, to our surprise, that the liquid in all the denominational compartments is substantially the same, and some of us with considerable reluctance will find that we all believe essentially alike. This is the unity we are arriving at, whether we want to or not. All Christians will not ultimately become members of one denomination either here or in heaven, but, little by little, all the truth that is preserved and witnessed to by each denomination will become the common property of all. It is a fair question whether, in many cases, when a minister finds himself strongly attracted by the features of another denomination than his own, it is not his bounden duty to remain right where he is, and sturdily realize, if possible, within his own communion the ideas and spirit which he admires, and not carry coals to Newcastle by joining another denomination, provided, of course, he does not radically diverge from the doctrines of the Christian body which he represents.

Will denominations then pass away? I think not. Names have always been more stubborn historic facts than things. A form will last long after the truth has evaporated out of it. Denominational partitions will survive as convenient division walls for Christian work.

The Foolishness of Narrowness.

If these things are so, how foolish it is for a human soul to cramp itself up by denominational conceptions of Christianity! It is a significant fact that the communion which is advancing most rapidly here in New York is the one that has least to say about its distinctive dogmas, and is most concerned with matters relating to the worship of the Eternal, and with right methods of relieving the sufferings of our fellow-creatures. She cherishes the spirit so well described in the courtly phrases of Phillips Brooks: "The channel which is not wide enough to contain the full torrent of the spring-time is thankful that the drops she cannot hold find wayward courses of their own down to the sea; and at the same time she makes herself wider and wider, that more and more of the water may find way through her." There is a good deal of sound philosophy in the blunt dogmatic language of old Andrew Fuller: "It is an important principle, that where any denomination or congregation seeks only *its own*, it will be disappointed; but where it seeks the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, its own prosperity will be among the things that will be added unto it. I have seen great zeal for what among us is called *the dissenting interest;* and in such hands the dissenting interest has died. Had they sought more to make men *Christians*, they should in most cases have been dissenters of their own accord. In fact, I see that in those congregations where the main object is what it should be, there religion flourishes. The same may be said of Baptists. If the first fruits of our zeal be laid out in making proselytes to that denomination, however right the thing may be in itself, the Lord will frown upon us and leave us. But if we be mainly employed in making men Christians, we need not fear but they will be Baptists. It is of great consequence to pursue things according to their importance, making that a first concern which is first, and that a second which is secondary. In seeking the salvation of others a man will find his own."

It is by cherishing such sentiments as these that we shall help to realize that dream of church unity which sounds faintly in our ears like the premature song of a half-awakened bird before daylight. So shall we bring to pass the devout aspiration: "More especially we pray for thy holy Church universal, that it may be so guided and governed by thy good Spirit, that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life."

ABOUT PREACHING AND PREACHERS.

BY REV. REUEN THOMAS, D.D.

From *The Congregationalist* (Boston), February 25, 1892.

In a recent article printed in the *Congregationalist* the writer begins by saying that "the preaching of to-day is not what it ought to be. Everybody says so, including the preachers themselves." I am not about to add a chapter to the book of Lamentations on preaching and preachers. Whenever I have an opportunity—which is seldom—of hearing a sermon, it always strikes me as being "much above the average," and I go away with the idea that the rise in values of sermonic discourse has been even greater than in Bell telephone stock. My conviction is that there never has been in the history of the church so much good preaching or so many good preachers. That is the reason why men have been educated into a still higher expectancy. It is the good preaching that has done it. The preaching has been so good that it has awakened the preachers and hearers both.

Every congregation has its percentage of grumblers. The supply is always equal to the demand. Also, the people outside the church, who never hear us preach, have a periodical propensity to complain of our preaching. Is it fair for ministers to complain of the preaching of brethren whom they have never heard? Moreover, the general statement that "the preaching of to-day is not what it ought to be" sounds too much like one of those stock phrases caught from the lips of peripatetic exhorters when in the humor to "curse Meroz" (*i.e.*, the average minister) for not "coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty." These general phrases are too free from discrimination to be just. There is no one style of preaching which is adapted to all congregations. Every congregation needs "the truth as it is in Jesus." But a preacher may be a mere exhorter. He may be a man moving within a very narrow circle of truth. He may be a man who simply memorizes other men's modes of utterance and other men's phraseology until you may be quite certain that he will say the same thing in the same form of words over and over again with no individual creativeness. Or he may be a preacher and teacher. The two ideas ought always to go together. If a man be not a teacher as well as a preacher he will never maintain his influence during a long pastorate, molding the mind of a people so that men and women grow in intelligence all the time—of course almost imperceptibly, but steadily and persistently. Now, according to what the preacher is—whether a mere exhorter or a mere memorizer or a teacher and preacher—so his *mode* of preaching will be.

The style of preaching which is natural to one man is not natural to another. Whether it is better to adopt one style or another depends entirely upon the *temperament* of the man. A settled pastor, teacher and preacher, dealing with the same congregation all the time, steadily raising them in intelligence and religious culture, must not adopt the style of the revivalist or his tenure of office will be short. Mere declamation, however fervid, never yet built up into strength and influence a congregation of reliable, intelligent Christian men and women. Pastors in our days are too anxious for immediate effects, and so they adopt a style of preaching which seems to be an amplification and variation upon a very few passages of Scripture. The results come—but *what* results? The gourd grows in a day and perishes in a night. Oak trees grow more slowly, but they continue growing for years, and even when they are "cut down and withered" they are good for a variety of uses, one of the best of which is for coffins to bury religious grumblers in.

A preacher, if he is to be also a teacher, must study himself and know his own nature, his aptitudes and inaptitudes. Then he must be determined to be himself, and so to use himself mentally as to preserve himself for years of intelligent work. Then he must study his particular congregation. Each congregation has its individuality. With some not specially cultured congregations he can preach in an easy extemporaneous fashion. With other congregations it is fatal for any length of time. They will eventually take all you can give them, providing you do not act the professor, but be the teacher *and preacher*. The trouble with many of our ministers whose method is to use very copious notes, or fully prepared manuscript, is that they don't read. They don't know how to read. Reading is interpretation. There is no reading where there is no interpretation.

Confining myself to English illustrations, Liddon, the great canon of St. Paul's, knew how to read. Farrar, the great canon of Westminster, knows how to read. Henry Melvill, who used to fascinate and possess the crowds that heard him, always knew how to read. Enoch Mellor, the most impressive orator among English Congregationalists, knew how to read. James Sher-

man and his well-known successor, Newman Hall, knew how to read. Henry Allon, who has adopted the same method, has been the teacher of as well as preacher to the foremost church in London for fifty years. These men were not mere exhorters, mere declaimers. They were teachers and preachers. They filled people full of ideas. They did not merely stir feeling. They built up men and women into strength and beauty of character. The preacher who is not also a teacher, simply a declaimer and exhorter, can never renew the mind of his congregation so as to fill them so full of theologic thought that there shall be no room for doubt. It is of no use preaching anything but theology—a theology which is embodied, incarnated, in an attractive human form, but theology.

My contention is that any just ground of complaint that may exist in regard to the preaching of our time has been created by the adoption by preachers themselves of methods not natural to them, by the adoption of revivalistic methods in regular congregations of stated worshipers, by movement within a very narrow area of Scripture truth, by the appeal to feeling to the neglect of the intellect, the conscience, the imagination, and by the putting emphasis on something else than that which is theologic, the soul of man, the nature of God and the relation of one to the other.

PROF. PAUL DE LAGARDE, PH.D., S.TH.D.

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND HIS WORK.

BY THE REV. W. MUSS-ARNOLT, PH.D.

From *The Christian Intelligencer* (Dutch Ref.), New York, March 2, 1892.

AT the last meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, held on December 28th, 1891, in Philadelphia, Professor Paul Haupt, of our University, informed the society of the sudden death, on December 22d, 1891, of Prof. Paul Anthony de Lagarde. Although in nowise connected with the society, the President, our revered Dr. Chambers, and the members voted a series of resolutions to be sent to the widow of that famous Oriental scholar and Bible student. I hoped that the Nestor of the Dutch Church would publish in your paper a sketch of the man's life and work; his recent illness, no doubt, prevented such, and I trust that I may be allowed to say a few words in memory of the *Scaliger* of the nineteenth century.

Paul A. de Lagarde was born in Berlin on November 2d, 1827; there he spent his early life, studied theology, philosophy and Oriental languages in Halle and Berlin, from which university he graduated in 1849. He became *privatim docens* at Halle in 1851, and later Professor in various gymnasia (colleges) until 1869, when he was appointed to the chair of Oriental languages in the University of Göttingen as successor to Ewald, when the latter, after the annexation of Hanover, was deprived of his chair by the Prussians on account of his Guelphic proclivities. With Göttingen his name will always remain associated, where he was known as the "lonely learned man." His prodigious and multifarious learning truly entitle him to the name of the greatest Semitic scholar of our century, as Prof. Gottheil, of Columbia College, New York, has called him.

His real name was Paul Boetticher, which he afterwards changed to that of "de Lagarde." It was under that name that he published his early works. Scarce twenty years of age he made his scientific début with his *horae Aramaicae* (1847), and his *rudimenta mythologiae semiticae* (1848).

His main object was a critical edition of the "Septuagint," and his whole work as a critic and an editor of texts tended toward this, the task of his life. Lagarde's literary productivity was phenomenal even in Germany; scarcely half a year passed without the appearance of some carefully edited text or some minute and elaborate disquisition, throwing light upon the history and literature of Christianity, usually from Oriental sources.

In the comprehensiveness of his learning Lagarde stood absolutely alone; others may be more conversant with particular departments, for instance, Dillman in Berlin with Ethiopic, of whom the deceased himself said, that "he knows Ethiopic better than a native Ethiopian priest," or George Hoffmann (Kiel) in Phœnician, or the late Franz Delitzsch in Jewish learning—now, not even Theodor Noldeke or the late Professor Wright could compete with him all round. Noldeke may be his equal in the mastery of the Semitic languages, but Lagarde, while an accomplished Semitic scholar, was also a master of many other languages and many other subjects as well.

His studies ranged mostly round Biblical and Patristic literature. Again and again he emphasizes that he has never pretended or maintained to be anything but a theolo-

gian (*Symmicta*, Vol. II., 22) ; and *ibidem*, p. 138, he says : " My studies in the Oriental languages, with the exception of the Persian and Coptic languages, which interested me for their own sake, have only served as a means and a help for the study of the sacred records. I never intended to become an Oriental scholar and linguist." And yet he was *facile primus inter pares*. In his devotion to textual accuracy he was an ideal worker. Hebrew, Syriac and Chaldæan, Coptic, Armenian, Arabic and Persian, Latin and Greek, from the earliest down to the Byzantine period, were alike familiar to him. He even collected, in 1868, materials for a Baktrian Lexicon. In 1877 he engaged in Armenian studies and did much toward the elucidation of this little-known language. In 1883 he took in hand Persian studies and edited a Persian translation of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel 1–10 : 4, from a MS. of Paris, with an introduction containing a sketch of the history of Persian studies in Europe, and a bibliographical description of not less than sixty-one Persian dictionaries in different languages.

From the beginning he devoted himself by preference to the task of editing texts, chiefly of versions of the Bible and Patristic treatises (the works of Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Tatian, etc.), always in the most scholarly, exact and finished fashion that can be imagined.

In the field of Old Testament criticism and literature he had previously edited the Aramaic translation (the so-called Targum) of the prophets ; the Hagiographa Chaldaica ; the Syriac translation of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament ; the Coptic translation of the Pentateuch, and many others of similar kind. For his students he published a fourfold translation into Arabic of Psalms 1–49 ; in his *Semitica*, I. and II., he gave critical notes on the text of Genesis and Isaiah, and minute descriptions of old Hebrew MSS. It was Lagarde who first made it very plausible that all our Hebrew manuscripts go back to an archetype of the second century of our era. The publication of an Arabic translation of the Gospels, and a number of Syriac and Greek texts relating to the New Testament and early history of Christianity have proved a great help to many a student. In the year 1883 were published *Ægyptiaca*, relating to Coptic versions of the Old Testament.

Critical notes on the Greek translation of Proverbs (1863), and a critical edition of the Septuagint text of the Book of Genesis were the promising forerunners of his great work, the Lucian text of the Septuagint, which he was fortunate enough to reconstruct from MSS. for nearly half of the Old Testament. This edition of the Septuagint, the first half of which appeared in 1883, was the centre toward which all former publications, numbering upwards of fifty, and numerous articles tended.

There were, Jerome tells us, three recensions of the LXX. current in the fourth century : the recension of Lucian in Antioch and Constantinople, of Hesychius in Egypt, of Eusebius and Pamphylus in Palestine. Here also has Lagarde pointed the way to all laborers in this fruitful field. The principal MSS. had been pointed out previously by Dr. Field in the preface of his edition of the *Hexapla*, but they had not been edited. Lagarde edited them as far as Esther. It had been his intention to exactly determine the above-named three recensions and publish them in parallel columns, but his means and the lack of interest on the part of others did not allow him to do so. " Let him who would himself investigate and advance knowledge, together with other ancient versions, accustom himself above all things to the use of Field's *Hexapla* and Lagarde's edition of the ' Recension of Lucian,' " says Klostermann, a most conservative exegete, on page XL. of his commentary on the Books of Samuel and Kings (Nordlingen, 1887). How far the second half of the Lucian text is ready we shall soon know ; thanks to Lagarde's careful and systematic working, there can be no doubt that some one will be able to carry his notes through the press.

Lagarde's ideal of an edition of the LXX. was illustrated by him forcibly in the two specimens which he published in 1882 and 1887. In the former, entitled " Announcement of a new edition of the Greek translation of the Septuagint," he gave us a foretaste of the good " to be hoped for" in a critical edition of the first chapter of Genesis. Had he been enabled, able as he was, to publish the whole Septuagint on the same plan, it would have taken up at least twelve large quarto volumes of some 500 pages each. The Prussian Government, not long ago, voted a million marks toward a Latin Dictionary ; to give but one-twentieth of that amount to help Lagarde carrying out his proposed work, they saw not fit. Another delicious bit he gave us to taste in his *Novae psalterii Graeci, editionis specimen* (1887). Underneath the text stands the critical apparatus, consisting of the readings of MSS. and the citations of the Fathers ; at the foot of the page are annotations on the Hebrew text of the Psalms, with reference

to Semitic philology and the renderings of the versions. As stated in the preface, the MSS. and editions of versions on which the text is constructed are upwards of sixty in number, besides the quotations from the Fathers. The Greek text of Psalms 1–5, with the notes, occupies thirty pages, quarto. The notes, whether critical or philological, may be said to differ in kind from those of ordinary books; no one who has not seen them can have any conception of the marvellous erudition with which words or renderings, in many languages, are elucidated.

Of Lagarde's treatise on the origin of the Purim-festival I have, not long ago, spoken in the columns of *The Christian Intelligencer*. In his great work, "On the formation of nouns in Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic," he excelled all his predecessors in the field of comparative Semitic philology.

It was his pleasure to publish his works in a form that was acceptable and pleasing to the eye, though it could hardly have been remunerative.

Minor articles, mostly on Semitic philology and the Bible, are to be found in his books entitled *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1866); *Symmicta* (2 vols., 1877 and 1880) and *Mit-theilungen*, four large volumes (1884–1891). In these "Communications" are his famous critique of the ninth edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Lexicon, by Muhlau and Volk, exposing the many delinquencies of its editors; his searching review of the German "Probebibel," the provisionary revision of Luther's translation of the Bible, and an indispensable treatise, entitled "Old and new ideas and investigations concerning Christmas." No Christian minister can afford to ignore this tract.

Lagarde, by the way, was the first to explain the mathematical symbol x for the unknown quantity, which, observing that old Italian algebraic writers speak of an unknown quantity as *cosa*, "thing," he connected through Spanish, which represented "*sh*" by x (e.g., Ximenez pronounced Shemenez) with the Arabic *shai*, "thing." Thus x is an abbreviation of *shai* = *xai*, and has become the symbol for the unknown quantity. As soon as this origin of *x* [*ai*] = *ves* = *cosa* "thing" (= Greek δύναμις) was forgotten, the other letters, y, z, v and w became natural complements.

Lagarde belonged politically to the Prussian conservative party, and he has expressed his political views with great force and clearness in his *Deutsche Schriften*, and other monographs, which exercised of late quite an influence in his country. His educational views were so much like those of the anonymous author of the book, *Rembrandt as an Educator*, a book which, within a year from its publication, passed through thirty large editions, that for many months he was considered its author. His mental attitude, as a conservative Protestant, may be summarized in words that he used to apply to himself: "I accept nothing, but what is proved and everything that has been proved." His anti-Semitic position led to many a quarrel, and here, especially, he showed the defects of his qualities. In controversy he tended to be irascible and contemptuous of opponents; he did not recognize many as his equal, far less as his superiors. In social intercourse he was agreeable and cordial, of a kind heart and a generous hand. His sudden death has made a great gap in many branches of learning, and I know of none capable of doing justice to his prodigious learning. His works form truly a *monumentum aere perennius;* of the greater part of them it is impossible even to imagine the day when they will be antiquated. When most of us shall long be forgotten by the coming generations; when the big "chips from a German workshop"—to say nothing of the little imitation-splinters from a "Dutch workshop"—shall long have been reduced to dust and ashes, these gigantic marble blocks of "our scaliger" will be among the honored and highly-valued literary monuments handed down from generation to generation.

The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., Feb. 22, 1892.

METHODIST BISHOPS, THEIR ELECTION, AND SEVERAL AND AVERAGE TERMS OF SERVICE.

BY THE REV. THOMAS H. PEARNE, D.D.

From *The Christian Advocate* (Meth. Epis.), New York, February 25, 1892.

The relation of office-bearing in the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Methodist Episcopacy is suggestive. The following summary sketch will have interest:

Asbury and Coke were elected Bishops in 1784 from the pastorate.

May 12, 1800, Richard Whatcoat was elected a Bishop.

May 12, 1804, William M'Kendree was elected.

May 7, 1816, Enoch George and Robert Richford Roberts were elected—George on the first ballot and Roberts on the second.

May 13, 1820, Joshua Soule was elected on the first ballot. He declined the office.

May 26, 1824, Joshua Soule and Elijah Hedding were elected Bishops. They were both from the pastorate, although J. Soule had been a Book Agent for four years previous to his first election as a Bishop.

May 18, 1832, James O. Andrew and John Emory were elected Bishops on the first ballot. The former was elected from the pastorate; the latter had been eight years assistant and chief Book Agent. This broke the record of forty eight years.

May 24, 1836, Beverly Waugh, Wilbur Fisk, and Thomas A. Morris were elected. Bishop Waugh, like Emory, had been assistant Book Agent four years and chief Book Agent four years. Wilbur Fisk declined the office upon the ground that he could be more useful as an educator than as a Bishop. Bishop Morris had for two years been Editor of the *Western Christian Advocate.*

1844, Edmund S. Janes and L. L. Hamline were elected Bishops. The former was Financial Secretary of the American Bible Society, and the latter Editor of the *Ladies' Repository.*

1852, L. Scott, O. C. Baker, M. Simpson, and E. R. Ames were elected Bishops. Scott had been Book Agent for four years when elected a Bishop. Baker was, and nearly always had been, engaged in teaching. Simpson was Editor of the *Western Christian Advocate.* Ames was from the pastorate, although he had been Missionary Secretary.

1864, C. Kingsley, Edward Thomson, and D. W. Clark were elected. All three were editors when elected.

1872, W. L. Harris, G. Haven, Isaac W. Wiley, R. S. Foster, Thomas Bowman, S. M. Merrill, E. G. Andrews, and J. T. Peck were elected. Only Andrews and Peck were pastors when elected; Harris was a Missionary Secretary; Haven, Wiley, and Merrill were editors; Foster and Bowman were teachers.

1880, Cyrus D. Foss, John F. Hurst, H. W. Warren, and E. O. Haven were elected. Foss and Hurst were employed in teaching when elected; only Warren was pastor.

1884, William X. Ninde, John M. Walden, W. F. Mallalieu, and Charles H. Fowler were elected. Of these only Mallalieu was a pastor when elected. Ninde was teaching, Walden was Book Agent, and Fowler was Missionary Secretary.

1888, John H. Vincent, James N. Fitz-Gerald, Isaac W. Joyce, John P. Newman, and Daniel A. Goodsell were made Bishops. Joyce and Newman were pastors when elected; FitzGerald, Recording Secretary of the Missionary Society; Vincent had been editor and secretary for many years; Goodsell had for a few months only been secretary.

Forty-eight years of the first part of our history passed before any Bishop was elected and consecrated, except from the pastorate. Seventeen Bishops were elected from the pastorate; five Book Agents were elected, though one of them declined consecration; nine editors, six secretaries, and eight teachers; in all forty-four.

As to their average term of service:

The complete accuracy of the following cannot be assured. It will be found substantially correct.

Thomas Coke was fourteen years a pastor and twenty-eight years a Bishop.

Francis Asbury was a pastor eighteen years and thirty-two years a Bishop.

Richard Whatcoat was twenty-seven years a pastor and six years a Bishop.

William M'Kendree was sixteen years a pastor and a Bishop thirty-one years.

Enoch George was twenty-seven years a pastor and twelve years a Bishop.

Robert Richford Roberts was sixteen years a pastor and twenty-seven years a Bishop.

Joshua Soule was twenty-one years a pastor, four years a Book Agent, and forty-three years a Bishop—twenty years a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and twenty-seven of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Elijah Hedding was twenty-five years a pastor and twenty-eight years a Bishop.

James O. Andrew, twenty years a pastor, twelve years a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and seventeen years of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

John Emory was fourteen years a pastor, eight years a Book Agent, and two years a Bishop.

Beverly Waugh was nineteen years a pastor, eight years a Book Agent, and twenty-two years a Bishop.

Thomas A. Morris was for twenty years a pastor, two years an editor, and thirty-six years a Bishop.

Edmund S. Janes was eight years a pastor, two years an agent, four years Financial Secretary of the American Bible Society, and thirty-two years a Bishop.

L. L. Hamline was four years a pastor, eight years an editor, and six years a Bishop.

O. C. Baker was three years a pastor, fifteen years a teacher, and nineteen years a Bishop.

L. Scott was twenty-one years a pastor,

three years a teacher, four years a Book Agent, and twenty-six years a Bishop.

E. R. Ames was a pastor eighteen years, Missionary Secretary four years, and a Bishop twenty-five years.

M. Simpson was four years a pastor, eleven years an educator, four years an editor, and thirty-two years a Bishop.

C. Kingsley was thirteen years a teacher and agent, eight years an editor, and six years a Bishop.

Edward Thomson was six years a pastor, twenty years an educator, six years a Bishop.

D. W. Clark was nine years a pastor, twelve years an editor, and seven years a Bishop.

W. L. Harris was nine years a pastor, twelve years a professor, twelve years a Missionary Secretary, and fifteen years a Bishop.

Gilbert Haven was five years a teacher, thirteen years a pastor, five years an editor, and eight years a Bishop.

Thomas Bowman, two years a pastor, one year an agent, twenty-six years a teacher, twenty years a Bishop.

S. M. Merrill was twenty-two years a pastor, four years an editor, and twenty years a Bishop.

R. S. Foster, twenty years a pastor, sixteen years a teacher, twenty years a Bishop.

Isaac W. Wiley, four years a missionary, four years a pastor, eight years an editor, twelve years a Bishop.

E. G. Andrews, ten years a teacher, eighteen years a pastor, and twenty years a Bishop.

J. T. Peck, twenty-six years a pastor, twelve years a teacher, two years a Connectional Secretary, twelve years a Bishop.

C. D. Foss, twelve years a teacher, eighteen years a pastor, twelve years a Bishop.

J. F. Hurst, eight years a pastor, fourteen years a teacher, twelve years a Bishop.

H. W. Warren, two years a teacher, twenty-five years a pastor, twelve years a Bishop.

E. O. Haven, twenty-eight years a teacher, seven years an editor, five years a pastor, two years a secretary, and two years a Bishop.

W. F. Mallalieu, twenty-six years a pastor, eight years a Bishop.

W. X. Ninde, eleven years a teacher, seventeen years a pastor, eight years a Bishop.

Charles H. Fowler, eleven years a pastor, four years a teacher, four years an editor, four years a secretary, eight years a Bishop.

John M. Walden, five years a pastor, five years city missionary and Secretary of Western Freedmen's Aid Society, sixteen years a Book Agent at Cincinnati, a Bishop eight years.

John H. Vincent, twelve years a pastor, twenty-three years editor and secretary, four years a Bishop.

James N. FitzGerald, nineteen years pastor, seven years Recording Secretary of the Missionary Society, four years a Bishop.

Isaac W. Joyce, twenty-nine years pastor, four years a Bishop.

John P. Newman, forty years pastor, four years a Bishop.

Daniel A. Goodsell, twenty-eight years a pastor, one year Secretary of Board of Education, four years a Bishop.

The average pastoral service rendered by our Bishops is fifteen and one-half years. The average Episcopal service is precisely the same.

The longest Episcopal service is that of Bishop Soule, forty-three years, but only twenty of this was rendered in our Church.

The longest Episcopal service rendered in our Church is that of Bishop Morris, thirty-six years.

CHRISTIANITY TESTED.

From *The American Hebrew* (New York), February 12, 1892.

It is not alone Christianity, but humanity as well, that must perforce experience a sense of shame and humiliation at the deplorable failure of the appeal made to the general public by the American Committee for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Russian Refugees, for aid in carrying on the gigantic work of caring suitably for the immediate needs of the hapless victims of barbarous persecution at the hands of the Christian government of Russia.

No such appeal for assistance outside the lines of our own community would have been made at all, would not have been allowed to stand without widespread and earnest protests on the part of the representative Jews of this country, but for the fact that it was practically invited by the public utterances of representatives of Christian sentiment, as the editor of the *Christian Advocate*, of the clergy, and Judge Dillon of the laity, to the effect that it was the sacred duty of civilized Christians to participate in this work of healing the wounds inflicted by barbaric Christians.

In the light of the professions and claims of Christianity, it is exceedingly discreditable to the branch of it in the United States that there has been so meagre and so feeble

a response to the appeal which has been addressed to its members; that so little has been done to organize the Christian sentiment of the country in protest against the savage brutality of Russia; that even here and there could be heard the discordant notes of dissatisfaction at the reception of those of the exiles who found their way to this country.

Just as in the life of the individual it is the uncommon occasion and the manner in which it is met that tell the story of the moral stamina of the man, so it is such a crisis as this and the manner in which it is confronted that tells the tale of the value of the public professions of a great religious body. Here we have a conclusive and a decisive test of the worth of the Christian pretensions to superiority in conception of the duty to love all mankind.

It would require a huge amount of doctrinal sophistry and dogmatic asseveration to efface from the mind of unbelievers in the postulates of Christianity, the impressions made by this rude neglect of a holy obligation; this unequivocal renunciation of all those ethical principles which are held forth to the world as peculiarly Christian. That the issuing of the appeal was a mistake there can now be no manner of question. It has probably deprived us of some little measure of self-respect. But whether in a moral sense we have been the worst sufferers by its publication and the failure of response, is open to considerable question. As between the two we would rather, in the sight of God and humanity, be among those who made the appeal than among those who failed to respond to it.

THE MINISTER AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

BY BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, March 17–24, 1892.

ALL men true to the commonwealth are interested in all that pertains to the commonwealth. Whatever diverts a man's first thought from the welfare of the nation, whether it be personal ease, gain, glory, commercial or ecclesiastical success, savors of disloyalty. Apathy concerning a trust is infidelity to that trust. An indifferentist in politics is an enemy to the Government that protects him. Every citizen should therefore study the domestic, political, industrial, commercial and religious elements which enter into the civilization of his times, especially as these are represented by the social system under which he lives. The State may change and be changed. Civilization is a growth; its laws and administrations, its tone and tendencies, may be modified. The individuals of the State are the social monads, the units, free and responsible, to which we must look for all changes; for through them comes all deteriorations, and all ameliorations and improvements.

The Church also demands the attention of all thoughtful and loyal patriots. The dogmatist, the pietist, the agnostic, are equally bound to give such attention, since religion, whether we like it or not, is so large a factor in all civilization. Whether it be an evil or a benefit, it must be dealt with when we come to estimate past and present conditions and future possibilities of society. The Church may change and be changed. Its theories may be modified, its creeds revised, its policies adapted to new conditions. The evil may be eliminated, the good may be enhanced. The individuals of the Church, as in the State, are the units, free and responsible, to which we must look for all changes; for through them again, as in the State, come deteriorations and advancement.

It is a problem how to bring into harmony the unit of the State and the unit of the Church, that every individual, being at his best in both relations, may contribute to the building up of a body holy and harmonious, in which State and Church, without any bond of legal recognition, are pledged to serve the high and many-sided interests of humanity. It is claimed by some, I know, that as to State and Church there must always be, if not hostility, divergence and disconformity, and that one must represent the secular and the other the religious side of human nature, which elements, it is assumed, can never be brought into perfect unity. A contributor to a leading organ of one of the modern schools of socialism, in his review of a recent book on Christian Socialism, says:

> "The author attempts to make it appear that the true Christian religion is admirably adapted to solve the present strife between laborers and monopolists. I do not agree either with his religion or his socialism. I am quite sure that the labor problem will never be solved until the last vestige of religion disappears."

It is not surprising that a profound and practical thinker on social topics should say that the socialism of such a reformer must

be "a dream of impossible remedies for imaginary wrongs."

In the discussion of this subject I assume the reality of religion; the reality of the religious faculty or group of faculties in man; the reality of the demand in the human intellect for the recognition of a cause for the unity visible in effect through the universe of mind and matter; the reality of conscience; the reality of a moral realm; the reality of personal responsibility, virtue and benevolence; the reality of what Addison calls an "appetite" in man for immorality. It is because of this reality that we have and must have everywhere schools of religious thought, altars of religious worship, bonds of religious fellowship, centers of religious organization, agents of religious effort.

Given State and Church, each capable of modification, each composed of individuals, each having the possibilities of improvement, of degeneracy, of antagonisms, of adjustment to each other, there must arise in this manifold complication of personal and social interests—theories, problems, difficulties, competitions, questions of personal rights, of capital, of labor, of monopolies, of reforms—and all citizens in all relations of life, as parents, as neighbors, as believers in the unity of the universe, the reality of God, and the immortality of existence, are required to look with candor, carefulness and exhaustive thoroughness into these questions.

The problem before us at this time concerns the minister and his relation to these social questions. He represents as a citizen the State of which he is a part, and as a minister the Church of which he is an officer. What are his relations and what his duties to these ever-recurring important and embarrassing social problems?

We may here waive all controversial points, theological and ecclesiastical, and deal with the minister chiefly in his human relations. There is a *sacerdotal* theory of Church and ministry which puts emphasis upon authority, visible successions, outward symbols and sacraments, placing the priest above and the people below. There is a *pietistic* theory of Christian life, of the Church and ministry, which puts chief and almost entire stress upon inward experiences, aims and enthusiasms. There is a *practical* theory of the Church and ministry which makes much of MAN, his personal character and his human strength, and of the TRUTH as the medium of spiritual forces—divine forces by which, in harmony with laws of teaching and laws of influence, the divine work of character-building is carried on. Of course it does make some difference which theory of the ministry one holds. If priest be prince and people be subjects, we have one idea of the Church, and one form of its practical outworking. If earth be naught and Heaven be all, if to get out of the earth and into Heaven be the chief end of life, we have altogether another conception of the Church and its work. If priest be one of the people, brother and not ruler, and if all people be kings and priests, and priest be servant to kings and priests; if earth be first and Heaven last; if Heaven on earth be the aim of the Church; if life here and now be a divine and blessed reality, and if personal character, race development, and a splendid, vigorous, material, moral and spiritual civilization—a Christian civilization—be the main object, accentuated by lofty spiritual aim and inspiration, our view of the ministry takes altogether a different complexion.

Waiving all discussion concerning these differences, I assume that the minister is a man; a man elected by men; a man called by the Divine Spirit; a man duly prepared on the human side, and fitly endowed by the divine; a man whose business it is to set forth in human words the divine truth concerning God, concerning man, concerning God and man, concerning man and man, which truth was first plainly, compactly, in clear light and authoritatively, set forth by the Man of Nazareth, who is to some merely man, to some supernal man, to others the God-man. I assume that the aim of the minister in setting forth truth is to bring men into subjection to truth—the truth as revealed and illustrated by Jesus; to bring men personally and socially under the control of truth—all truth spiritual and secular—that society may be brought in this present age into normal conditions—physical, intellectual, industrial, commercial, moral, religious, spiritual.

What, then, is the minister's relation to social questions? I might almost answer that he sustains no particular relation to any other question; that he has scarcely any other question to study; that he has almost no other object before him but to make clear, in theory and practice, the divine social idea as set forth by Him of Nazareth—the idea which realized will make men ready for earth and Heaven and bring the life of Heaven to earth—"the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness."

He is to be to men—to the men who compose the Church, and so far as he may to the men who compose the State—teacher,

friend, guide, counselor, comforter, ensample. As such we may see that he is recognized under all ecclesiastical theories. He is the representative of Christ, and all who are connected with the Church of Christ. He aims to represent Christ to all, even to those who reject him and his theories. It is the mission of the wise minister to transfer to our civilization, our atmosphere, our institutions, in our day, the Man of Nazareth; to reincarnate him; to live among men as he lived in the first century, and as he would live if he were in the body among men now; to talk his talk, manifest his spirit, reproduce his deeds of love and help.

According to the theory of the Church, Jesus came to assert the possibilities of restorative divine grace, and he did it in a bold, concrete way. He wrought "works," which were natural enough for him to work, he being what he was; but they were "wonders" to all and "signs" to many. His works were beneficent; they were anticipative and illustrative; they were wrought with a higher end in view than a temporary relief from bodily ailments. He connected them by his words with the higher relations and higher possibilities of humanity. His "miracles," as they are called, were promises in the realm visible of energies which were to produce larger results—"greater works than these"—in the realm invisible; deliverance from the apathy of sin, from the darkness of sin, from the impotence of sin, from the guilt of sin, from the death of sin. His whole career was a comment upon and a promise of the highest life, involving, as that life does, the possibility of pardon, divine peace, serenity of spirit, strength of purpose, the joy of hope, and delight in this life, the serving of humanity in all best ways, and the promotion of every great and noble element in the loftiest ideal of human character.

The work of Jesus of Nazareth, which is the model for his ministers, was a work of relief from all physical and spiritual evils; the development of all moral and spiritual good; the establishing of institutions which should promote these ends; the binding into fraternity and fellowship all who are willing to co-operate in such beneficent ministry.

His doctrines were social doctrines: The fatherhood of God; the brotherhood of man; the law of righteousness, of love, of sympathy and mutual help; the exercise of what Victor Hugo calls "those three pure radiances, truth, justice, and charity." Wisely does the author of "Murvale Eastman" say: "The Church has no right to allow its enemies to outstrip it in the study of the means by which civilization may be fully consecrated to the improvement of human conditions." General Booth, in "Darkest England," in speaking of the "three million men, women and children, a vast, despairing multitude, in a condition nominally free, but really enslaved, 'the submerged tenth,'" asks: "Is it, then"—this submerged tenth—"beyond the reach of the nine-tenths, in the midst of whom they live, and around whose homes they rot and die?" He continues:

> "Why all this apparatus of temples and meeting-houses to save men from perdition in a world which is to come, while never a helping hand is stretched out to save them from the inferno of their present life? Is it not time that, forgetting for a moment their wranglings about the infinitely little or infinitely obscure, they should concentrate all their energies on a united effort to break this terrible perpetuity of perdition, and to rescue some, at least, of those for whom they profess their Founder came to die?"

It is to set forth this mission of the Man of Nazareth that the minister holds his office. There are involved in the great redemptive movement mystic relations, profound doctrines, and energies of justice and love, all of which serve as inspirations to the true minister, who thus seeks to present the Nazarene of the first century with his mission to the men of the nineteenth. Back of the serene incandescent electric light, out of sight and out of hearing, are those energies of Nature in the engine room, jarring, burning, flashing, thundering; so back of all the peace which it is the mission of Christianity to promote in the individual and in society, are the great doctrines, struggles, agonies and victories of the mysterious life of its Founder. If at this cost a king came that humanity might be turned into a society of kings and priests, how can we overstate the responsibility of the Christian minister, as promoter of that new social era? The more we look into the subject, the more fully are we convinced that the great work of the minister is a social work, and that the problems which should knit his brow and torture his heart are social problems. What, therefore, are the duties of the minister, which grow out of his relation to the social questions?

It will be well for him at the very outset to appreciate the difficulties which are involved in this line of research. He is ill-fitted for his place in the ministry who fancies that all is clear as a sunbeam. The difficulties are ancient, inwrought into the very texture of society, involving multitudinous and most diverse interests, and

cannot be settled by the mere study of physical laws and forces ; for man is more than a *thing*, and he is more than an *animal* ; nor can we settle these problems by the study of so-called "social laws" and forces, which ignore man's individuality and the mystery of his personal freedom. To the minister who believes in a responsible manhood, all social problems, which grow so largely out of the abuse of this freedom, become doubly difficult. He must study these problems originally, comprehensively, and patiently ; examining the various attempted solutions, the history of societary movements ; the theories of the great thinkers among social problems from the days of Moses and Plato to the present.

The minister must study all sides of the subject ; reading the books *pro* and *con*, books of history and books of fiction ; bringing together men who know most about these problems for conversation and debate. He must know the social facts of his own church—the phenomena at hand, which will furnish him data for personal scientific researches. He must know the rich and the poor, the manufacturer and the employé, in his congregation, and in his church, where "rich and poor meet together ;" and he must look from floor to gallery. In pastoral service he must visit from house to house, not merely in official service, but with the scientific enthusiasm of an original investigator, permeated with the good-will of a philanthropist who has large views and great hope. He should study the population of his own community ; the various classes represented there ; from what countries they came ; what opinions they hold ; what ecclesiastical and political convictions limit and restrain them. It will not do here to depend on supernatural illuminations. Prayer will not steer a ship. He must investigate as one left alone by the heavenly powers to find his own way.

The minister should confine himself to the distinctive mission of Christ. He does not have to deal professionally with the commercial or political relations of these questions, except, indeed, as a private citizen ; and he must be his own judge as to how far the rights of the private citizen shall be allowed to infringe upon the sanctity and restrictions of his office ; but as a minister he is to be a representative of ethical and religious elements as they are embodied in Christianity. As Judge Tourgée says, in "Murvale Eastman" :

"The function of the Church as an element of civilization is not to prescribe methods, not to devise remedies ; that is the function of government, the duty of society. The function of the Church is only to inspire action, to provide impulse, to exalt and purify motive, to incline men to employ the Christ spirit to collective human relations."

A great change has been effected in governments by the embodiment of Christ's principles in our modern civilization, the enfranchisement of the people, and the placing of the *onus* of government upon them. One's personal relation to politics, where the government is wholly beyond the reach of the individual, as in the days of Christ, is very different from the relation he sustains where every individual becomes responsible for the character of the government, for the laws enacted, for their execution, and for the social and moral atmosphere in which the community lives.

The minister should professionally insist that every man who pretends to patriotism should talk and vote in the interest of pure politics, fair taxation, the improvement of the civil service, the increase of knowledge among the people of sanitary and hygienic law, the reconstruction of tenement-houses, the classification, education and wise care of convicts, a just distribution of wealth, free public libraries, industrial education, compulsory education, the care of the homeless and orphaned, the extension to all classes of the full benefits of our present civilization, the education of the people to high ideals of manhood, womanhood, and political responsibility, and whatever else grows out of a true knowledge of the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man. Every man should, therefore, talk and vote against drunkenness, against the saloon power, against child labor, against the use of a public-school system by unprincipled politicians, against intimidation of every kind, especially in connection with the ballot-box, against bribery, against fraud in business, against the ecclesiastical manipulation of politics and priestly interference with the public school. It is reported that church-members in America were known recently "to oppose a law prohibiting children under thirteen years of age being employed in factories and as cash boys." A writer on social science reports a large factory town in New England

"where strikes had been frequent, and where employers had constantly denounced the ignorance of their employés, shown, it is claimed, in these strikes and other ways. Realizing that there might be some truth in this criticism, a few of the wage-earners proposed a series of weekly economic lectures by men like Professor Hadley, of Yale, Professor Clark, of Smith College, Dr. Lyman Abbott, and others. The lecturers asked only the payment of their expenses, but even these amounted to something, and the cost of a suitable hall was

still more ; so financial aid and moral support were requested of the employers of the city, and assurance was given, as was indeed evident from the character of the lecturers invited, that no demagogism would be permitted. Not a single employer of those approached would give a cent, and soon the laudable enterprise had to be abandoned. Yet these employers professed to be loyal church-members. Query : How often and how earnestly, in all probability, did their pastors make any practical application to business life of the glittering moral generalities they preached? How much wiser in this regard has been the English aristocracy, which has often led the way in securing factory and other needed legislation."

In such cases as this the pulpit should thunder, and lighten, and scorch. "Right hath its wrath," says Victor Hugo, "and the wrath of righteousness is an element of progress."

The minister must remember that the people whom he serves have their own opinions. These he is to respect ; but he is never, through fear of them, to forget that he too holds opinions, which should be the opinions of the great divine social Philosopher of Nazareth. The minister may be tempted to surrender his personal judgment and the law of his Master, and cater to the influential laymen of his church or community ; or, reading and thinking superficially, he may jump at conclusions, and pose for a time as a courageous denunciator of monopolists and other tyrants. He may enter the political arena, and attempt to cure by sudden and violent political action evils which are deep-rooted in the personal and social constitution, evils which can be cured only by radical methods patiently applied.

He has a right to present to his people boldly, plainly and affectionately, the application of the Golden Rule, and to declare, as one has recently well stated it, that

"The social function of Christianity is not merely to relieve want or exercise charity, but to incline the hearts of men in their individual, corporate and political relations, to refrain from doing evil, and induce them to assist rather than oppress the weak ; . . that the strong should devote a part of his strength to enabling his weaker brother to carry his burden more easily, more successfully, more profitably, and that it is a Christian citizen's duty to find out if there is any way to keep a few men from getting more than they need, and helping the rest to get as much as they need of this world's goods."

I come to the third suggestion concerning the duty of the minister in the fulfillment of his divine commission to proclaim among men the divine message of "peace on earth, good will to men." He should seek to build up permanent institutions of help. The Church is designed to save civilization, not to save souls from civilization—lifting them from earth to Heaven. It is to build up a kingdom of Heaven here on earth. There is great danger of obtruding too constantly the higher and supernatural elements of religion upon men who are not yet familiar with the human side of it ; just as though we were to subject a student leaving the preparatory school to the senior examinations as a condition of his matriculation in the lowest class of the college, or make a critical thesis upon a school of painting the only condition of admission to a picture gallery.

We need a church opened every day, and wise provisions for week-day contact with the people we would elevate and save.

When shall we have numerous, easily accessible and attractive *cafés*, public parlors, libraries, picture galleries, in the very heart of the communities most needing them ; lectures and art lessons for the benefit of ambitious young people ; people's palaces, concert and lecture halls, where, at the expense and under the direction of society at large, and in harmony with the loftiest moral standards of the Church, there may be provided every night scientific, literary, historical, biblical and art lectures, and entertainments varied, recreative, instructive and uplifting?

When will the architecture of tenement houses be improved? When will the *Familistere* and social palace of Guise in France, projected and carried on so successfully by M. Godin, be reproduced in our own land, where the love of man for man expresses itself in a splendid structure, with all the comforts of life, with kindergartens, playgrounds, schools of every grade, halls for lectures and concerts, and every other aid to the ennobling and refining of the people?

The good Samaritan bound up the wounds of the man hurt by the thieves. He did well. He took him to an inn near by, where the poor man might be cared for ; and this was well. But "greater works than these" may be done, and are being done to-day ; for is it not better to have a hospital than an inn? And would it not be still better if thieves were suppressed by force, or if by public institutions of learning, good homes, and the radical methods of the true Church, their characters were changed? or, better still, if by wise training in youth they were prevented altogether from becoming thieves?

The minister must consider carefully and discuss freely the relations and responsibilities of the so called fortunate or wealthy classes. Viewed in all lights and relations,

it is not certain that wealth is of real and permanent advantage to its possessor. It may be, it is easily possible for it to be more harmful than useful. But wealth has certain advantages. It relieves its possessor from all anxiety concerning the personal comfort, present and prospective, of himself and family. It guarantees every advantage to his physical life, the wisdom and skill of the best physicians. wide travel, change of air and scenery, and all the healthful influence of physical environment. It gives literary and educational advantages, books without limit, conversation with scholars and specialists, who often feel honored by the opportunity. Foreign libraries, drawing rooms, picture galleries, are ready with their treasures, when he chooses to avail himself of them. Wealth gives him social standing, which ministers to self-respect, and affords that inward complacence which comes to him who knows that he is respected.

But wealth has great perils. These the ministers should thoroughly know. Physical perils, for example. A pampered body soon becomes a diseased body, and both intellect and conscience are likely to suffer from it. Children of wealth may be brought up in indolence, self-indulgence and dissipation. The very neglect which often comes from the claims of society and heavy business interests, transforms what would otherwise be opportunity for good, into greatest peril. Children of wealth are often trained with false views of others, and especially of those who lack this world's goods. They easily form a habit of patronizing the poor. Now and then a sense of superiority leads to the careless treatment of them, or to a raillery at their expense, to which the rich companion would not be subjected; an habitual feeling of indifference, perhaps a mild contempt. They talk about poor people as though they were a lower class of society, forgetting that there are just two classes of society—first, the noble and refined, rich and poor; and second, the low and coarse, rich and poor.

The children of the rich are in danger of becoming nothing more than bejeweled, white-fingered tramps in society. Girls in parlors, elegantly dressed, may be ignorant of the very rudiments of literature, science, art, and even of morals and religion. Familiar with the conventionalities of society, given to frivolities, indolence and a contempt for those whom they are trained to regard as their inferiors, they become really more pitiable than the coarse girl of kitchen or factory. These things the minister should know, and both in public and in private speak with fidelity.

The rich have peculiar responsibilities. Where much is given, much is required. Especially should they give to home life the greatest care, spending time with their children, giving them just views of society and of duty, training them to reverence the high and holy verities of a true faith. Wealth is not a substitute for learning, learning is not a substitute for delicacy, courtesy and nobility. As mere wealth cannot give musical taste, learning cannot give conscientiousness, unselfishness, love and spiritual interest; therefore, in every home is needed religious training, and the ministry should labor to secure such faithful instruction from the parents.

The rich should *come in contact* with the needy and suffering, calling, grasping the hand, training their children to appreciate worth wherever it is, and to be full of the spirit of help. It does wealth good to go on foot now and then. Walter Besant, in one of his admirable stories, introduces a character who belongs to "that large school of philanthropists who would treat every painful case with half a crown and a basket of grapes, and so great is their sympathy with those who suffer that they cannot bear even to think of them, much less to talk about them." Wealth must expect to contribute to the building up and benefit of society. As Judge Tourgée says: "Society ought not to let a willing man fall into helpless poverty," and Frederick Harrison insists that "The true socialism is this: The use of capital turned to social objects, just as capital arises from social combination." Let the minister, therefore, give words of instruction as to humanity, education and political science, from the Gospel point of view.

Let him also give words of warning and reproof, showing men of wealth that it is a crime to use their great opportunities to so little advantage; and let him do this courteously, candidly and courageously. The charge is made by Judge Tourgée that the modern pulpit "preaches kindness, but it is careful not to rebuke greed;" and he boldly says: "If the Church would stop worshiping money, and let the world know that it regards the needless amassing of wealth just as unmanly and unworthy as an over-engorgement of food, that would soon become as unpopular as gluttony has among people of refined taste."

The minister should have words of *consolation* for the rich as well as for the poor. It is vain to suppose that wealth always lives

in sunshine. Tears are wept and hearts break in the palace as well as in the hovel. The death of the firstborn in the house of Pharaoh causes as great grief as the death of the firstborn in the hut on the edge of the desert. There is a time when the rich are poor. They wail out their woe by the side of the silent, who will never again give answer to the cry of their love. What are pictures and statuary and luxury when the hearse is at the door?

The true minister of Jesus Christ will never seek the cheap popularity which is gained by the wholesale denunciation of wealth and the wealthy classes. He will always distinguish between wealth well-gotten and wealth ill-gotten. Honorably inherited or honorably earned, it is a crown of honor; while the wealth which comes by fraud—well there is a stain of blood on the gold.

Were the Christian theory to prevail, we should find increasing honesty and generosity among the magnates of commerce. Dr. Dale, of Birmingham, England, says: "The law of Christ requires the tradesman, the manufacturer, the merchant, to carry on his business under the competitive organization of modern industry, *as if Christ were the head of the firm.* It requires the clerk, the manager, the foreman, the workman, the porter, the errand-boy, to do his part *as if Christ were the head of the firm,* as unto the Lord, not unto men." And well would it be if these masters of millions could believe with Ruskin: "There is no wealth but life; life with its powers of love, of joy, of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others."

The minister must likewise consider and discuss the relations and duties of the so-called "poorer" classes of society. He should identify himself with them, as the Master did; visit them precisely as he visits the rich; give them the same attention; distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy, the refined and the coarse, the cultivated and the illiterate; but in his office as a minister help all as they need help. A minister in Boston, recently calling on one of the so-called humbler families of his parishioners, left a cheap printed visiting card. Calling the same afternoon in another part of the city, on a family occupying a higher social position, he left an engraved card. The families being related to each other, happened to compare the two; and both did a bit of thinking.

The minister should aim to put every family at its best, remembering the power of home, promoting by all-wise ways a love of order in life, the use of wholesome food, the formation of right habits, the cultivation of good taste, and the development of the higher social elements. Victor Hugo says: "All the nuns in the world are not worth as much as one mother in the formation of a young girl's soul. . . . All the crimes of the man begin in the vagabondage of the child. . . . The two prime functions of the State are the nurse and the schoolmaster." The minister will find in these lowly homes some of the most charming and cultivated people in the world; for often in cottages Poverty keeps house for Royalty, and there abide delicacy, taste, genius, courage and faith. It is often the case that among a company of mechanics there are more wit, brilliancy, common sense, knowledge of human nature, than may be found in more pretentious circles. The conversation in lowly homes, where the boys and girls go to high school, and the elder members of the family, not having frivolous entertainments to consume their time, read useful books, is often more full of grace and charm than that among the splendors of the rich man's parlor. The minister will often find, even though Refinement has not yet taken up quarters in the lowly abode, such company and geniuses as Stephenson and Faraday, Edison and Grant, and a whole army of magnates besides. Here are the boys getting ready for college, the girls preparing to teach. There is in this city a lowly home, in which the boys, struggling along, are looking forward to Yale, and Father, who seconds their ambition, every day works with his own hands, keeping the same end in sight. Mother is a woman who lacked early culture, but she has a beautiful ambition for her children. She is herself a descendant of one of the oldest and noblest families of England. There is even a touch of royal blood in her veins. Blood that millions of money could not buy, courses through the veins of that humble family circle.

The minister will sometimes find an unreasonable prejudice against the rich among the poorer classes, all of which, being unwarranted, unjustifiable, and in most cases groundless, he will protest against. He will find a silly pride that is self-depreciating, as Amiel in his journal says: "The greater pride is the pride that undervalues

itself." He will find people who because of unfit clothes will not go to church. This he will rebuke. He will labor personally and through the agencies of the Church and community for the suffering; the people confined to the bed or the sick-room; the people with the thorn in the flesh; the people overworked, underpaid and underfed; the people with inherited evils, against which nobody has ever taught them to fight; the people who suffer from thriftlessness and dissipation; the people with breaking hearts over prodigal sons, vacant chairs and empty rooms. He will seek to reproduce in his church members the life of Him "who went about doing good;" laboring for the sinning without palliating their sins; finding in the poor an opportunity for justice and generosity; in the sinful an opportunity for pity.

Looking at these diverse classes in the social organism he will aim to promote a true equality among them; lifting and leveling up, not down; laboring to disintegrate the mass, that he may develop the units.

The true basis of ethics is personal responsibility. The sufficient freedom of the individual—sufficient freedom, I say, for while every man is affected by heredity and environment, the quality of moral freedom involves resources, personal and available, sufficient to overcome prenatal bias and the power of circumstances. Without these there can be no responsibility. Society indeed has its influence; and society has its measure of responsibility; but the individual must be held accountable by society, and the individual in society is accountable for his measure of blame where society goes wrong. One protest, one vote, one drawn sword, may create a social movement which shall sooner or later reverse the decision of to-day's majority. The true idea of equality is not that all men are equal in natural ability, in endowment, in resources, in position; but every one is the equal of every other in his right to the opportunity, so far as his fellow-men can give it to him, to put himself at his own best, and to work out his own personality.

The public school is an important factor in social improvement, in which the minister should be directly and constantly enlisted. The public school must not be degraded to suit the low tastes of the majority, but lifted that it may lift. The sons of the rich and the sons of the poor should be expected—I had almost said required—to attend the public school. President Hill makes this strong statement: "Universal ignorance gives us savagery, idleness and famine; intelligent chiefs give us barbarism, slavery and poverty; an educated class gives us civilization, free labor and plenty; educated masses give us enlightenment, organized labor and abundance; universal education will give us refinement, intellectualized labor and wealth." This "universal education" is impossible without the public school universally patronized.

Whatever develops manhood, independence, self-respect, self-poise, self-control, will bring true men into neighborship. When men of personal power meet with men of power, there come mutual respect, and a friendship of royal quality. It should be the aim of the Church to elevate and cultivate the whole community, to stimulate it to a higher appreciation of science, history, literature and art, always, of course, in subordination to love and the spirit of help.

The minister stands between conflicting classes, and belongs to all. He is, as the representative of a learned profession, as the representative of a divine religion, as a personal counselor and friend in the most solemn and important relations of life, admitted into all homes, on a level with the highest who have access there.

If to his professional position he add the power of a pure and high personal character, charming manners, genuineness, sympathy, culture, breadth, fervent and simple-hearted piety; that is, if to religion he add reality, and to reality refinement, he will have the highest place and the firmest hold upon people of all grades of social life.

But his power is in his wisdom. Frivolity, affectation, professionalism, egotism, self-consciousness, sensitiveness, indiscretion—these all weaken his influence; but even then people give him a measure of respect because of his profession, but it is respect marred by pity. Professional cowardice on the one hand or professional bravado on the other, a truckling or a defiant spirit ruins his influence.

There is a class partisanship which weakens his grasp upon all classes. A minister must not be apologist for the rich nor for the poor alone, but for both, each in its place, according to its needs and deserts. He has help for both, and according to the measure of need will be the degree of help. He will adapt himself to the boldness of the self-assured and self-exalting rich and to the sensitiveness of the self-conscious and indignant poor, and will rebuke both as occasion may require.

When a minister, without thought of political ends, carries out in his own pub-

lic teaching, private conversation and personal conduct, the simple spirit and ideas of the Gospel, which he is set to proclaim and illustrate, he is rendering his largest and most effective contribution to social and political reform. He is the best patriot who, enlightened by Christian ideas, as they are applicable to the present age, simply makes known to men, with the convincing power of firm conviction and loving courage, the attitude of Jesus of Nazareth toward the individual man, and toward man in society.

This is freedom—to be imbued with and possessed by the spirit of Christ. This is patriotism—to apply to the life of the nation the doctrines and ethics of Christ. This is piety—to love and serve the God of Heaven and earth, as it is set forth in the Gospel and life of Christ. This is philanthropy—to love whom he loved, and as he loved. This is the true ministry of the true minister—to think, to be, to love, to teach, to live, as did the Man of Nazareth!

BUFFALO, N. Y

RECENT CHANGES IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

BY THE REV. T. T. MUNGER, D.D.

From *The Christian Union* (Undenom.), New York, February 27, 1892.

THERE are certain respects in which thought and feeling do not change except to become finer and deeper and stronger. The great predominant feelings that grow out of the heart of nature—love, pity, reverence, the social instinct, the sense of duty—these never give way, nor undergo essential change. Canon Liddon, in a sermon preached four years ago in St. Paul's, said there were three things that do not pass away—sin, suffering, and death; from which he argued that religion would have a permanent form. It is a main function of religion to meet these three unchanging facts—to deliver from sin, to relieve suffering, and to take away the sting from death. Permanent facts and conditions require the same treatment and call for an unchanging Church. Hence, in all ages, the Church is found doing, or attempting to do, these three things—often in poor and inadequate ways—and in this work lies its unchangeableness; in this respect it is "a thousand years the same." These unchanging facts also greatly influence theology, and tend to keep it from change. But there are other things in the world besides sin and suffering and death—a malady, an incident, and a doom; there is the greater fact of *life itself*, with its manifold experiences and duties—a fact which outweighs a thousand times sin, suffering, and death. Sin is a malady to be cured and guarded against, suffering is an incident to be relieved or endured, and death is to be held subject to hope; but *life*, with its varying duties and phases and needs, is the chief field for religion, and indicates its functions. And because life goes on under ever-changing conditions, and shares in that mysterious movement which we call progress, religion itself will vary, take on new phases, use new forces, and become itself a part of the movement of the world. A true Church will always be healing the hurt of sin, always comforting the afflicted, always taking away the sting from death, and mainly in the same way; but it will vary its thought and teaching and work according to the unfolding phases of life. We are in an unfolding world, and the Church must unfold along with it. That this has not been freely done in the past has been the tragedy both of the Church and the world. A stationary Church and a moving world means fatality for both. The question the Church is all the while called to consider is, how far it shall change its methods, its forms, its beliefs, in order to keep pace with the changing world.

It is one of the hopeful signs of the times that there is an increasing willingness on the part of the Church to shape itself to the developing thought of the world. In just the degree the Church does this, it *finds* itself, it realizes its power and justifies its nature. But so long as it hides itself in the past, chanting ancient creeds; or so long as it says, "The present is good, let it remain," it defeats itself, forfeits its nature, and loses its hold on society. It is a cheering sign that the Church of to-day is awake and sensitive to the need of keeping abreast with the world. Within a very few years, and especially during the past year, great changes have come over the Church—changes in spirit and temper, in habits of thought, in belief, in aims and methods of work; changes embracing a new sense of the *nature* of Christianity.

No one can fail to see that there has been of late a great increase of *good temper* in the ecclesiastical and theological world. It is not fifteen years since one part of the Church was hounding another part over questions of eschatology, about which neither part knew anything; the sure thing was the bad temper of the critics. To-day this has mostly disappeared—a result not

caused so much by a change of opinion on the subject as by an increase of tolerance. It is far easier to differ with another now than it was even ten years ago. We contend and affirm and argue, but we no longer get angry, nor call our brethren who disagree with us fools or infidels, nor weep over them as lost to the truth. This change is due to several causes. First, Christianity itself, as we get closer to it, is breathing its own broad and gentle spirit over us; we are heeding its command not to *judge* our brother. It is also due to an increase of knowledge. The ignorant man cannot understand how any one can differ from himself, but knowledge, the broader vision, sees the possible truth on the other side; and the trained imagination takes in the fact that another may honestly hold an opinion which seems absurd to us. It is not so much general knowledge as the peculiar knowledge of the day that is working this change—that which comes from close study of other nations, and from close contact with all sorts and conditions of men. We are all of us to-day in search of the "soul of goodness in things evil"—believing it to exist; and the desire to possess the good makes us, in a sense, tolerant of the evil. Without doubt the best missionary is not the one who hates idolatry most, but the one who is most ready to recognize the good that may lurk within it. Men will never be brought together by emphasizing their differences, but by adding the knowledge of one to that of the other. The truth never comes by argument, but by each party showing what he knows, and comparing the results.

Another change rapidly coming over society is the immense and sudden growth of what is called *the scientific habit of mind.* I call it a new thing; it is as old as Lord Bacon, but for some reason it has not characterized the people at large until of late. Why they have been slow to adopt it, and why it is now becoming general, it may be hard to explain, but of the fact there is no doubt. There is a general readiness to connect cause and event, to ask *why* and *whence* and *for what* in respect to all things, to wait for the facts before forming opinions. Heretofore the world has lived upon assertions and prepossessions, especially in religion. The Bible was regarded as a series of assertions, and believed because of hereditary prepossession. If it seemed to say that the world was created six thousand years ago and in six days, it was not only not disputed, but it did not even raise a question. We no longer think in this way, not merely because we have a better exegesis and exacter science, but because there is something pervading society called the scientific habit of mind that forbids it. It is a larger and finer use of the reason, and is as distinct from the older forms of thinking as the spirit of democracy is distinct from the monarchical spirit. It is, in reality, a new-comer into the world, and is fast becoming, as it should be, "the master light of all our seeing." It is the harbinger of the unification of humanity. It is simply the right road to truth; as men follow it, they will find themselves coming to the same conclusions, and to general agreement. As this goes on, a great part of the confusion and contradiction that now disturb society will pass away. The trouble has been that men have thought of the Bible and religion in one way, and of government and social questions in another way. The present examination of the Bible is simply the application of the scientific method to its interpretation. When this is fully done, it will find fuller credence; it will be more used and more useful; it will enter more into thought and life; it will fall in with the other leading forces of society and work with them.

There is now but little doubt that a universal upward movement is going on in humanity; it is the secret of the world—God working in the heart of the race to will and to do—but the method and means of the progress is this scientific habit of thought by which men are led to think according to the same law, and therefore harmoniously; it is one of the divinest marks and pledges of human progress. It shows itself specially in clearing Christianity of its burdens of arbitrariness and blind tradition, and making it a clear and rational thing that men can think of and use as a logical factor in their lives.

There are abundant signs in the year past of the growth of this truer habit of thought. The settlement of the Andover question turned on a technicality of the courts, but its acceptance by the people is due to a general advance in thought. The revolution slowly going on in the American Board is due to the same cause. The hesitation to proceed with the trial of Professor Briggs is due to a growing unwillingness to interfere with a student who pursues the scientific method. It is actually coming to be understood by large numbers of people that if a student of the Bible discovers a fact such as the double authorship of Isaiah, it is right that he should state it. The call for a revision of the Westminster Confession

is due to the fact that it is foreign to present habits of thought, and is unscientific. The election of Phillips Brooks as Bishop, and the failure to bring Drs. Rainsford and Newton to trial are signs not only of growing tolerance, but of larger intelligence. Very significant was the tone of the Congregational Council in London, keyed throughout to the assertion by its President, Dr. Dale, of the universal and unqualified fatherhood of God as the only basis of a gospel of repentance and faith: "We do not tell men that God will become their Father as the result of their repentance and belief, but that because he is already their Father they should repent and believe"—a thoroughly scientific position, that was repeated in all the utterances that followed. Equally significant is the general acceptance of Professor Stearns's great thesis, stated at the Council, that personal experience constitutes "the great central evidence" of Christianity—a position rigidly scientific.

Still more significant is the growing acceptance of evolution as a guide in all departments of thought, requiring us to regard the present phase of truth as the most valuable, and forbidding us from looking to the past for standards of present belief and conduct.

A striking sign of a changed habit of thought is seen in the reception accorded to Professor Drummond's little books—"The Greatest Thing in the World," etc. It is not style nor aptness nor fervor that has secured for them a world-wide circulation. Ten years ago they would have been relegated to the limbo of "mere ethics," as lacking evangelical substance. To-day we find in them the very heart of the Gospel, but set to modern thought. They read as men think; they are intensely human and natural; the sentences palpitate with everyday life and with deepest spiritual truth, and the two are found to be in perfect accord. Books have played a great part in ushering in new phases of Christian life. "Pilgrim's Progress," Butler's "Analogy," Edwards on the Will, Dr. Bushnell's "Christian Nurture," Seeley's "Ecce Homo," Robertson's Sermons, have each called out and met a new phase of Christian thought; and now these little books of Drummond are showing how natural and reasonable a thing Christianity is, and the age responds, as face answers to face in water.

It has been feared by some that the changes induced by the scientific method would lead to decadence of faith and fervor, and that religion would become formal and inoperative. Just in the degree in which men come to think of Christianity in a natural and rational way—*still heeding what it is in itself*—will it lay hold of them and appeal to their consciences. Hence we have a new phase of Christian activity, the special feature of which is rational adaptation to the present ends of society. It is intensely personal, and it is also thoroughly socialistic—the two poles of the Christian system. It is sometimes spoken of as the "forward movement," a phrase originating in England but becoming domesticated here. It stands for a fresh and deep consciousness of Christianity as an aggressive religion, and for a definite purpose to turn the life of Christ into a reality for all men and to repeat that life until every man is brought face to face with his Saviour. It means all sorts of missions among the poor, the neglected, and the degraded, from the Salvation Army to Toynbee Hall and the Oxford and Andover Houses—sample and end of more to follow. The origin and motive of this movement is that conception of Christianity which declares the universal fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all men in Christ. Its growth has been great the past year—great in what is being undertaken, but greater in a certain spirit of confidence and strength begotten of clear conceptions of what Christianity is and of what it can do for the world.

THESE words of our Master—"What I say unto you I say unto all, Watch"—we will try, more and more, to learn what they mean. We know that they do not warrant us in watching other disciples with the eye of the critic or the censor; we know that this habit of mind is, above most things, hateful to Him. To watch ourselves lest we become suspicious and censorious and credulous of evil tales about our neighbors; to watch our conduct lest we hurt them by want of fidelity or want of sympathy—this, we know, is part of the lesson of vigilance that He seeks to teach us. But this is the smallest part of the lesson. To watch for hurts that we can heal, for halting steps that we can steady, for burdens of infirmity or trouble that we can help to carry, for ways in which we may give our thought, our care, our love, ourselves, for the enlarging and the brightening of the lives of our fellow-men, serving them with humblest fidelity, and leading them with cords of sympathy and brotherhood in the ways of righteousness and peace—this is the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.—*Gladden.*

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE BEING OF GOD AS UNITY AND TRINITY. By P. H. STEENSTRA, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891. 12mo, pp. vi., 269, $1.50.

This book contains the first of three courses of lectures delivered by different individuals at the Cambridge Divinity School during the scholastic year of 1889-90, to supply the place of the regular instruction in theology by the late Dean Gray, when impaired health compelled him to seek a rest from labor. The lectures, as prescribed, were designed to cover "The Doctrine of the Trinity, with especial reference to the Father;" in other words, the first division of the creeds. They accordingly fall naturally into two parts: first, a general discussion of the Being and Attributes of God, from the point of view of natural religion, occupying six lectures; and then a discussion in four lectures of the Doctrine of the Trinity primarily from the point of view of the Christian consciousness.

The first part is clear and strong. Worthy of special attention are the discussion of the teleological argument and the chapter on the Attributes. The second part we can but regard as weakened in some degree by this choice of the point of view. It is, as will be seen, an attempt to work out the doctrine from the Christian consciousness as its source. Recognizing it as purely a doctrine of revelation, the author would have us seek that revelation primarily in the Christian consciousness, rather than in the Scriptures.

The intent of this method is clearly the praiseworthy desire to develop the doctrine in its vital relations to Christian experience, rather than as abstract, metaphysical dogma, to be believed solely upon authority. The author says well (p. 161) that "he who professes faith in the Triune God *for no other reason* than that the catechism has taught him that God is Triune," or even "that he finds it taught in Scripture," "does not really believe it." Nevertheless, we think the author radically mistakes the relation of the Christian consciousness, so called, to the inspired record of revelation, and this mistake involves him in not a few confused and contradictory statements.

First of all, he is driven to a new and therefore objectionable definition of consciousness. In the phrase, "Christian consciousness," it is no longer, as he points out, "the knowledge of our own mental acts, conditions, and feelings," but "in its widest etymological sense all knowledge shared with another or others." Dr. Steenstra may well speak of the "elasticity" of such a definition. He evidently feels the infelicity of the phrase, but retains it in deference to a prevailing theological fashion. But whence has this phrase its popularity? Why this elasticity imported into one of the most settled terms in the vocabulary of philosophy, unless, in the first instance, to gain for the Christian consciousness, thus loosely defined, a semblance of infallible authority, which belongs to consciousness only in its strictest philosophical sense? It were much to be wished that so careful a thinker as Dr. Steenstra, instead of adopting, with a gloss, a term so liable to mislead, had substituted the more accurate phrase so wisely preferred by the late Professor Stearns, *Christian experience*.

The adoption of this starting-point leads also to conflicting statements in regard to Scripture. Thus we read on page 162, "God in history made the revelation; God in Scripture, through evangelists and apostles, recorded the great facts, and God in the Church, through the divinely illuminated intellects of the Christian fathers, interpreted the facts," a statement which certainly needs the correction it receives ten pages later, where we are told, "They [the Scriptures] not only contain a record of the facts [of revelation], but they interpret them and place them in their relations to each other and to God's eternal purpose." It leads also to the treatment of much the greater part of the New Testament itself—to wit, the writings of the apostles—as but the expression of the Christian consciousness of the primitive church. But the apostles did not speak in the name of the church. They spoke in the name of God, and offered their teachings to the church not as the product merely, but the norm of Christian experience.

From this view of apostolic inspiration as the mere expression of the Christian consciousness of the primitive church the transition is natural to regarding the utterances of the Christian consciousness of a later age as inspiration. This the author unhesitatingly asserts. He even considers it dishonoring to the Holy Spirit to deny it. "Shall we admit that in the Old Testament time of preparation God made use of chosen men, specially endowed by nature and fitted by life training, to lead and instruct His people, and then doubt that He has prophets and inspired thinkers in Christian ages?" But, then, why does he add, in the next paragraph, that while the close of this period of interpretative revelation cannot be definitely fixed, we may consider it for our present purpose as closed with the completion of the two great symbols, the Nicæno-Cosmopolitan and the so-called Athanasian? Why should it close at all? Why should there be "inspired thinkers" in the Nicene age and not in the church of to-day? Is not the Christian consciousness of the nineteenth century as well qualified to interpret the facts of revelation as the Christian consciousness of the fourth century?

The whole of Lecture VII. illustrates the embarrassments inseparable from any attempt to substitute as a norm of Christian doctrine the conflicting data of a variable and always imperfect Christian experience for the authoritative utterances of the inspired Word. The true office of Christian experience is to vivify the truths given in that Word, but which until received by faith and wrought into life must remain mere empty and barren dogmas. Nowhere is this relation of Scripture to experience more clearly illustrated than in that very history of the development of the doctrine of the Trinity traced in Lecture IX. It was a living experience of the saving power of Christ as a Divine Redeemer which infused fervor into those great discussions and gave the church its tenacious grasp upon the lofty truths for which it so earnestly and victoriously contended. Yet the final appeal through all was not to experience but to Scripture, and the great

creeds were the outcome of an earnest effort to set forth in order what the Scriptures taught concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

It is on this practical side that the author's appeal to "the Christian consciousness" is strong and impressive. And we cannot better close this review of a most thoughtful and stimulating book than by quoting the words in which, at the end of Lecture IX., Dr. Steenstra pointed out to the young men before him how this truth is to be preached. "It is not to be exhibited as a matter of abstract philosophical theology, nor is it to be laboriously deduced from this proof text or from that, as a doctrine which it hath pleased God to reveal, and which must therefore be reverently believed. Neither is it to be relegated to one Sunday in the year. If it does not shine through all your doctrine throughout the year, Trinity Sunday cannot fail to be dreaded by yourself and a weariness to your hearers. The teaching must take the character and follow the order of the original revelation. The sense of sin must be evoked, the mute longings of the soul after God must be interpreted, that receptivity of the spirit which is the essence of faith must be developed, the Divine Redeemer must be presented in the fulness of His grace and love, the workings of the invigorating, inspiring indwelling of the Holy Ghost must be unwearyedly delineated, and all this not in the dry form of dogmatic teaching, but in the warm glow of Christian experience."

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Mens Christi, and other Problems in Theology and Christian Ethics. By John Steinfort Kedney, D.D., Professor of Divinity in Seabury Divinity School. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1891. 12mo, pp. vi., 201, cloth, $1.

This is a volume of remarkable originality and clearness of reasoning, discriminating and independent in its discussions of the varying phases of modern theological thought, which will be helpful and suggestive to all who are studying the great fundamental verities of the faith under the light of the latest criticism. It consists of six lectures, the first five of which were delivered a year ago before the students of the Episcopal Theological Seminary at Cambridge, and the last before the Summer School of Theology at the University of the South. The author states that the topics were selected as such in which it was thought that theology as a unified system was capable of and might receive development and advance; or as touched practical questions of moment, and under discussion at the present day. They are these: 1. The Question of Jesus' Knowledge, and of Inspiration, as Affected by the Doctrine of the Kenosis; 2. The Doctrine of the Atonement; 3. The Possibilities of the Future, as Determining the Mode of Human Moral Activity; 4. The Functions of the Christian Ministry; 5. The Doctrine of "A Nature in God;" 6. The Impotence and the Right Use of Imagination in Dealing with Christian Doctrine. Those who have read Knight's "Essays in Philosophy, Old and New," or Allen's "Positive Religion, Essays, Fragments, and Hints," or Gore's "Lux Mundi," and Bampton Lectures on "The Incarnation of the Son of God;" or Bonney's Boyle Lectures on "Old Truths in Modern Lights," and other kindred publications will recognize the timely and able contribution of Dr. Kedney in the present volume toward illustrating, clarifying, and establishing a consistent trend of thought on these vital and all-important subjects.

It would be impossible in so brief a notice as this to attempt an outline of the author's admirable and forcible treatment of his several themes; they are each worthy of deep and careful study. In one of the most important discussions, the reality of "A Nature in God," after touching upon the distinctive opinions of eminent theological writers, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, he presents a critical analysis of the thought-system of Jacob Boehme as adopted and interpreted by Dr. Martensen. It is true that Limborch and others had very accurately defined God as Spirit—as a most pure essence, immaterial, free of all bodily bulk and concretion, infinite, impassible, pervading all things, whose proper and essential act is to think—but it was still difficult to conceive how the chasm between pure spirit and the material world could be bridged over. Boehme, after patient and profound study, furnished a solution to the great question which had troubled the philosophers and theologians all along, reaching the conclusion that there is in and for the Eternal First Principle "a nature." While it may be said that this conception, in forms more or less obscure, is found in previous ages and is notably present in the Christian Scriptures, yet in Boehme's mind it was subjected to a rigid speculative analysis. Others have adopted his conclusions—Oetinger, Baader, the Roman Catholic Philosopher, Roth, Martensen, and Schelling—although the latter is not so closely in accord, whose speculation allies itself readily with a semi-pantheistic form of doctrine, which our author characterizes as a sort of philosophic Sabellianism. In this scheme of Boehme, "Creation is a metaphysical necessity in and for the Divine Being; is that whereby he reaches true personality, and other personality becomes possible. Hence a determined universe is as eternal as the pure spirit-ground—*i.e.*, thought and energy. . . . Martensen says rightly, 'When nature is affirmed in God, it is in comparison with what *we* call nature, something infinitely subtle and supermaterial—is not matter at all, but rather a source for matter, a plenitude of living forces and energies.'" Dr. Kedney more accurately defines "forces" in this connection as modes of the Divine Energy, in their movement and play, in their contests and equilibria, accomplishing concrete existence and change. This "nature" in God means, then, he says, the possibility of the material. From pure spirit alone you can never deduce the material. In the attempt to do so you simply postulate energy and thought on one side and an intelligent result on the other, with no copula, no connection, no affirmation, nothing that the mind can think between them. He happily observes, we do not know the absolute ground of spirit until it breaks into the distinctions of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—*i.e.*, is determined, but we assume it, or are obliged to think it, nevertheless. But as the known universe is in movement and change, and undergoes development, there must be in the pure ground the possibility of such movement.

The right and wrong use of the imagination in dealing with revealed facts is set forth in the last lecture with a precision and force of reasoning that leaves nothing to be desired. Thus, among many other illustrations, in dealing with the Godhead, the subject we have been considering, our author shows the sad strifes and divisions which are rife from the attempt to supplement revelation with

imaginary guesses: "The declarations of the Christian Scriptures authorize the ascription of personality to what is called the Father, as well as to that which is called the Son, and to the Holy Spirit; and also the ascription to each of these of essential divinity. To reconcile these statements is a problem for pure thinking, in which the Christian mind regards itself as having succeeded: but imagination here likewise interferes, and ascribes to each of these the characteristics of human personality. It figures three several consciousnesses (if this word can be rightly pluralized), each in itself independent, and neither necessary to the thought of the other; hence three wills, or possible activities, only arbitrarily in accord, or in accord from the moral necessity of love. Thus we have a virtual Tritheism, with its attendant difficulties. The doubting mind relucts from this, and divisions in Christendom have arisen in consequence. The expressed mind of the Church in its conciliar decisions has guarded against this, but the propensity still persists. No doubt the common Christian mind, ever victimized by imagination, thinks the Christian doctrine of the Trinity in this tritheistic way, which may not necessarily be harmful to its devotional or practical life, but also may and has been. No doubt this has helped along the propensity to multiply the objects of worship, and has encouraged the cultus of the Blessed Virgin and other saints. It is, then, needful that theology should so rule the public Christian instruction as to obviate this propensity and render needless the assaults of unbelief or misbelief."

Throughout this work is a model of concise and thorough discussion of its several important themes, and a most valuable addition to the current literature of the Church.

T. Stafford Drowne.
General Theological Seminary.

Romans Dissected. A New Critical Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans. By E. D. McRealsham. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribners, 1891. Post 8vo, pp. iii., 95, 75 cents.

This is the title of a little treatise which in its essential contents has been published both in English and German. It has been attributed to Professor Klostermann, of Kiel; to Dr. Zahn, of Stuttgart, and to other noted scholars; but the author's name is still a secret. [The attention of the reader is called to the fact that the letters of the name under which the German edition of the work in question appeared, Carl Hesedamm, and the English name given above are identical, and that they are found in a different combination in the name of Professor Charles M. Mead.—Editor.]

The work is a travesty upon Pentateuchal criticism. In it the alleged principles and methods of the higher criticism are applied to Paul's Epistle to the Romans with much cleverness. The result is the discovery of the supposed composite character of the epistle. He finds that it is made up of four documents, which he calls G 1, G 2, J C, and C J.

To reach this result, the author first lays down three of the "incontrovertible assumptions of all scientific study of the Bible." These assumptions —"the gradual growth of all important institutions," "supernaturalism is a superstition," "the incredibility of all religious tradition until confirmed by the general approval of critics"—make the genuineness of the Pauline Epistles inadmissible. He also feigns to assume the validity of the results claimed by the higher critics of the Pentateuch.

Having thus prepared the way, our author proceeds to prove the composite character of the epistle by means of a doctrinal argument founded upon the different types of thought discovered in these so-called documents. The following is his description of the characteristics of the four documents whose names he applies to their respective authors. "They are all Christians, but present different phases of Christian thought and doctrine. G 1 portrays Christianity as an ethical institution, a spiritualized Judaism. Salvation, according to him, is gained by *obedience to the law*. We find here nothing about *faith* of any sort as a condition of salvation. G 1 is the oldest document. In G 2, on the contrary, though nothing is said about *faith in Jesus*, salvation is emphatically represented as a Divine gift, and the appropriation of it comes through *faith in God*. In J C the prominent thought is that of justification through *faith in Christ*, and particularly in Christ as a *vicarious sacrifice*. In C J the chief stress is laid on the necessity of spiritual *union between the Christian and Christ*, through which the life of the flesh is replaced by that of the Spirit."

The names of the documents are derived from these considerations and from the use of the terms God, Jesus Christ, and Christ Jesus.

The second argument in support of this alleged discovery is based upon the diction and style of the documents; upon the use in a large measure of a different vocabulary, while the same words are employed in different significations.

The third and last argument is the historical, which is an effort to show, while seeming to approve the positions of the critics, that their methods are absurd and senseless. The author closes with an expression of his purpose in writing.

The book displays an extensive acquaintance with the literature of Pentateuchal criticism, and also of this epistle. We see that he has at his elbow the "transcribers" and the "redactor," and that he can parallel the other "assumptions" of the higher critic. He assumes to transpose a disturbing word and section; now he praises the skill of the redactor, and anon condemns his clumsiness. Like some critics of the Pentateuch, McRealsham knows well what the author of each document desired to write and ought to have written in order to have fully expressed his thought. He is able to correct their errors and those of the "redactor" and "transcribers" by excision, insertion, substitution, etc. All this is done with sufficient skill to make the book witty and interesting, if not very profitable. Whether the object to be attained is of sufficient importance and moment to justify such handling of this great epistle must be left to the conscience of the writer and to the judgment of the reader.

Rhys R. Lloyd.
Geneva, Ill.

The Doctrine of a Future Life, from a Scriptural, Philosophical, and Scientific Point of View, including especially a Discussion of Immortality, the Intermediate State, the Resurrection, and Final Retribution. By James Strong, S.T.D., LL.D. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1891. 12mo, pp. 128.

Dr. Strong increases his claim upon American scholars by this condensed treatise on a theme which is just now attracting general attention. The special topics discussed are immortality, the intermediate state, the resurrection, and final retribution. These topics are treated from a philosophical and scientific as well as a scriptural point of view; the language is lucid, the argument clear, and the entire discussion interesting and instructive. The treatise will be read with profit not only by theologians and ministers, but by the people; it certainly deserves wide circulation.

After a brief explanatory introduction, the author proceeds to discuss the intricate subject of unembodied spirit, as seen in the infinite form in God and in finite form in the angels; maintaining the general doctrine that spirit may exist independently of matter. He then proceeds to consider embodied spirit as realized in man, bringing out the several lines of distinction between the natural life and the spiritual life, and showing that while the natural perishes, like other material organisms, the spiritual is invested with immortality or an eternity of being. Such eternity of being is held to be capable of adequate proof, however, only through the testimony of Scripture; and this eternity became in the case of saints, through Christ, an unending state of holiness and of bliss. The next chapter discusses the subject of disembodied spirit, proving first the possibility that the spirit in man may exist in a disembodied condition, and then inquiring into the condition, relationships, and experiences of such a disembodied soul. The author rejects as unwarranted the notion that the soul is provided with a spiritual body at death. He then inquires into its state and experience as one of continued consciousness and of unimpaired intellectual and moral faculties, in which, as is evident from Scripture, communion with God and with other unembodied spirits may be enjoyed by the holy. Biblical proofs from both the Old and the New Testaments are here adduced; among others the descensus of our Lord into the state or condition of the dead. To the wicked this must be a state of conscious loss and misery, to be exchanged at length for a more positive state of retribution.

The reembodied spirit is next considered, with respect to the revealed fact of the resurrection, the nature both of the resurrection body, as compared with the present physical body, and of the fully glorified body in the heavenly state. The identity of the raised with the natural organism now inhabited by the soul is affirmed, though the nature of that identity is recognized as an inexplicable mystery. The glorified body will be luminous, ethereal, unchangeable, beatific.

The general discussion is closed with a presentation of moral probation as the necessary experience of man in the present life, and of the necessary termination of such probation at some point in the moral experience—a termination which from the nature of the case must be followed by an enduring state of awards. The form and way in which these awards come to the righteous and to the wicked respectively is not specially considered; but the certainty and the endless duration of this state are strongly affirmed on philosophic as well as biblical grounds. The curative or prophylactic element in law is said to be eliminated, but the punitive element remains, and this element is definitive and eternal in its action. Annihilation cannot be the result of probation or the issue of sin, neither can there be a second probation after death. On the latter point the author is especially earnest and convincing, pronouncing the dogma not only altogether unscriptural, but without any basis in sound and just philosophy.

All in all, this little treatise may be commended as a helpful discussion of topics now attracting very wide attention, and around which much of both speculative and practical error seems to be crystallizing. The more faithfully such topics are discussed by such competent minds, the more surely will such error be rejected, and the truth of God be glorified.

Edward D. Morris.
Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati.

Jesus Christ the Proof of Christianity. By John F. Spalding, S.T.D., Bishop of Colorado. Milwaukee, Wis.: The Young Churchman Co., 1891. 12mo, pp. 220, $1; by mail, $1.10.

Next to the difficulty of writing a good book is the difficulty of finding a good title for it; or, perhaps, rather the difficulty of finding a good title is the former and the greater. For the title is, so to speak, the problem to be solved, the proposition to be demonstrated, the subject to be expounded and illustrated; and unless an author has these clearly in his head he cannot write a really good book about them. Now what is the meaning of this proposition—the proposition to be demonstrated in Bishop Spalding's sermons—*Jesus Christ (is) the Proof of Christianity?* The subject of the proposition is the *Proof of Christianity;* and of this it is affirmed that it is not arithmetical—*e.g.*, nor chemical, nor derived from the history of Julius Cæsar, but] *Jesus Christ.* What is the meaning of *Christianity* in the subject? Is it a statement of facts, or a system of doctrines founded upon those facts? In that case *Jesus Christ* and *Christianity* are two names for exactly the same thing, and neither can prove the other. Is Christianity a form of human society, an ecclesiastical polity, a set of institutions such as religious orders, a loosely connected system of churches differing widely from each other, like the Anglican and Roman churches? That Christianity is no doubt well known to history, and if that is what Bishop Spalding means, this title is identical with this proposition, *That form of human society called Christianity, including its developments and corruptions and present condition, is proved by Jesus Christ.* But is it proved as a fact or as something right, Divine, beneficial, and the like? It is hard to see how or where Jesus Christ proved what happened to Christianity in the reign of Henry VIII. It is hard to see how anybody could prove that at the present time the papacy and the Reformed churches are all right, Divine, and beneficial. Probably Bishop Spalding means that anybody who believes the Church to be what he believes it to be can only account for it by accepting what the Church says about Jesus Christ. That is to say, everybody who believes *everything* that A says believes *each one* of the things A says; which is a very harmless and perfectly useless proposition. It is not at all surprising that the obscurity of the title corresponds to the obscurity or irrelevance of the lectures or sermons.

The first sermon, "Jesus Christ Witnessed to by Prophecy," is based wholly upon an exegesis which may, without offence, be called at least old-fashioned. The "higher criticism," at its minimum of admittedly demonstrated results, has assuredly modified the argument from prophecy.

Bishop Spalding's interpretation of the prophecies is an exceedingly ingenious attempt to show how they *could possibly* have referred to Christ, though neither the prophets themselves nor anybody else had at the time the faintest suspicion of anything of the sort. In speaking of the preparation of the world for Christ, he leaves out of consideration those vast masses of mankind—whole nations and "races"—such as the Chinese and the people of India, on the one hand, and savage races on the other, who made not the slightest discoverable contribution toward "the fulness of the times," and who have scarcely yet attained even the barest knowledge of the existence and life of Jesus. Like so many other apologists, he confounds "the world" of the Roman Empire with the actual world and all its human inhabitants. The sermon (xii.) on the "Great Forty Days" contains the usual assumptions, which may be true, which are certainly unverifiable, and which are wholly unnecessary for the proof of the Divine authority of the Christian Church.

We cannot imagine what possible service these sermons could render to anybody who really disbelieved either Christ or Christianity, because the very facts and principles here *assumed* are the very facts and principles which "unbelievers" insist upon having proved; but to *believers* they will be very refreshing. They put familiar truths in a new or interesting light. They draw desired conclusions from admitted premises. They are safe and conservative. For the class of readers for which they were intended, they would perhaps have been more effective if their positive assertions, offered on episcopal authority, had been freed from the encumbrance of a merely apparent argumentation.

WILLIAM KIRKUS.

BALTIMORE.

EVOLUTION: Its Nature, its Evidences, and its Relation to Religious Thought. By JOSEPH LE CONTE, Professor in the University of California. New York: Appleton, 1891. Second edition. 8vo, pp. xxii., 382, $1.50.

"We regard the law of evolution as thoroughly established. . . . It is not only as certain as—it is far more certain than—the law of gravitation" (p. 275). So writes Professor Le Conte in the work before us. About the same time that he was penning these words, Professor Virchow, one of the foremost of European scientists, in a public address at the late ter-centenary of the University of Edinburgh, declared with emphasis, "Evolution has no scientific basis."

As one reads such conflicting statements, the question arises, How comes this conflict? On examining the book before us, the answer at once presents itself: Professors Le Conte and Virchow do not use the word evolution in the same sense; they are not talking about the same thing. The term evolution, as used by scientists in our day, has been not inaptly compared to the sheet which Peter, in vision, saw "let down to the earth; wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air" (Acts x. 12).

Charles Darwin, universally regarded as the father of the doctrine of evolution in its modern form, defines it: "The origin of species by descent, with modifications." And Professor Huxley, its most eloquent advocate, defines it in his words: "The evolution hypothesis considers that existing species are the result of pre-existing species, and these of their predecessors by agencies similar to those which at the present day produce varieties and races, and therefore, in an altogether natural way." In this sense Professor Virchow undoubtedly understood the term when he said, "Evolution has no scientific basis." Professor Le Conte, on the other hand, in the opening chapter of the work before us, writes: "Every one is familiar with the main facts connected with the development of an egg. We all know that it begins as a microscopic germ cell, then grows into an egg, then organizes into a chick, and finally grows into a cock; and that the whole process follows some general, well-recognized law. Now this process is evolution. It is more—it is *the* type of all evolution. It is that from which we get our idea of evolution, and without which there would be no such word. Whenever and wherever we find a process of change more or less resembling this, and following laws similar to those determining the development of an egg, we call it evolution" (p. 3).

Such evolution as that presented in the case of an egg—while it is an *unfolding*, and so may be styled an evolution, if we have regard to the etymology of the word alone—is certainly not the evolution which Charles Darwin and Professor Huxley define. It is not "descent with modifications;" there is no "*descent*" in the case; and it does not result in the origination of a new species, but in that of a new individual of an old species; it is simply an instance of what is called growth-development, about the reality of which there is not to-day, nor has there ever been any difference of opinion among naturalists; and if it be "*the* type of all evolution," as Professor Le Conte affirms, then the doctrine of evolution does not solve the problem of the origin of species—it does not touch that problem.

The decisive objection to this whole doctrine of evolution, contended for by many scientists—Professor Le Conte among the number—is that it is irreconcilable with what, in the present state of science, we must regard as an established law of variation in organic nature—viz., that variations natural and artificial, many and great as they undoubtedly are, are all confined within the limits of natural species. The wild rose, for example, by "descent with modifications," has become the parent of innumerable well-defined varieties of roses; and the same may be affirmed of the geranium, but never in a single instance has a rose been transformed into a geranium or a geranium into a rose. Mr. Etheridge, whose long-continued connection with the British Museum has given him the largest range of observation on this subject of any living scientist, says: "In all this great museum there is not a particle of evidence of the transformation of species."

In the volume before us Professor Le Conte has done, perhaps, the best that could be done in support of the doctrine for which he contends. That he has given us a volume of interesting reading the fact that his book has reached a second edition is conclusive proof.

GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG.

NORFOLK, VA.

THE SONGS OF SAPPHO. By JAMES S. EASBY-SMITH. Published for Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.: Stormont & Jackson, 1891. 16mo, pp. ix., 97, $1.

The translations contained in this dainty little

volume, the author informs us, were made during his year as a senior in Georgetown University, and served to fill up many of those hours which a student can always steal from the severer studies. Laying claim to no deep research either in regard to the text or the life of Sappho, Mr. Easby-Smith reproduces in the original Greek the odes and fragments of odes, which constitute all that has come down to us, and gives us a rendering of each in English verse. The longer pieces are in rhyme. As a whole, the work of translation is faithfully and pleasingly done. The versification is smooth, and if occasionally we are conscious of missing somewhat of the fire of the original, we have only words of commendation for the honesty and zeal of the attempt. It is quite up to the standard of the better class of academic exercises of the kind.

HENRY M. BAIRD.

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BRIEF REVIEWS, BY THE EDITOR.

Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima, by *Arthur Sherburne Hardy*. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892, p. 8vo, pp. vi., 350, $2.) Even at this late date it may be allowed us to add our tribute of praise to the author of this highly interesting account. The subject itself is of sufficient interest to compensate for the difficulty incident to even a poor English style, but when this interest is joined to a style which is at once clear and lucid, the volume becomes a delight. Perhaps it might be questioned whether the author has not gone a little too far in so extensively reproducing the quaint English of Mr. Neesima in his earlier letters, but the total result is to give us a more graphic picture than we might otherwise have had. To say that the story is unique is but faintly to characterize it. One follows the fortunes of the runaway Japanese boy, the generous benevolence of Mr. Alpheus Hardy, his American patron, the dream of the youth, and its gradual realization in a Christian university in Japan, with unflagging interest. The author has not attempted to give a history of missions in Japan, but only a fragment of the history as seen in the labors of one worker. At the same time he has succeeded in making very plain what the problems were which confronted the early missionaries, and the grand opportunities which were opened up when the gates of Japan were unlocked to Western civilization. The volume before us is thus one of the most notable in the whole field of missionary biography, and it deserves, as it has had, a very wide circle of intelligent and appreciative readers.

Mark Hopkins, by *Franklin Carter*, President of Williams College. (American Religious Leaders Series. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xi., 375, $1.25.) The selection of the biographer of President Hopkins was excellent: pupil, colleague, admirer, and friend. Inclusion in the present series is also eminently fitting. "His endowments, his attainments, and his long service made him a unique figure among the teachers of this age. But for a complete estimate of him as a man, there is a lack of material. . . . His life in a country town was devoid of picturesque and varying incident. . . . His profound and far-reaching influence in the country was for that reason all the surer testimony to the wisdom and power of his manhood." The story here told is very complete and satisfactory, though it is not presented in the ordinary chronological order. The treatment is topical under the following heads: Early Years; The Professor; The College; The Administrator; The Rebellion of 1868; The Teacher; The Author; The Preacher; The President of the American Board; The Crisis in the Board of Missions; The Friend; The Theologian; The Closing Years; The Final Tribute. A chronological table of the principal events in President Hopkins's life is very instructive, and the list of his published writings, with just ninety entries, is somewhat surprising not only for its number but for its variety. The index is full and complete. It is difficult to select from the many chapters of the book any one for special mention. Those which we have read with most interest are entitled "The Rebellion of 1868," showing his ability in the face of very grave difficulty, and "President of the A. B. C. F. M.," and "The Crisis in the Board of Missions." But these references cannot be made to the disparagement of the other chapters. The thanks of all persons interested are due to the author for this labor of love.

The Organic Union of American Methodism, by Bishop *S. M. Merrill*. (Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe; New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892, 12mo, pp. 112, 45 cents.) It is a strange and sad thing that the most evident traces of our late sectional controversies are to be found in the churches. The discussion of union is one that is of vast import and far-reaching results. But looking from the outside, we may be pardoned the expression of a serious doubt whether reunion is to come through a fighting over the old fields and a waving of the old battle flags, as Bishop Merrill seems to anticipate. That is more likely to be the happy reuniting bond which shall "assure recognition and cooperation in the *working field*." Organic union will have to be based upon practical grounds, and it will never come, at least not in many a long day yet, by the acknowledgment that one or other party acted "illegally." The book, as a whole, is extremely candid, but Bishop Merrill might have improved it by the excision of some words and phrases which are irritating rather than irenic, polemic not politic.

The Bishop Hill Colony, a religious communistic settlement in Henry County, Illinois, by *Michael A. Mikkelsen*, A.M. (8vo, pp. 81, 50 cents.) The Johns Hopkins University is doing a good work in encouraging this series of studies in historical and political science, of which the present is the first paper in the tenth series. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, January, 1892.) The story here told is one of great interest, and the author has presented it in excellent shape, with a single exception. He has failed to give a sufficiently accurate and detailed account of the peculiar religious tenets of the "Jansenists," who composed the community at Bishop Hill. To a great extent this seems, however, to have been due to the reticence of the survivors, who were unwilling to go into the details of the matter. This is to be regretted, though upon the basis of the "Catechism," which the author seems to have known, it should have been possible to give a fuller account than has been done. Upon the whole, however, the author is to be congratulated upon his success.

History of Liberia, by *J. H. T. McPherson*, Ph.D., is another of the Johns Hopkins University Studies. (October, 1891, 8vo, pp. 63, 50 cents.) It is an exceedingly lucid though brief history of the inception, progress, and significance of the colonization movements which issued in the Republic of Liberia. The author should be encouraged to

proceed with the larger work on the subject, at which he hints in the prefatory note.

The Highest Critics vs. the Higher Critics, by Rev. *L. W. Munhall*, M.A., Evangelist. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1892, 8vo, pp. 199, $1.) A hot, indiscriminate, and shallow invective against the "Higher Critics," those "dishonest critics—destructionists," by a man who espouses the doctrine of "verbal inspiration," which he defines thus: "The original writings, the *ipsissima verba*, were given, word by word, from God," believing that it gave an "inerrable" record which has been preserved by a "large measure of illumination" in the work of transcribers, translators, and revisers; and all this because "at the last analysis any doctrine of inspiration save verbal means a denial of the supernaturalness of the Bible." Yet we make no doubt that the author thinks that he "doeth God service," though he reviles consecrated men who have devoted their lives to the investigation of the truth in and concerning the Word of God.

Meditations on the Life of Christ, by *Thomas à Kempis*. Translated and edited by the Ven. Archdeacon Wright, M.A., and the Rev. S. Kettlewell, M.A., with a preface by the latter. (New York: Dutton & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 11, liii., 378, $1.25.) The editors have done valuable service in rendering accessible in English this little volume, which was well-nigh unknown in Latin. The history of the book is clearly set forth in the preface. That its composition by à Kempis should have been doubted or denied is not strange under the circumstances. It is good, however, to have this companion piece of the "Imitation" restored to us after so long a time. A quotation from the title page of the second edition of Kempis's complete works, by Sommalius (1607), in which the "Meditations" first appeared in print, may be excused on account of its quaintness: "This little book, concerning the life and loving-kindness of Christ, will be serviceable to those who are accustomed to pray aloud, and even to pastors and preachers, who from hence may (if they please) draw forth pious, devout, and spiritual conceptions, which they may advantageously set forth to their hearers."

Alone with God: a Manual of Devotions. Being a series of meditations, with forms of prayer for private devotions, family worship, and special occasions, by *J. H. Garrison*. (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Co., 1891, 16mo, pp. xiv., 244; cloth, 75 cents.) The title describes the contents very accurately. The spirit of the whole is excellent and the execution good. The author's object has been to educate and foster the devotional spirit, especially in the young. Many will most seriously doubt whether "forms" will be of real avail in this respect, but if that be granted, this little book will do good service.

Love and Forgiveness. Reflections suggested by "The Greatest Thing in the World." Translated from the German. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1891, 12mo, pp. 48.) The reciprocal relations of love and forgiveness form the burden of this little pamphlet. Much of truth is brought out which is capable of profitable repetition from time to time. It is evident, however, that while Henry Drummond may have "suggested" these meditations, he did not write them.

Waymarks, 1870–1891, being Discourses, with some account of their Occasions, by *Henry C. Potter*, D.D., LL.D. (New York: Dutton & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. viii., 383.) One acquainted with the pamphlet literature of this and other lands knows of what great assistance those fugitive writings are in the construction of history in giving local and other color to the narrative. The volume before us is similar in character, though not in form, to those publications of an earlier day, called forth by extraordinary occasions. The sermons here presented have especial reference to the internal history of the Episcopal Church, though not exclusively so, for the range of topics is much broader. Sermons at the consecration of bishops, in commemoration of men eminent in various walks of life, in behalf of various benevolent objects, and on important matters of Christian ethics, make up the body of a book which is of great interest to all who possess even a small degree of catholicity. The title of the volume fittingly designates its scope, purpose, and contents.

Preachers of the Age is the name of a new series which has begun to appear bearing the imprint of E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. If the future voumes shall be as excellent as the two now before us, the publishers will render a good service to the Christian public. *The Conquering Christ, and other Sermons* is the title of a volume of fourteen discourses, by *Alexander Maclaren*, D.D. (12mo, pp. vii., 202, $1.25.) Those who have read any of the former sermons from the pen of this gifted man need no further commendation, while those who have not should make haste to remedy their omission. *Living Theology* is the title of the first of thirteen sermons delivered on special occasions, by *Edward White*, the Archbishop of Canterbury. (12mo, pp. vii., 225, $1.25.) Each volume is complete in itself, and a valuable addition to our sermonic literature. The insertion of a picture of the author as a frontispiece adds also to the value of the books.

Sermons on Old Testament Subjects, by *H. P. Liddon*, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891, 12mo, pp. xiv., 379, $2.) This is the second edition of a book which is a valuable and suggestive addition to the homiletical library of the preacher. It is of no small moment to have the spiritual lessons taught in the Old Testament brought more prominently to the front than is customary. The vast majority of texts chosen for pulpit exposition and remark are taken from the Gospels and the Epistles. The writer has found this most thoroughly exemplified in the list of texts of one of America's most famous preachers for a half century. The Old Testament was practically ignored; yet such should not be the case, for truly it "was written for our learning." Deep study of incident, history, poetry, or even "drama" will reveal valuable lessons, which may be of profit even to-day. The present series contains twenty-five sermons preached during the years 1867–1887.

Pegs for Preachers: Points for Workers, by *Charles Inglis*. (Fourth edition. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1891, 12mo, pp. xi., 146, 75 cents.) A collection of over four hundred Bible readings and suggestive hints for sermons or talks. Some of them are excellent, and all have been put to practical use—so the author tells us. While they may be of service to some men, we are at a loss to imagine that any preacher with ordinary discernment would find it impossible to make a series of his own equally good and, for himself, vastly more useful.

Object Sermons in Outline, with numerous illustrations, by Rev. *C. H. Tyndall*, pastor Broome Street Tabernacle, New York. Introduction by

Rev. A. F. Schauffler, D.D. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1891, 12mo, pp. 254, $1.) This book is interesting in two ways: to show what has been done and to illustrate what not to do. Undoubtedly there is much profit to be derived from this method of presenting truth, but the man who would use it must be possessed of an extra endowment of the "sixth sense"—common sense—else his exhibition will degenerate into buffoonery. But when effective, the method is *very* effective one way or the other.

The Sermon Bible, John iv.-Acts vi. (New York: Armstrong & Son, 1892, 8vo, pp. vi., 395, $1.50.) "Each volume (complete in itself) contains upward of 500 sermon outlines and several thousand references, with 24 blank pages for notes." Unfortunately, the "references" are mainly to British periodicals and books inaccessible to nearly all Americans. In view of the "Traffic in Sermons" (see *Westminster Review*, February, 1892), these volumes present an improvement upon a prevalent British practice, and they are really a step upward; but with our American notions upon the subject, it is difficult to see anything about the book as it will probably be used, except a step downward.

The New Creation, by the author of "Our Family Ways." (Milwaukee: Young Churchman Co., 1891, 16mo, pp. 128, 50 cents net.) A treatment in simple language for the comprehension of children, of the Incarnation, and of various sacraments and rites of the Church, and all in a very churchly spirit and tone. It is eminently a denominational book, but as an example of simplicity in writing it is excellent.

Systematic Bible Study for Advanced Classes, by Miss *L. L. Robinson*. (Same publishers, pp. 170. 20 cents.) Instruction by way of questions and answers, nearly all of the latter being given in full. Considerable information is given in the book, but it might be improved in places by a little more study of the Bible itself. For instance, the statement that Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song "are all believed to have been written by Solomon" used to be true of some people, but on the face of the books it is evident that the assertion must be qualified.

The Church Catechism: its History and Contents, a manual for teachers and students, by the Rev. *A. J. C. Allen*, M.A., late principal of the Chester Diocesan Training College. (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xv., 216, $1.25.) The title of this book is sufficiently complete except that in some American minds it might not be absolutely clear to which "church" reference is had; but, of course, this is simply ignorance and provincialism. The author has had much experience in teaching the Catechism, and has done his work in the present volume *con amore*. He feels the importance of this branch of Christian training, and strives to impress it upon others. He also perceives that only that instruction is worthy of the name which connects forms of sound words with right deeds and proper actions, instead of making them mere forms of words which end in sound.

The Psalmody of the Church: its authors, singers, and uses, by Rev. *William H. Parker*. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 8vo, pp. 269, $1.50.) The author's motive in making this book was to arrive at something "readable:" being dissatisfied with all previous works. But such a high aim should have produced a more notable book. It is a sketch, little more; at times expanded unduly, and again contracted beyond patience; now stuffed out with "padding" of a useless sort, and again retailing the well-known incidents and well-worn tales as to hymn writers and their songs, at great length. It may meet the wants of those who are like the author, but a book whose main recommendation is that it is "readable" after this fashion is not to be preferred to the volume whose arrangement is alphabetic or along denominational lines. Doubtless, the ideal book is yet to come, but our judgment is that its writer will *not* "adopt some such plan as we have sketched in this little book."

The Adversary: his person, power, and purpose, a study in Satanology, by *William A. Watson*, D.D. (New York: W. B. Ketcham, 1891, 12mo, pp. 238, $1.25.) A treatise which covers a great deal of ground, but which is unsatisfactory from the fact that the field is not well defined, the treatment is not exhaustive or even perspicuous, and the results are vague. The biblical evidence is not given in its proper order and proportion, and while the history of the doctrine may be of interest, the main importance attaches to that which precedes the history. To introduce "rappings" and other strange noises by way of evidence or even illustration seems to be credulity run mad.

A Chicago Bible Class, by *Ursula N. Gestefeld*. (New York: United States Book Co., 1891, 12mo, pp. 305, $1.50.) An author who has so much to say about the "true nature" and the "underlying meaning" of the Bible ought to make very clear what these terms stand for. But let no one expect much light from this book; even if the exposition is here, though we have been unable to find it, it is so covered up by and hidden in such an obscure and complicated verbiage that the time needed to hunt it out would be ill requited. Let a single illustration, taken almost at random, suffice. Speaking of the "Immaculate Conception," the author casually remarks: "Beginning with the Self-existent God—the one Mind which always was and ever will be, we start with the eternal Abstract which finds expression in its idea or image. This Mind and its expression or idea, which is the Concrete, bear the relation to each other or Father and Son or Cause and Effect. These are the God of the first Chapter of Genesis and the Lord God of the second Chapter, this Lord God being individualized God as consequent upon or product of the Abstract God—the One Mind—through 'the world,' which is the 'God said'—the creative power through which the Abstract produces the Concrete. The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—the primal Trinity in Unity are God, the Lord God, and the 'God said,' which are the ever-existing and so are the foundation of Creation. The finishing of Creation or the manifestation of what God is, is the secondary Trinity in Unity—the Lord Jesus Christ. . . ." Let him who readeth, understand! We confess that this is not our "level in the thought-world," which the author asserts to be the "measure of the man." For our part we prefer an exact and scientific exegesis of Scripture rather than such a sublimation and emasculation of the Gospel as is here presented

Julius Cæsar and the Foundation of the Roman Imperial System, by *W. Warde Fowler*, M.A., sub-rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1892, 12mo, pp. xix., 389, $1.50.) This is the sixth volume of the Heroes of the Nations Series. It is not written for scholars, but for those "comparatively unfamiliar with classical antiquity." To such the author has en-

deavored to make clear the character of the subject and the place which he occupied in the history of the world. His relation to Rome is indicated in the title. The volume is enriched by a number of valuable maps, busts of Cæsar, and other pictures, among which the famous "bridge" figures.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Sunday Question; or, the Lord's Day: its sacredness, permanence, and value as shown by its origin, history, and use. By *S. Edward Warren*, C.E. (Boston: James H. Earle, 1890, 12mo, pp. 290, $1.50.) Inclines to the too much rather than to the too little. A valuable contribution, however.

Consumption: how to prevent it and how to live with it. Its nature, its causes, its prevention, and the mode of life, climate, exercise, food, clothing necessary for its cure, by *N. S. Davis*, Jr., A.M., M.D., Professor of Principles and Practice of Medicine, Chicago Medical College, etc. (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1891, 12mo, pp. vii., 143, 75 cents.) Calculated to be valuable for advice, warning, and counsel.

History of Circumcision from the earliest times to the present, by *P. C. Remondino*, M.D. (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1891, 12mo, pp. x., 346, paper, 50 cents.) Medical; much more inclusive than the title indicates.

The Nonsuch Professor in his Meridian Splendor; or, the singular actions of sanctified Christians, by the Rev. *William Secker*, minister of All-Hallows Church, Londonwall. With an Introduction by Rev. T. L. Cuyler, D.D. (Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 12mo, pp. 367, $1.) A most remarkable, valuable, and pithy book; well worthy of republication.

The Man and His Mission, being a sketch of the life, labors, and character of Emanuel Swedenborg, with the distinguishing characteristics of his teachings, by *B. F. Barrett*. And Swedenborg's supposed hallucination, by Rev. *John Goddard*. (Philadelphia: Swedenborg Publishing Association, 12mo, pp. iv., 88.)

Thaïs, by *Anatole France*. Translated by A. D. Hall. (Chicago: Nile C. Smith Publishing Co., 1891, 12mo, pp. 205; paper, 50 cents.) A story that is scarcely a story, laid among the anchorites and cenobites of Egypt.

In His Own Way, by *Carlisle B. Holding*. (Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1892, 12mo, pp. 296, 75 cents.) An excellent story, suited to the Sabbath-School library. Its strong Methodist tone is no drawback.

The Hebrew Verb; a series of tabular studies, by *Augustus S. Carrier*, Adjunct Professor of Biblical Philology in McCormick Theological Seminary. (Chicago: Max Stern & Co., 1891, 8vo, pp. 33, 50 cents.) A series of tables, useful to accompany lectures, but somewhat bewildering without them.

Instructions Preparatory to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, by the Rev. *Edward B. Hodge*. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, pp. 36.) Suggestive and useful.

The End of the World and the General Judgment, as foretold in Matthew xxiv. and xxv., by Rev. *T. H. Tabor*. (Chicago: *Manford's Magazine*, 1891, pp. 59.)

The Man of Uz, lessons for young Christians from the life of an ancient saint, by the Rev. *S. A. Martin*, Professor of Homiletics, Lincoln University. (Philadelphia. Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1891, 12mo, pp. 135, 50 cents.) An excellent little book, giving the usual view of Job.

Lays of Lowly Service, and other verses, by *Georgiana M. Taylor*. (New York: James Pott & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 63.) A very pretty little volume of tender verse by the author of "Oh! to be Nothing."

SYNOPSES OF LEADING ARTICLES FROM PERIODICALS.

Under the title, "The Christ and the Creation," the March number of the *Andover Review* gives an article by John Coleman Adams, Brooklyn, N. Y., which may take some readers with surprise, while others will recognize in it something which they have been expecting for the last ten or twenty years. It is a strongly pronounced theism that has the word here, but a theism bent upon assimilating whatever good pantheism has produced; or, to use more specific terms, it is the idea of evolution, which here is applied to what a generation ago was called the plan of salvation.

Starting from a remark by Dr. Martineau, that in the accounts of the evangelists and apostles the image of the real Jesus becomes confused and its living expression almost fades from view, the author protests that difference in the point of view necessarily involves difference of terminology, but not by any means a difference of conception. As the astronomer, the chemist, the physiologist may speak very differently, though they all speak of the sun, so the evangelists and apostles have spoken very differently, though they all spoke of the Christ; and with the ages as with individuals. The personality and work of Jesus Christ cannot be brought home to the reason and conscience of the nineteenth century in the same manner as suited the first.

Our age has another idea of nature and the relation of nature to God. To us it seems an impossibility that God should do anything unnatural or non-natural in a creation all of whose activities proceed from Him and are manifestations of Him. If we are able to comprehend the connection between God's providence in Israel and His providence among all people, and if we realize that salvation is the final step in all the upw. rd march of man, we shall have no difficulty in considering the advent of Jesus the Christ as a natural event in the course of the world's history. As the nebula foretells the glowing sphere of earth, and the hot globe the hardening rocks, and the rocks the soil, which can be ploughed, so the organs of the lowest creature living foretell the splendid organism which is in the service of humanity, and Adam is in the deepest sense of the words a prophecy of Christ.

The article, occupying thirteen pages, large octavo, is written with great cogency of thought and admirable lucidity of expression, and spreads light in every direction of human life and the history of the race.

James E. Mathieson, Esq., London, England, writes in the March number of *The Missionary Review of the World* on the "Persecution of the Russian Stundists." They were originally German immigrants to Russia. They came from Würtemberg, and were settled in the southeastern part of European Russia in the beginning of the present century. They received their name "Stundists" from the German word *stunde*, "hour," because every day during one hour in the forenoon and one hour in the afternoon they gathered in one another's houses for public service, for reading the Word of God, and for prayer. Würtemberg is the home of German piety, but it is also the birthplace of the German corporal's

staff, and the slight peculiarity of the Stundists, hardly amounting to nonconformity, aroused the ire of the King of Würtemberg. He considered such an anomaly as a personal insult to his majesty, and the Stundists were expelled. They found sympathy with the Russian Emperor, Alexander I., who was easily accessible to religious impressions and at the same time liberal-minded, and settled in Russia under very favorable circumstances. They throve well there, and proved loyal, quiet, industrious, and progressive subjects; but though they did not engage in any kind of proselytizing, they made converts from the Russian Church, and that has now called down upon them the wrath of the Russian hierarchy. It is part of the policy of the present Czar and the Old Russian party to make Russia one not only with respect to government, but also with respect to religion. Therefore the Jews are bereft of everything and sent off from Odessa to Constantinople and Jaffa; and therefore the Stundists' homes are broken up, the parents being banished to Siberia and the children shut up in the Russian monasteries, to be educated in the Greek-Catholic religion.

Of Professor Duff's "Old Testament Theology; or, the History of Hebrew Religion from the Year 800 B.C.," the March number of *The Thinker* says: Nearly one half of the work is devoted to an examination of the religious ideas of Isaiah and their place in Hebrew religious history, and to an analysis of the writings in which those ideas are stated. The standpoint is distinctively that of higher criticism, and only thirty out of the sixty-six chapters are accepted as the work of Isaiah. The character of the prophet is determined as faith in revelation, and marks a distinct advance on his predecessors. Amos was the prophet of judgment, the prophet of despair so far as the sinner was concerned. Of his prophecy it may be said that there was no room for mercy in it. Hosea went further, seeing with deeper insight man's need of forgiveness and also God's need to forgive, but he did not preach regeneration. Isaiah combined earlier standpoints and centralized the faith in a material revelation of the gracious love of Jehovah in the sanctuary of Zion. "There is much freshness and suggestiveness," *The Thinker* adds, "in Dr. Duff's treatment of his subject, but also much which is likely to provoke adverse criticism."

In the March number of *Our Day* Rev. G. R. W. Scott, D.D., Andover, Mass., publishes an article, "Signs of the Times in German Theological Faculties," in which he with a few notes characterizes the present state of the theological study in the various German universities.

At Tübingen F. C. Bauer is now remembered only as a critic and scholar, but not any more as the founder of a school. The theory of the origin of the New Testament with which that school once startled the world is now not maintained by one single professor in the university. The opposite, strictly orthodox views, represented by Kübel, have now the day, though they are not so very palatable to the students, most of whom like to pose as very advanced thinkers until the approach of the State examination, when they suddenly develop an intense love for conservative views and pietistic ways.

At Heidelberg there is only one professor who goes regularly to church; even the members of the theological faculty have little sympathy with ordinary "pulpit views" of truth. Although the grand duke desires to have a representative of pronounced orthodoxy in the theological faculty, he has hitherto not succeeded in alluring any man of pronounced spirituality into the atmosphere of Heidelberg.

At Marburg Julius Wellhausen lives as professor of Shemitic languages and Oriental history. Like most Germans, he makes a distinction between the scientific study of the Bible and the study of it for spiritual benefit. He is not only a man of the strictest moral, intellectual, and spiritual honesty, but a regular attendant at church and a man of prayer.

Göttingen is still the chief camp of Ritschlianism, but the camp-followers seem to be of a somewhat mixed character. At Göttingen, as in nearly all German universities, men are found ready to call themselves Ritschlianers, though, according to the generally accepted rules of classification, they should be termed either extreme conservatives or advanced radicals. This singular fact, however, is not unexplainable. Since Schleiermacher no German theologian has given such an impulse to the study of dogmatics as Ritschl. When he began lecturing, theology was almost dead, studied only as a branch of university scholasticism, and generally spoken of as "anachronistic relics." No wonder, then, that all theological students should throng around the reviver, and the character of his system seemed to make it possible for them to remain with him; for his principle was to establish theology on a foundation of its own, independent of philosophy, and thereby give it an universality which, after the days of Schleiermacher, it had entirely lost. This universality, however, is just the very point at which the theology of Ritschl is attacked.

At Halle, where there formerly, while Tholuck lived and taught, were so many American students assembled, there is now only one to be found. Beyschlag, who was Tholuck's colleague and became his successor, still occupies a very strong position, not only in the university as professor, but in Germany as one of the leaders of the middle party; and he is ably seconded by Köstlin, the author of the best life of Luther yet written, and others. In that circle frequent expression is given to the thought that more emphasis should be placed upon Christian experience as the solvent of doubt, the discoverer of truth, and the impeller to Christian action; it is, indeed, the soul attuned to truth which best responds to the touch of truth. This idea is in perfect harmony with Tholuck's teaching, and may be considered a direct tradition from him; but he himself is forgotten.

In Berlin Harnack is the cynosure of eyes, the man who above all others in the university attracts the students. He is still young, of good height, rather slender, and wears a mustache, which makes him look strangely unlike the typical German theologian, and more like his American brother. He is said to be capable of more work than any professor living in Germany, and his great activity evinces itself not only in his lectures on Church history, but also in his writing of books and frequent contributions to papers. When lecturing he speaks freely and with great spirit and power, having his manuscript conveniently near at hand, but scarcely ever looking at it. His line of thought is always clear, and his progress along the path of the centuries is rapid; yet he sees everything worth noticing. Often he makes a brief excursion, and in a few words will describe some historical character in a manner which enables one to see it in clear outlines. He is regarded as a disciple of Ritschl, as conservative "in streaks," as a man of warm sympathies and beautiful spirit.

INDEX OF PERIODICALS, MARCH.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R.	Andover Review.
Bibl. Sacr.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. Q. R	Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R.	Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q.	Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. P. R.	Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)
C. R.	Charities Review.
C. T.	Christian Thought.
Ex.	Expositor.
Ex. T.	Expository Times.
G. W.	Good Words.
H. R.	Homiletic Review.
L. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H.	Missionary Herald.
Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
N. H. M.	Newberry House Magazine.
N. E. & Y. R.	New Englander and Yale Review.
O. D.	Our Day.
O. N. T. S.	Old and New Testament Student.
P. M.	Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch.	Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
S. A. H.	Sunday at Home.
S. M.	Sunday Magazine.
T. Th.	The Thinker.
T. Tr.	The Treasury.
Y. M.	The Young Man.

Agnostic, The, Mrs. Frances R. McLane, NE & YR.
Alston Crucis, Chaps. V.–VI., Helen Shipton, GW.
Alternating Current System, The, Alexander J. Wurts, NE & YR.
American Cities, Congested Districts in, C. D. Wright, OD.
Amusements, The Attitude of the Church toward, Cyrus D. Foss, TTr.
Angel of the Beautiful, The, Bishop of Ripon, SM.
Apostasy, The Danger of, P. J. Gloag, TTh.
Aspiration, Katharine Tynan, GW.
Astronomy as a Religious Helper, E. F. Burr, HR.
Atonement in the New Testament, The Doctrine of, III., St. Peter, J. A. Beet, Ex.
Babylonian Exploration Fund, The Expedition of the, R. F. Harper, ONTS.
Baer on Drunkenness, Views of Dr. A., A. MacDonald, AR.
Bible ? Are there Errors in, J. J. Lias, TTh.
Bible, How to Promote a more General Study of the, John H. Vincent, CMQ.
Bible in the Theological School, The English, C. S. Burroughs, CMQ.
Biblical Archæology and the Higher Criticism, Herbert Symonds, ExT.
Boys' Brigade and the Missionary Cause, The, J. Q. Adams, MissR.
Bunsen, Baron, The Birthplace of, Marie von Bunsen, GW.
Canon Cheyne's Bampton Lectures, A. R. S. Kennedy, ExT.
Charity Organization Society can do, What a, Charles J. Bonaparte, CR.
Charity, The Growth and Character of Organized, J. G. Schurman, CR.
Charter-house of Tyrol, The, Margaret Howitt, GW.
Children's Shelter, Our, Baroness Burdett-Coutts, SM.
China, The Evolution of a Christian College in, Chester Holcombe, MH.
Chloroform, Natural, T. Wood, SM.
Christ and the Creation, The, J. C. Adams, AR.
Church Folklore, II., J. E. Vaux, NHM.
Churches, Progress of the, Archdeacon Farrar, Dr. Fraser, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. Clifford, Mr. Bunting, RCh.
Clergy Discipline Bill, The, G. B. Roberts, NHM.
Christian Church, The Founding of the, Clyde W. Votaw, ONTS.
College-bred Men in the Business World, W. D. Sheldon, NE & YR.
Compensation, S. D. Chown, CMQ.
Conscience, Lady Macbeth, a Study in, J. S. Harris, PM.
Darkest England Social Scheme, The, Mrs. C. R. Lowell, CR.
Darwinism and Revelation as now Related, Charles Chapman, ExT.
Departure, The New, W. S. Blackstock, CMQ.
Devil's Creed, The, J. H. Barrows, TTr.
Disestablishment and Professor Goldwin Smith, (Concluded,) H. Hayman, NHM.
Dudleian Lecture for 1891, The, Prof. Emerton, AR.
Enemies The, Arthur L. Salmon, GW.
Endomonistic Ethics, Ch. B. Brewster, AR.
Epistles in the Development of Christianity, The Order of the, Henry G. Weston, ONTS.
Evil, Deliver us from, A. S. Geden, TTh.
Expository Sermon on the 8th Chapter of Romans, Suggestions for an, John M. English, ONTS.
German Theological Faculties, Signs of the Times in, G. R. W. Scott, OD.
Go Forward, A. P. Hopper, MissR.
Good Guest, The One, Chapters I.–V., L. B. Walford, GW.
Grace, The Vision of, Du Bose, TTr.
Half-Brothers, Chapters XII.–XVI., Hesba Stretton, SM.
Healing of Divisions, The, A. Cleveland Coxe, HR.
Health Sermons for Young Men, Gordon Stables, YM.
Hebrews, The Epistle to the, G. G. Findlay, PM.
Hell, An Historical Study of, William W. McLane, HR.
Heredity, Christian Nurture *versus* a Bad, Amos S. Chesebrough, NE & YR.
Higher Criticism, The Anti-Biblical Phase of, W. H. Green, TTr.
Holy Land, The Historical Geography of the, II., G. A. Smith, Ex.
Holy Land, Industries of the, W. Mann Statham, SM.
Incidents in a Voyage, Three, E. J. Hardy, SM.
India, The Young Men of, David McConaughy, YM.
Jeremiah, A Commentary on, T. K. Cheyne, ExT.
Jesus Christ, The Enthusiasm of, A. C. Murray, MissR.
Johannean Question, The Present Position of the, IV., the Author, W. Sanday, Ex.
Joseph ; Young Men of the Bible, H. C. G. Moule, YM.
Justification and Regeneration, E. B. Ryckman, CMQ.
Kennedy, John S., A. F. Schauffler, CR.
Liquor Saloon, The Coffee-House as a Counteraction of the, Robert Graham, CR.
Louisiana Lottery, Legalized Robbery in the, OD.
Maloney's Public House, Miss, Blanche Atkinson, GW.
Man and his Motives, G. Sexton, CMQ.
Manning, Cardinal, C. Kegan Paul, NHM.
Meredith, George, W. J. Dawson YM.
Ministry, A Professional Training for the, A. C. Bell, CMQ.
Missionary Work in the Bombay Presidency, Lord Harris on American, MH.
Missionary Fellowship, W. P. Lisle, MissR.
Missions, Central American, J. H. Tobey, MissR.
Missions Within and Without Christendom, Ch. C. Starbuck, AR.
Missions, The Cuban, A. J. Diaz, MissR.
Missions, The Reflex Action of, Mrs. E. Curtis, MissR.
Moon, The, II., R. S. Ball, GW.
Old Testament in the Light of the Literature of Assyria and Babylonia, T. G. Pinches, ExT.
Old Testament Literature, Dr. Driver's Introduction to the, T. K. Cheyne, Ex.
Old Testament, The Teaching of Our Lord as to the Authority of the, C. J. Ellicott, ExT.
Paul, St., and the Objective, A. B. Grosart, ExT.
Pentateuch? Did Jesus Intend to Teach that Moses Wrote the, W. P. McKee, ONTS.
Pessimism's Practical Suggestions to the Ministry, G. H. Beard, AR.
Philanthrophies, The Great, V., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Archdeacon Farrar, RCh.
Pilgrims, Justice to the, Alanson D. Barber, NE & YR.
Plato Taught, Where, James Baker, GW.
Prayer in Christ's Name, Henry Allen, SM.
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Timothy, The Case of St., J. W. Horsley, SM.
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Woman's Place in Church Work, Mrs. J. Butler, Mrs. Sh. Amos, Mrs. Br. Booth, RCh.

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THE ANDOVER REVIEW.

Boston, March, 1892.

The Christ and the Creation.
Rev. John Coleman Adams.
The Dudleian Lecture for the Year 1891.
Prof. Emerton.
Views of Dr. A Baer on Drunkenness.
Dr. Arthur MacDonald.
Reflections of a Prisoner.
Pessimism's Practical Suggestions to the Ministry. Gerald H. Beard.
Missions within and without Christendom.
Rev. Charles C. Starbuck.
Eudæmonistic Ethics.
Rev. Chauncey B. Brewster.

THE CANADIAN METHODIST QUARTERLY.

Toronto, Ont., January, 1892.

How to Promote a more General Study of the Bible.
Rev. John H. Vincent, D.D.
Justification and Regeneration.
Rev. E. B. Ryckman, D.D.
Man and his Motives. II.
Rev. G. Sexton, LL.D.
A Professional Training for the Ministry.
Rev. A. C. Bell, S.T.B.
Compensation. Rev. S. D. Chown.
The English Bible in the Theological School.
Prof. G. S. Burroughs, Ph.D.
Messianic Prophecy. V.
Prof. J. M. Hirschfelder.
The New Departure.
Rev. W. S. Blackstock.
The Preacher's Present Opportunity.
Rev. S. P. Cook.

THE CHARITIES REVIEW.

New York, March, 1892.

The Growth and Character of Organized Charity. Prof. J. G. Schurman.
What a Charity Organization Society Can Do and What it Cannot.
Charles J. Bonaparte.
Things to Do. Alfred Bishop Mason.
The Coffee-House as a Counteraction of the Liquor Saloon.
Robert Graham.
The Darkest England Social Scheme.
Mrs. C. R. Lowell.
John S. Kennedy.
Rev. A. F. Schauffler.

THE EXPOSITOR.

London, March, 1892.

The Present Position of the Johannean Question. IV.
Rev. Prof. W. Sanday, D.D.
The Doctrine of the Atonement in the New Testament.
Rev. Prof Joseph Agar Beet, D D.
The Historical Geography of the Holy Land. II.
Rev. George Adam Smith, M.A.
Dr. Driver's Introduction to the Old Testament Literature.
Rev. Prof. T. K. Cheyne.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Edinburgh and London, March, 1892.

Canon Cheyne's Bampton Lectures.
Rev. Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy, B.D.
St. Paul and the Objective.
Rev. A B. Grosart, D.D., LL.D.
A Commentary on Jeremiah.
Rev. Canon T. K. Cheyne, D.D.
The Teaching of our Lord as to the Authority of the Old Testament
Rt. Rev. C. J. Ellicott, D.D.
Some Gains in the Revised Version of the New Testament.
Rev. Principal David Brown, D.D.
Darwinism and Revelation as now Related.
Rev. Prin. Chas. Chapman, M.A., LL.D.
Biblical Archæology and Higher Criticism.
Rev. Prof. Herbert Symonds, D.D.
The Old Testament in the Light of the Literature of Assyria and Babylonia.
T. G. Pinches.

GOOD WORDS.

London, March, 1892.

The One Good Guest. Chaps I.–V.
L. B. Walford.
The Birthplace of Baron Bunsen.
Marie von Bunsen.
A Saul and David of the Steppe.
Michael A. Morrison.
The Trout of the Chalk Stream.
Rev. B. G. Johns, M.A.
Miss Maloney's Public-House.
Blanche Atkinson.
The Charterhouse of Tyrol.
Margaret Howitt.
The Moon. II.
Sir R. S. Ball, LL.D., F.R.S.
Where Plato Taught. James Baker.
The Enemies. Arthur L. Salmon.
Alston Crucis. Chaps. V.–VI.
Helen Shipton.
Questions of the Christian Life: The End.
The Lord Bishop of Winchester.

THE HOMILETIC REVIEW.

New York, London, Toronto, March, 1892.

The Healing of Divisions.
Rt. Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, D.D.
Astronomy as a Religious Helper.
E. F. Burr, D.D., LL.D.
The Secrets of the Effective Treatment of Themes. A. T. Pierson, D.D.
An Historical Study of Hell
William W. McLane, Ph.D., D.D.
What Constitutes the Identity of the Resurrection Body.
J. B. Remensnyder, D.D.

THE MISSIONARY HERALD.

Boston, March, 1892.

Sketch of Samokov Station.
Rev. H. C. Haskell, D.D.
Lord Harris on American Missionary Work in the Bombay Presidency.
The Evolution of a Christian College in China. Hon. Chester Holcombe.
Letters from the Missions: China, Japan, Mexico, Austria, Zulu. Central America, and Central Turkey.

THE MISSIONARY REVIEW.

London, New York, Toronto, March, 1892.

Captain Great-Heart and the Holy War: The Story of the Salvation Army.
Frederick Perry Noble.
Persecutions of the Russian Stundists.
James E. Mathieson.
The Reflex Influence of Missions.
Mrs. Ethan Curtis.
The Cuban Mission. Rev. A. J. Diaz.
Missionary Fellowship.
Rev. William H. Lisle.
The Boys' Brigade and the Missionary Cause. Rev. J. Q. Adams.
Go Forward. Rev. A. P. Happer, D.D.
The Enthusiasm of Jesus Christ.
Rev. A. C. Murray.
Central American Missions.
Rev. Joshua H. Tobey.

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London, March, 1892.

The Clergy Discipline Bill.
Rev. G. Bayfield Roberts.
Disestablishment and Professor Goldwin Smith. (Concluded.)
Rev. Henry Hayman, D.D.
Church Folklore. II.
Rev. J. E. Vaux, F.S.A.
No Compromise. Chaps. XXIX.–XXXI.
Helen F. Hetherington and Rev. H. Darwin Burton.
Archbishop Trench's Poetry.
Author of "Charles Lowder."
Cardinal Manning. C. Kegan Paul.
The Story that Rex Told his Wife. (Concluded.) "Fleur-de-Lys."
An Affair of Honor. Chaps. II.–III.
Alice Weber.

NEW ENGLANDER AND YALE REVIEW.

New Haven, March, 1892.

College-bred Men in the Business World.
Winthrop D. Sheldon.
The Alternating Current System.
Alexander J. Wurts.
The Tax on Barbarism.
George H. Hubbard.
Christian Nurture *versus* a Bad Heredity.
Amos S. Chesebrough.
The Agnostic
Mrs. Frances R. McLane.
The Alleged Persecution of Massachusetts; or, Justice to the Pilgrims.
Alanson D. Barber.

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT STUDENT.

Hartford, Conn., March, 1892.

The Order of the Epistles in the Development of Christianity.
Rev. Henry G. Weston, D.D.
Suggestions for the Preparation of an Expository Sermon on the Eighth Chapter of Romans.
Prof. John M. English.
Did Jesus Intend to Teach that Moses Wrote the Pentateuch?
Rev. W. P. McKee.
The Imprecatory Psalms.
Prof. W. W. Davies, Ph.D.
The Expedition of the Babylonian Exploration Fund.
Robert Francis Harper, Ph.D.
The Founding of the Christian Church.
Clyde W. Votaw.

OUR DAY.

Boston and Chicago, March, 1892.

Signs of the Times in German Theological Faculties.
Rev. G. R. W. Scott, D.D.
Congested Districts in American Cities.
Hon. C. D. Wright.
Legalized Robbery in the Louisiana Lottery.
Boston Monday Lectures.
Joseph Cook.

THE PREACHER'S MAGAZINE.

New York, March, 1892.

Present Day Preaching.
Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, M.A.
The Secret of Successful Work.
Rev. Mark Guy Pearse.
Lady Macbeth: A Study in Conscience.
Rev. Josiah S. Harris.

Repentance. Rev. J. T. L. Maggs.
Repentance Defined.
Rev. Arthur E. Gregory.
The Epistle to the Hebrews.
Prof. G. G. Findlay, B.A.

THE REVIEW OF THE CHURCHES.

London, February, 1892.

The Progress of the Churches.
Archdeacon Farrar.
Dr. Fraser.
Dr. Mackennal.
Dr. Clifford.
Mr. Bunting.
Woman's Place in Church Work.
Mrs Josephine Butler.
Mrs. Sheldon Amos.
Mrs. Bramwell Booth.
The Reunion Party at Grindelwald.
Rev. A. R. Buckland.
The Great Philanthropies, V. :The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Archdeacon Farrar.

SUNDAY MAGAZINE.

Edinburgh, London and Dublin, March, 1892.

Half-Brothers. Chaps. XII.–XVI.
Hesba Stretton.
The Angel of the Beautiful.
The Lord Bishop of Ripon.
Three Incidents in a Voyage.
Rev. E. J. Hardy, M.A.
The Case of St. Timothy.
Rev. J. W. Horsley, M.A.
Our Children's Shelter.
Baroness Burdett-Coutts.
A Land of Ruined Cities.
Michael A. Morrison, F.R G.S.
Industries of the Holy Land.
Rev. W. Mann Statham.
Natural Chloroform. Rev. T. Wood.
The Under Dog. Chaps. I –III.
L. T. Meade.
The Things that Be of God.
Rev. B. Waugh.

THE THINKER.

London, March, 1892.

The Man that Fell among Thieves.
Rev. J. E. H. Thompson, B.D.
The Danger of Apostasy.
Rev. P. J. Gloag, D.D.
"Deliver us from Evil."
Rev. Prof. A. S. Geden, M.A.
Are there Errors in the Bible?
Rev. J. J. Lias, M.A.

THE TREASURY.

New York and London, March, 1892.

The Vision of Grace.
Rev. Horace Millard du Bose, D.D
The Anti-Biblical Phase of Higher Criticism.
Prof. W. H. Green, D.D., LL.D.
Preaching to Great Cities.
Rev. J. R. Day, D.D.
The Moral and Religious Value of Higher Education.
Pres. E. Benjamin Andrews. LL.D.
The Attitude of the Church Toward Amusements.
Bishop Cyrus D. Foss, D.D.
The Devil's Creed.
John H. Barrows, D.D.

THE YOUNG MAN.

New York, Chicago, London, March, 1892.

At College Together.
Thomas Keyworth.
The Young Men of the Bible ; Joseph.
Rev. H. C. G. Moule.
Health Sermons for Young Men : How to Develop the Muscles.
Gordon Stables. M.D., C.M.
George Meredith. II. W. J. Dawson.
Off Duty ; or, the Religion of our Leisure Hours. Rev. J. Reid Howatt.
Echoes from the Study. W. J. Dawson.
The Young Men of India.
David McConaughit, M.A.
The World of Business. J. H. Osborne.
Science up to Date.
Frank Ballard, M.A.

CONTENTS OF THE APRIL MAGAZINES.

Harper's Magazine for April opens with Edwin A. Abbey's superb illustrations of "The Tempest" (the seventh in the series of Shakespeare's Comedies), accompanied by Andrew Lang's interesting and scholarly comment. The frontispiece is a fine engraved portrait of Walt Whitman, who contributes to this number a poem, "Death's Valley," to accompany a full-page engraving of George Inness's great painting, "The Valley of the Shadow of Death." Besides the above, the principal illustrated articles are a graphic description of Lake Superior, "Brother to the Sea," by Julian Ralph, illustrated by Remington and Graham ; the third chapter of the famous Danube papers, "From the Black Forest to the Black Sea," written by F. D. Millet and illustrated by Mr. Millet and Alfred Parsons ; "An Indian Fair in the Mexican Hot Country," by Sylvester Baxter, with numerous attractive and striking pictures from drawings by Alice Barber Stephens ; and "The Last Days of Percy Bysshe Shelley," by Guido Biagi, with illustrations from photographs, and portraits of the surviving witnesses of Shelley's cremation. Other papers of peculiar importance and timeliness are, "Western Modes of City Management," an article of great value for its suggestiveness, by Julian Ralph ; "The Mystery of Columbus," a startling exposition of facts from contemporary records, by Eugene Lawrence ; and "Some Talk about English Public Schools," by an English writer especially familiar with the educational institutions of his country. An intensely interesting chapter of geological history, "The Ancient Lake Region of America," is contributed by James Richardson. The fiction of the number includes the second chapter of Mr. Howells's new novel, "The World of Chance ;" a characteristic short story by Richard Harding Davis, entitled "Eleanore Cuyler," illustrated by C. D. Gibson ; and another French-Canadian sketch, "La Cabane," by William McLennan, illustrated by C. S. Reinhart. Louise Imogen Guiney and Madison Cawein contribute short poems. And instead of the usual Du Maurier cartoon, there is a charming poem by Thomas Bailey Aldrich, entitled "At Nijnii-Novgorod," appropriately illustrated by Smedley. George William Curtis, in the Editor's Easy Chair, pleasantly discusses several timely and entertaining topics, and pays a tribute of respect to his old friend, the artist-poet, Christopher Pearse Cranch. Charles Dudley Warner makes his first appearance in the Editor's Study, and in his usual engaging manner reviews some questions raised by Lounsbury's "Chaucer." Thomas Nelson Page opens the Editor's Drawer with an amusing character sketch, "How Isrul outplayed Gabrul."

The contents of the Century for April are : "The Three Ages of Man," by Lorenzo Lotto, frontispiece ; "Our Common Roads," Isaac B. Potter ; "The Nature and Elements of Poetry—II.: What is Poetry?" Edmund Clarence Stedman ; "Come Love or Death," Will H. Thompson ; "The Mother and Birthplace of Washington," Ella Bassett Washington ; "Lotto," Italian Old Masters, W. J. Stillman ; Note by T. Cole ; "The 'Wyoming' in the Straits of Shimonoséki," William Elliot Griffis ; "The King," Louise Morgan Sill ; "The Total Solar Eclipses of 1889," Edward S. Holden ; "The Shadows Fold," John Vance Cheney ; "Characteristics," V., S. Weir Mitchell, M.D ; "On a Rose Pressed in a Book," Louise Chandler Moulton ; "Did the Greeks Paint their Sculptures?" Edward Robinson ; "The Feast of the Marys," (play in Provence), Joseph Pennell ; "The Story of the Two Marys," Elizabeth Robins Pennell ; "The Nauhahka," a story of West and East, Rudyard Kipling and Wolcott Balestier ; "At Break of Day," Florence Earle Coates ; "Fishing for Pearls in Australia," experiences of a diver, Hubert Phelps Whitmarsh ; "Khamsin," Clinton Scollard ; "Ol' Pap's Flaxen" (in three parts), Part II., Hamlin Garland ; "Wolcott Balestier," Edmund Gosse ; "In Memoriam, Wolcott Balestier," James R. Campbell ; "Starving at Taskoma," John Heard, Jr. ; "Some Passages in the History of Letitia Roy," M. E. Angus ; "The Ocean Postal Service," Thomas L. James ; "The Cyclamen," Arlo Bates ; concluding with "Topics of the Time," "Open Letters," and "In Lighter Vein."

The contents of Scribner's Magazine for April are as follows : "Socialism in Hyde Park, London ;" "A Meeting on Sunday Afternoon near the Marble Arch," frontispiece ; drawn by Hugh Thomson, engraved by C. I. Butler ; "The Poor in Great Cities," introduction ; "The Social Awakening in London," by Robert A. Woods (the first article in the series on "The Poor in Great Cities"), drawings by Hugh Thomson, Irving R. Wiles, and V. Gribayedoff, engraving by Peckwell, Chadwick, Pettit, Witte, Kruell, M. J. Whaley, E. H. and George Del'Orme ; "An Egyptian Banquet," by T. W. Higginson ; "The Reflections of a Married Man" (Chapters IV.–VI.), by Robert Grant, to run through four numbers ; "The New Parks of the City of New York," by E. S. Nadal, drawings by V. Pérard, W. L. Metcalf, O. H. Bacher, A. F. Jacassy, and W. C. Fitler, engraving by Peckwell and Schussler ; "Golden Mashonaland," by Frank Mandy, drawings by W. L. Metcalf, H. R. Bloomer, and V. Pérard, engraving by E. Clément, J. Clément, Van Ness, and C. I. Butler ; "The Wrecker" (Chapters XX.–XXI.), by Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne (begun in August, 1891—to be continued), with a full-page illustration by W. L. Metcalf ; "Paris Theatres and Concerts—III., The Unsubventioned Theatres and Orchestral Concerts," by William F. Apthorp, drawings by Kenyon Cox, O. H. Bacher, and J. Reich, engraving by Kruell and E. Clément ; "A Case of Conscience," by Beatrice Witte ; "Charles Keene of *Punch*," by George Somes Layard, illustrations printed from blocks furnished by the author, made from the originals in the possession of the executors of the late Charles Keene ; "Of the Blood Royal," by William Maynadier Browne ; "Historic Moments : The Impeachment Trial," by Edmund G. Ross, ex-Senator from Kansas ; "The Point of View"—Spare Time, Politics and Public Opinion, Maupassant.

The Atlantic Monthly for April contains : "An American at Home in Europe," I., William Henry Bishop ; "A Drive through the Black Hills," Antoinette Ogden ; "The Wind's Summons," Graham R. Tomson ; "The Private Life," Henry James ; "Admiral Farragut," Edward Kirk Rawson ; "American Sea Songs," Alfred M. Williams ; "The Limit in

Battle Ships," John M. Ellicott; "Don Orsino," VIII., IX., F. Marion Crawford; "Benaiah," Edward Lucas White; "Federal Taxation of Lotteries," Thomas McIntyre Cooley; "Some Notes on French Impressionism," Cecilia Waern; "Legal Disfranchisement;" "Literature and the Ministry," Leverett W. Spring; "Lounsbury's Studies in Chaucer;" "Montcalm and Lévis;" "Comment on New Books;" "The Contributor's Club."

THE complete novel in LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE for April, "But Men Must Work," is by the well-known and popular author, Rosa Nouchette Carey. In it the narrator, as visiting governess and presiding genius, digs her way into the family secret, and at last banishes the family skeleton. In the "Athletic Series," Julian Hawthorne sounds the praises of walking, which he considers the only proper mode of locomotion, and C. Davis English expounds the mysteries of "Four-in-Hand Driving." In the "Journalist Series," Melville Philips tells us that the literary editor is much less frequent than we commonly suppose, and gives some odd samples of his experiences. The Countess Norraikow gives a brief history of the leading Nihilists, and traces the famine in Russia to heavy taxes and misgovernment; "Milk for Babes," a short but important article, by Mrs. Louise Hogan, discloses facts which bear directly on the health and life of children. The "First Principles" of writing are unfolded by the editor to an "Anxious Aspirant" for literary fame. The department "As It Seems" discusses the "Deadly Double Track," "Sexual Exchanges" (among writers of fiction), a few "Verbal Eccentricities," and other topics. There are short stories by Julien Gordon and George Edgar Montgomery. The poetry of the number is by Robert Loveman, Sibylla Vernon, Florence Earle Coates, Isabel Gordon and Charles Washington Coleman.

THE COSMOPOLITAN for April contains the following: "The Monument to Columbus, Genoa," frontispiece; "Genoa the Home of Columbus," illustrated, Murat Halstead; "The Rustic Dance" (poem), illustrated by Frederic Remington, Irving Bacheller; "A Romance of Old Shoes," illustrated, Elsie Anderson De Wolfe; "Torpedoes in Coast Defence," illustrated, A. M. D'Armit; "Dumb" (poem), Katharine Lee Bates; "A Living Opal," illustrated, Ernest Ingersoll; "Homes of the Renaissance," illustrated, Wallace Wood; "When Day is Done" (poem), illustrated, Charlotte L. Seaver; "The Crew of a Trans-Atlantic Liner, illustrated, William H. Rideing; "A False Prophecy" (poem), George MacDonald; "The Rancho of Heavenly Rest," illustrated by Irving R. Wiles, Forbes Heermans; "Count Leon Tolstoi," Madame Dovidoff; "Nature's Alchemy" (poem), Clifford Howard; "The Theatre of To-Day," Cora Maynard; "Echo and Narcissus" (poem), Sarah M. B. Piatt; "Princess Ratazanoff," illustrated by H. Sandham, Casimir M. Podgorski; "Marriage of American Women to German Noblemen," illustrated by F. G. Atwood, Elizabeth von Wedel; "Two English Men of Letters," Brander Matthews; "Social Problems," Edward Everett Hale.

MONTHLY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

[Any of these books may be ordered through the Christian Literature Co.]

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Allen, A. J. C., Rev., M.A. The Church Catechism: its history and contents. A manual for teachers and students. New York: Longmans, 1892. Pp. xv., 216, 12mo, $1.50. (See March bibliography.)

Andreä, Hermann Viktor, Dr. Das Buch Jesaia, aus dem Grundtext übersetzt und erklärt. Mit einem Vorwort von Prof. Dr. O. Zöckler, Bildniss des Verfasser und kurzem Lebensbilde. Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1892. Pp. xlvii., 461, 8vo, 5 mk.

Apt, Max. Die Pflicht zur Urkunden-Edition in dogmengeschichtlicher Entwickelung. Berlin: Hochsprung, 1891. Pp. viii., 75, 8vo, 2 mk.

Arnoldson, K. P. Pax Mundi: a concise account of the progress of the movement for peace by means of arbitration, neutralization, international law, and disarmament. Authorized English edition. With a preface by the Bishop of Durham. London: Sonnenschein, 1892. Pp. 172, p. 8vo, 2s. 6d.

Arosio, L. San Paolo e le sue quattordici lettere corredate da carte geograf. Milan: 1891. Pp. 536, 16mo, [5.50 mk.]

Astié, J. F. Edmond Scherer et la théologie indépendante. Lausanne: Bridel, 1892. Pp. 48, 8vo, 1 fr.

Bachmann, Johannes, Dr. Praeparation und Kommentar zu den Psalmen, mit genauen Analysen und getreuer Uebersetzung für Gymnasiasten, Studirende, und Candidaten herausgegeben. 6. (Schluss-) Heft. Psalmen 119-150. Leipzig: Schneider, 1892. Pp. 423-504, 1.30 mk. (Complete, 7.50 mk.) [Also] Praeparation und Commentar Zur Genesis. 3. Heft. Cap. 24-33. Berlin: Mayer, 1892. Pp. iii., 99-149, 8vo, 80 pf.

Bacon, Benjamin Wisner. The Genesis of Genesis: a study of the documentary sources of the First Book of Moses, in accordance with the results of critical science, illustrating the presence of Bibles within the Bible; with introduction by George F. Moore. Hartford: Students' Pub. Co., 1892. Pp. xxx., 352, 8vo, cloth, $2 50.

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Bickell, Prof. The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual: being a translation of the substance of Professor Bickell's work termed "Messe und Pascha." By William F. Skene, D.C.L. With an introduction by the translator on the connection of the Early Christian Church with the Jewish Church. New York: Scribners, 1892. Pp. xii., 219, 12mo, $2.00. (See January bibliography.)

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CHRONICLE.

(*Closes on the 20th of each month.*)

Feb. 16. Meeting in Philadelphia, of the Presbyterian Historical Society. Professor Bertrand, of Paris, spoke upon "The Influence of the Huguenots upon the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, with especial reference to those of the United States."

Feb. 23. Meeting of the New England Chautauqua Association at Boston, to celebrate Founders' Day. Among the speakers were the Rev. Drs. J. L. Hurlbut, E. E. Hale, W. R. Clark, and A. E. Dunning.

Important Negro Conference at Tuskegee, Ala., under the auspices of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. Objects: "1. To find out the actual condition—industrial, moral, and educational—of the race; 2. To discover how to make educational influences bear on the elevation of the negro."

Feb. 24. Conference of the National Temperance Society at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York. Dr. Cuyler presided, and the speakers were: Dr. R. S. McArthur, Dr. J. R. Day, Dr. E. P. Thwing, Miss Julia Colman, Peter Carter, and J. N. Stearns. A resolution was passed asking all churches to form "Church Temperance Societies on the basis of total abstinence."

Consecration of the Venerable Norman D. J. Straton, Bishop of Sodor and Man, in Wakefield Cathedral, by the Archbishop of York; and of the Rev. Dr. Nelson, Bishop of Georgia, in Atlanta.

Feb. 25. A Papal Bull received by the Rev. Dr. Henry Gabriels naming him Bishop of Ogdensburg. On the same day the Rev. James Schwebach was consecrated Roman Catholic Bishop of La Crosse, and in Philadelphia the Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, Bishop of Cleveland. It is announced that Archbishop Ireland is to be created the second Cardinal of the United States.

Feb. 26. Appointment of Monsignor Charles E. McDonnell, Secretary to Archbishop Corrigan and Chancellor of the Archdiocese of New York, to the bishopric of Brooklyn in place of the late Bishop Loughlin. His appointment was a surprise and a disappointment to the Brooklyn Catholic Clergy. The Bishop-elect is only thirty-eight years of age.

Mar. 2. Twentieth anniversary of the organization of the Society for the Suppression of Vice.

"Alliance Day" at all Seminaries connected with the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance.

Mar. 4. Delivery of the first of the Bishop Paddock Lectures in Trinity Chapel. The course is by Dr. Dix, on the subject, "The Sacramental System considered as the Extension of the Incarnation." They are delivered on Friday nights during Lent. The next course will be by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Coxe, of Western New York.

Mar. 9–10. Foreign Mission Conference in Boston under the auspices of the A. B. C. F. M. and the Congregational Young People's Societies.

"A new quarterly review, devoted to religion, ethics, and theology," is to be published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. The Rev. Nicholas Paine Gilman is managing editor, and Professors Everett and Toy, of Harvard, and President Cone, of Buchtel College, are associate editors.

The plans for the Religious Congresses to be held at the time of the International Exposition in 1893 have been worked out as follows: Parliament of Religions, August 29 to September 3; Denominational (or church) Congresses, September 5 to 10; Congress of Missions, September 12 to 17; Evangelical Alliance, September 19 to 24; Sunday Rest Congresses, September 26 to 28.

Trinity Church, New York City, will make a gift of $100,000 to the Board of Trustees of the proposed Cathedral. The corner stone is to be laid on All Saints' Day, November 1, 1892.

The Rev. Dr. W. C. Roberts, of Lake Forest University, has resigned the Presidency of that institution, and will return to his work on the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church.

The Rev. Dr. Bridgman, whose withdrawal last year from the Baptist to the Protestant Episcopal Church aroused such interest, has accepted a call to the rectorship of Holy Trinity Church, New York City.

The Rev. J. W. Hicks (Church of England) has been elected (Missionary) Bishop of Bloemfontein, Africa, *vice* Dr. Knight-Bruce, transferred to Mashonaland.

The following changes have been made or proposed recently in the faculties of Theological Seminaries throughout the country:

The Rev. Charles Marsh Mead, D.D., has accepted the chair of Ecclesiastical Theology in the Hartford Theological Seminary, and the Rev. E. K. Mitchell has accepted the chair of Græco-Roman and Eastern Church History in the same institution

The Rev. Edwin C. Bissell, D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Syriac in Hartford Theological Seminary, has accepted the chair of Biblical Theology in McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

The Rev. Gerardhus Vos, Ph.D., at present professor in the Theological School at Grand Rapids, Mich., has been called to the new chair of Biblical Theology in Princeton Theological Seminary. The Rev. George T. Purves, D.D., of Pittsburg, Pa., has been elected to the chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in the same institution, to succeed Dr. Caspar Wistar Hodge. Dr. Purves has already signified his acceptance.

The Rev. Dr. Fraser, Professor of Systematic Theology in the (Presbyterian) Theological Seminary at San Francisco, has resigned, and the Rev. Henry C. Minton, D.D., pastor of St. John's Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, has been elected in his place and has accepted.

The Rev. William J. Tucker, D.D., Professor of Homiletics in Andover Theological Seminary, has been elected President of Dartmouth College. We learn that Dr. Tucker will stay at Andover.

The Rev. Dr. Christie, of St. Paul, Minn., has accepted the chair of Systematic Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.

The Rev. Dr. John I. Swander, to whom was tendered recently a call to the Professorship of Practical Theology in Heidelberg Theological Seminary, Tiffin, Ohio, has accepted.

Principal Cairns, who is also Professor of Theology, in the United Presbyterian Theological Hall, Edinburgh, has resigned both positions because of failing health.

OBITUARY.

Bedell, Rt. Rev. Gregory Thurston (Episcopalian), D.D. (Norwich University, Vt., 1856), Bishop of Ohio, New York, February 11, aged 74. He was graduated from Bristol College, Pa., 1836, and from the Virginia Theological Seminary, 1840; was rector in Westchester, Pa., 1841–43, and in New York City, 1843–59; became assistant bishop of Ohio, 1859, and bishop, 1873, succeeding Bishop McIlvaine. Besides sermons, he has published "Canterbury Pilgrimage to and from the Lambeth Conference and Sheffield Congress," "The Pastor: a Textbook on Pastoral Theology," and "The Centenary of the American Episcopate."

Hare, Rev. George Emlen (Protestant Episcopal), D.D, (Columbia, 1843), LL.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1873), in Philadelphia, February 15, aged 83. Dr. Hare was ordained in 1829; became rector in Carlisle, Pa., 1830; of Trinity Church, Princeton, N. J., 1834; and of St. Matthew's Church, Philadelphia, 1845; professor of Biblical Learning in the P. E. Divinity School, Philadelphia, 1852. He was on the Old Testament Revision Committee, and was author of "Christ to Return."

Howard, Mrs. Isabella J., who has been identified for over twenty-five years with the work of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and with that of Prison Reform, died at Mount Hope, March 7, aged 74. It was largely due to Mrs. Howard's persistent efforts that matrons were appointed in the police stations in New York to care for female prisoners.

McMullin, Rev. Samuel H. (Presbyterian), D.D., at Glendale, O., February 17, aged 61. He was graduated from University of Pennsylvania, 1849, and Princeton Theological Seminary, 1851: held pastorates in Newburg, N. Y., Bellair, Md., and Philadelphia, Pa.; was professor of Greek in Miami University, 1867–70, and of Church History in Danville Theological Seminary, 1870–72; he then returned to the pastorate at Circleville, O., 1873–82, and Glendale, 1882–89, when he retired on account of failing health.

Mermillod, Cardinal Gasper (Roman Catholic), Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva, at Berne, February 24, aged 67. He was parish priest at Geneva, 1846; gained influence by his services in building the Church of Notre Dame; was consecrated Bishop of Hebron and appointed auxiliary to the Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva; in 1873 Pope Pius IX. aroused the hostility of the Swiss Government against Bishop Mermillod by making him Vicar Apostolic of Geneva, hence the Bishop was exiled, but Leo XIII. used pacificatory measures and settled the dispute; he became Cardinal, 1890. He was the author of many volumes of sermons.

Oxenden, Rt. Rev. Ashton (Church of England), D.D. (by decree of convocation, 1869), at Biarritz, France, February 22, aged 73. He was graduated from University College, Oxford, 1833; ordained priest, 1834; consecrated Bishop of Montreal (and Primate of Canada), 1869; resigned his bishopric, 1878; was rural dean of Canterbury, 1879–84; and since 1879 vicar of Hackington. He has published many devotional works, among which may be mentioned "The Earnest Communicant," "The Earnest Churchman," "Short Comments on the Gospels, for Family Worship," "The Christian Life," and "Portraits from the Bible, 2 vols."

Porter, Rev. Noah (Congregationalist), D.D. (University of New York, 1858, Edinburgh, 1886), LL.D. (Western Reserve College, 1870, Trinity College, Conn., 1870), at New Haven, February, aged 80. He was graduated from Yale College, 1831; tutor at Yale, 1833-35; pastor, 1836-46; professor of metaphysics and moral philosophy at Yale, 1846-71; President of Yale College, 1871-86. His most celebrated work is "The Human Intellect," while he has published "Elements of Intellectual Science," "Elements of Moral Science, Theoretical, Practical," "Bishop Berkeley," "Kant's Ethics, a Critical Exposition," "Evangeline: The Place, the Story, the Poem," and many others. He was also chief editor of the revised editions of Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, 1864 and 1880. He belonged to a well-known family of educators.

Shea, John Dawson Gilmary (Roman Catholic), LL.D., editor of the *Catholic News*, in Elizabeth, February 22, aged 68. He made his first essay in literature when 14 years old; studied law and was admitted to the bar, 1846; entered a Jesuit novitiate to study for the priesthood, but abandoned this object six years later; in 1853 he published "The Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley," by which he gained position as a scholar; his attention was turned to Indian Missions, and he edited a series of grammars and dictionaries of American Indian languages, fifteen in number. Meanwhile there had come from his pen "History of the Catholic Missions Among Indian Tribes of the United States, 1592-1854," "Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi," "Life of Pius IX.," and many other works, as well as all the articles in Appleton's Cyclopædia on Indian Tribes. From 1858 to 1866 he edited the *Historical Magazine*, and in 1888 took charge of the *Catholic News*.

CALENDAR.

Mar. 22–*Apr.* 12. The Morse Lectureship on the Relations of the Bible to the Sciences, in the Union Theological Seminary in New York, is occupied this year by the Rev. Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., of Mansfield College, Oxford, England. The subject of the course will be "The Place of Christ in Modern Theology." The several lectures are announced as follows: 1. The Return to the Christ of History, March 21st; 2. The Law of Development in Theology, March 22d; 3. The Place of Christ in Universal History, March 28th; 4. The New Testament Interpretation of Christ, March 29th; 5. Christ the Interpretation of God, April 4th; 6. The Father and the Incarnation, April 5th; 7. Christ and the Church, April 11th; 8. Christ and the Scriptures, April 12th.

April 20–21. Annual meeting of the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society in Boston, at the Warren Avenue Church.

April 25. Annual session of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England at Birmingham.

May 1. Beginning of the sessions of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Omaha, Neb. Among the questions likely to come up are the abolition of the presiding elderships and the admission of women as delegates.

May 9-14. Annual meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

May 18. Annual meeting of the United Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions at Allegheny, Pa.

May 19-31. Presbyterian General Assembly meets at Portland, Oregon.

May 20-28. National Anniversaries of the Baptist Churches in Philadelphia at the First Baptist Church and the Grace Baptist Church. Some of the principal events are as follows: 24-26. Annual meeting of the American Baptist Missionary Union in connection with a special commemoration of the Centennial of Modern Missions; 27-28. Annual meeting of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society.

May 25. Beginning of the sessions of the United Presbyterian General Assembly at Allegheny, Pa.

May 28. Annual Convention of the Scotch Universalist Churches, Glasgow.

THE

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THE CLERGY AND SOCIAL MORALS.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH H. RYLANCE, D.D., RECTOR OF ST. MARK'S CHURCH, NEW YORK.

"They have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge."—ROMANS 10 : 2.

IN a recent issue of one of our city journals—a journal of the very highest character and most wholesome influence—there appeared a sermon ; though the deliverances of the pulpit very seldom find entrance into the columns of the paper I refer to. But the editor deemed this sermon of such consequence to the public weal that he not only gave it newspaper currency, but advised that it should be printed and disseminated widely in the community. What could have been the burden of the sermon ? This : The preacher had felt constrained to warn rich men that they could not buy their way into the kingdom of God, on earth or in heaven, by giving a few thousands of their financial substance to a church or a charity ; one of our notably wealthy men having just about that time given ten or twenty thousand dollars to Christian missionary work, I think ; the gift having furnished the occasion, it would seem, for the preacher's solemn warning, which the editor emphasized with equal solemnity.

Now, the circumstance—for it is little more—has suggested to my own mind several reflections pertinent to the subject I have in hand this morning.

The preacher in question being credited with a rare courage, as he was, in having so admonished our wealthy men, involves, as I look at the matter, a reflection upon the preaching fraternity generally ; which reflection, I venture to say, is almost wholly undeserved. I myself, at least, don't know a man of the order so wanting in moral courage, or so void of a just sense of what his office requires of him, as that he would shrink from declaring, if fit occasion should call, just what St. Peter once declared to one Simon : "*Thy money perish with thee ; because thou hast thought that the gift of God might be purchased with money.*" But I am quite sure that few or none of our rich men to-day are seriously under the delusion Simon was under. Doubly sure am I that the man toward whom I directed a surmise just now as having been the benefactor in the case I am recalling, would harbor the notion for a moment that Almighty God would accept money, or that churches or charities would accept money, in substitution for personal righteousness, or as a cloak for unrighteousness. I, for one, would give the millionaire credit for common sense as to these things ; the money in the instance I am alluding to having been meant, I feel confident, simply to serve one of the ordinary uses of money and nothing more. I hold no brief to plead the cause of rich men ; but we may as well be rational and fair in our judgments of them, and even in our animadversions, whenever they may be called for.

Incidentally, while the missionary gift was being commented upon in the public prints, or, later, when the sermon came out, a singular moral proviso was hinted at as something which it might be well to adopt, to save vestries and trustees from becoming parties to dishonorable doings in receiving money from men who might be under suspicion of not having come at it worthily. *Investigation* should be made by churches and charities, it was suggested, or by those acting for them, as to whether offerings were wholly free from moral taint before turning them into their treasuries ! —which is all impracticable nonsense, of course. If a man's antecedents and moral standing in society should be really subject to grave suspicion, it might be well to let such a man know that his offering would not be welcome ; but as to formal investigation—who should conduct it ? and how would you go about it ? Where, and how,

moreover, would you draw the lines between wealth obtained honorably and that obtained by methods of various degrees of shadiness? And what evidence would you count conclusive, that, as representing this church, or that charity, you could not accept the rich man's money, lest you should be suspected of favoring crooked proceedings in money-getting? For my own part, I don't think that vestries or trustees can enter at all into these casuistical questionings. They had better be left—as a rule they *have* to be left—to the consciences of men making gifts or bequests.

But is it not an almost wholly groundless assumption that this vice of rich men dissipating their fortunes in the way complained of—in seeking by lavish donations to compromise with God for their dishonorable doings—is it not an almost groundless assumption, I ask, that this vice is so prevalent that preachers should be set upon admonishing men against it? I think not. The most elementary ethics suffice to show men to-day that any such compromise being attempted it would be vain and wicked.

But more. It betrays a very innocent state of mind in men, if I may be pardoned the saying, this assuming that sermons are infallible remedies of the evils against which they may be directed. And yet, what numbers of people about us seem to be possessed by this innocent expectation! The community, or considerable portions of the community, get alarmed every now and then at the prevalence of some pronounced form of immorality; and the cry is heard: "Why don't the clergy preach against it?" The appeal implies a very great compliment to the clergy; but such faith is really very amusing. What do you think would happen, my friend, if our pulpit batteries should actually all open, as you suggest, against this or the other abounding wrong? A moral earthquake? Believe me, that if you should be looking for anything of the kind you would surely be disappointed. For recollect yourself. In other moods of mind than the heated one you are in now, you tell the clergy that they no longer have the intelligence and conscience of the people under their control. That is what our journals, reviews, college professors, and statesmen have been telling us, at least, for a long time now. The preacher has been deposed from his seat of authority, it is said; or is now barely tolerated, out of respect to lingering traditions and prejudices. He may be allowed to go on in his humdrum way, talking about things of an intangible interest, but few men of sense take practical heed to him. Even so. Nor am I dealing simply in satire in saying these things. You know—or the more intelligent among you know—that this is the patronizing style of talk indulged in by men who babble everlastingly about the progress of science and the march of intellect; by which science and marching old dogmas have been discredited, we are assured, and silly superstitions put forever to flight; in which estimate of the clergy and of their influence, the vast majority of observing men and women about us agree, I suspect, to-day.

Strange, then, very strange, that when, spite of our sciences and our intellectual advances, society gets into bad ways, you call for the *preacher!* "Help us out of this political and social mire into which we are fallen," you cry, "for our sciences and philosophies cannot save us, we find." And in that cry a true instinct speaks. No, it is not the business of science or philosophy to save a people out of a corrupt and dissolute condition. Science contributes a great deal to a people's well-being, furnishing them with implements for doing their work expeditiously, multiplying the resources of material wealth and comfort; while philosophy, culture, disciplines and develops intelligence and refined tastes; art decorating life with its entrancing creations. But you may have all these with a corrupt public conscience, and a rampant vice careering through your populace, as we see to-day; as Greece and Rome had; and as highly civilized centres of modern Europe have, spite of their civilization. Now, at such a crisis it is not the statesman you need so much; nor the schoolmaster; nor the social economist; nor even the priest, who with his symbolisms and ceremonies is nevertheless serviceable in his way; but we need the *preacher;* a man after the style of the old Jewish prophet, who was a man given to telling the truth in a fearless and an emphatic way; the truth which the moral exigencies of his time required to be told, without respect of persons or of powers; and all as under authority from Almighty God, and as inspired by His Spirit. Now, if our Christian preachers are men of that type and style of work, then the demand is timely, "Give us the preacher;" the man representing righteousness—the righteousness of God—without which our sciences, and philosophies, and economies, and statecrafts are vanities.

Yet comparatively few of us harbor the large expectations, I suspect, which people about us are giving utterance to, as to what our preaching class can do in the work of

social regeneration just now. For the disparaging estimate of the preacher or of his serviceableness to modern society, that I have just now epitomized, is in some respects well grounded, I am compelled to say. He is not the powerful personage he once was among us. He is no longer generally credited with authority as the mouthpiece of God. His office is not as unquestioningly held to be Divine as it once was. The halo has melted away from about his brow. Other moral instrumentalities than those the preacher wields have come into play in the direction of moral conduct, and in the education of character—notably the press. Free thought has won recognition and right of utterance for itself almost everywhere to-day in progressive nations. So that men don't stand in awe of the pulpit now—or only the weaker members of our species. We take liberties with its deliverances which once would have been deemed impious or treasonable. That which fails to commend itself to our judgment from the preacher, we dismiss, or smile at as weak or inconsequential. Or his utterances are discounted before they come forth from him. It is his *calling*, his *trade*, people say, to talk in a certain style about men and things ; to be very severe against heresies and sins, and jealous for the traditions of his Church—all which is allowed for by those who "sit under him" as professionally proper ; though counting for little in its influence upon the intelligence, or conscience, or conduct of his hearers. Of other matters than those his office requires him to understand somewhat, the preacher —the average orthodox preacher, I mean— is not supposed to know much. Of what we call *public questions* he had better not seem to know anything as a rule, lest he offend the feelings of some in his congregation. "We don't come to church to hear politics, or science, or apologetics discussed," you say to him ; "keep to the simple Gospel." Which means, "Keep in the old theological mill tread of the fathers." And too many of our clergy are weak enough, or submissive enough, to do that bidding.

From these and other causes sermons fail of effect often, except within little circles of "the faithful." Notoriously for the vast, wild, weltering world outside our church doors, preaching is of small consequence ; though when a man of the old prophetic spirit and power speaks, the world will pause for awhile to listen.

But a more serious hindrance to the influence of the clergy for good in the regulation of public life is found in the fact that, as a class, they are such impracticable idealists or sentimentalists. They *will* persist in refusing to see, that social or political science has to do with what is *workable*, and that it must be content to aim at this ; dismissing ideals from the circle of its outlook, or postponing their realization indefinitely, it may be. Not what is absolutely or ideally *the best* do wise reformers set themselves to attain, *but that which is attainable ;* only taking the next step toward reaching the ideally perfect when they are ready for it ; or when the community they are seeking to serve may be ready for it. But how vigorously do our religious teachers—or many of them—resent and denounce these half-measures as cowardly, and treasonable to truth and righteousness ! And yet, who knows not that the world's progress, the vast and blessed sum-total of our civilization, is the result of persistently following out the policy of half-measures ? But our fanatic social reformers will have none of this ; resenting and resisting what others may be trying to do for the public good, because they are willing to accept instalments of what State or municipal authorities owe the people, whereas the fanatic will have everything or nothing. Projects with good promise of relief and blessing in them for our city or State populations are waiting for adoption at this hour, but cannot be adopted, from a stubborn, stupid determination in many good people that they will have all they ask from our legislatures, or they will block the wheels of the political machine— in which sort of folly our Prohibitionist friends glory. Meanwhile "drinking" institutions and customs flourish, of course. It is very exhilarating to hear a fervid orator proclaim from a platform, "The saloon must go !" but it is somewhat discouraging to find, after waiting a time very trying to patience, that the saloon has *not* gone. Nay, seriously speaking, there is no occasion for disappointment in the case. Nobody expected any other result. The saloon-keeper himself was too knowing to take the orator's "notice to quit" very deeply to heart. The saloon will probably retain its place among us, and continue to do its demoralizing work, till all the friends of temperance agree to prosecute reasonable, practicable measures for its suppression, in a reasonable, practicable way ; or till they avail themselves of the sympathy and help of all the better elements of the community at large, in getting at the end we all desire to reach *by indirect approaches*, if we cannot get at it *at a bound*—which the Prohibitionist dreams that we can, however.

So, too, with our Sabbatarian friends, who

will have it that the only law which shall regulate the observance of the Lord's Day in this land, which shall say with authority what is compatible and what is incompatible with the sacred claims of the day, is the Fourth Commandment of the Mosaic Decalogue. Which is a senseless contention, since it is utterly impracticable, utterly *impossible*, for a community such as ours to comply with the terms of the Mosaic law in all their strictness. I meet with no man, how rigid soever his Sabbatarian professions, who makes any serious pretence of complying with those terms to the uttermost range of their requirements. The fact is—and men who would have us place the Fourth Commandment on our statute books ought to be well informed as to the fact, if only to save them from talking impertinent nonsense—the fact is, I say, that Christianity never re-enacted the Jewish Sabbatic law. Jesus gave us a law in its stead of a more pliant and more genial spirit, which He states in concluding a controversy with the Pharisees : "*It is, therefore, lawful to do well on the Sabbath ;*" what constitutes "doing well" on the Lord's day being left to right reason and devout instinct to decide. Of all this our Christian Pharisees are unaware, however. Hence their misrepresentations of the Christian Holy Day ; looking sourly and ferociously upon the simple relaxations and indulgences which people will allow themselves on the Day of Rest, especially the many thousands of our population from parts of Christendom where Pharisaic or Puritanic restrictions upon Christian liberty are unknown. By these misrepresentations of what Sunday or the Lord's Day is, or as to what it requires of, or denies to, men, vast numbers of our fellow-citizens are prejudiced and embittered against the religious claims of the day—an unreasoning intolerance driving men into infidelity, as so often.

An endowment, or an attainment, most serviceable in men representing religion in the world, whether "in orders" or out of orders, is an elastic good sense. It is well to be "zealously affected at all times in a good thing ;" but by all means let your zeal be "*according to knowledge.*" "Let your moderation" (τὸ ἐπιεικὲς, *sweet reasonableness*, as Mr. Matthew Arnold would render), "be known unto all men." Enthusiasts and fanatics have mainly made up the vanguard in the "noble army of martyrs" and heroes who have transformed the moral face of the world. We therefore honor them, although their impetuosity is sometimes wild. No marvel if men of an eager temperament are carried away by indignation against prevailing abominations they see about them, saying and doing indiscreet things under such impulses. That construction must be put upon a late strange episode in the experience of an eminent clergyman among us, I think, with accounts of which the ears of the people are still ringing. Mad at the toleration of foulest vice by those whom we commission and pay to stamp it out, this man went and saw with his own eyes, in resorts which a man of common nerve would shrink from entering, infamies too terrible to tell of ! All this to fortify himself with irrefutable evidence to convict those guilty of such foul doings. The motive atones for the seeming recklessness of the proceeding. But surely there was "a more excellent way" to get at the end sought. If our police authorities are so callous, however, toward these alleged enormities as not to be moved to the repressing of them but by these highly sensational exposures on the part of clergymen, then are our municipal morals in a vile condition. But this alternative I, for one, should be slow to accept.

At the worst, however, let me beg of you, my friends, not to incline toward the gloomy conclusion, from all you have been hearing and reading of late, that this community is fit only for the damnation of hell. I have had my public being in four or five representative cities of the world, with large opportunities for acquaintance with their manners and morals, and New York, in all salient moral features, will compare favorably with the best of them. In all *salient* moral features, I say, for I have not sought to know the infamies that hide in darkness. And this mitigating judgment of our city may be entertained spite of the heavy exceptional disadvantages we are under. For remember, that New York is the *entrepot* of a good deal of the social scum and villainy of Europe. Pondering that fact, I am inclined to marvel at the success we have had in working up the base human stuff we have received from abroad into the composite of our American society. While recollecting, moreover, that there are inevitable evils in all young, rude countries, springing from the passionate pursuit of material ends, with evils incident to phases or stages of civilization which neither the Church, nor the State, nor both combined in their efforts, can extrude or suppress but by slow, indirect processes—recollecting these things, I am not in a condition of distressing alarm about this city or nation. There is too much Christian manhood and womanhood in the

land for it to be given over wholly to the rule of the Wicked One. The moral and religious forces in action about us will give good account of themselves in the strife with the devil or his minions. Only, bear in mind, in help of patience, that the millennium won't be here to-morrow. Yet will we relax no muscle in furthering its coming.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

BY PROFESSOR W. SANDAY, D.D.

From *The Expositor* (London), March, 1892.

IV. The Author.

It has become almost a fixed custom with defenders of the Fourth Gospel to conduct their argument in a series of narrowing circles, proving (1) that the author must have been a Jew, (2) that he must have been a Jew of Palestine, (3) that he must have been a contemporary and eye-witness of the events, (4) that if a contemporary and eye-witness he was probably an Apostle, and (5) that if an Apostle he was probably St. John. The first and the (except on the theory of Dr. Delff) latest steps in this chain of reasoning are becoming more and more generally admitted; and the controversy is coming more and more to concentrate itself on the two intermediate points, the proposition that the author was a Jew of Palestine, and the proposition that he was a contemporary and eye-witness.

It was one of the axioms of Tübingen criticism that the author represented the Gentile branch of the Church. He was held to have had nothing to do with Palestine; and instances were quoted to show his ignorance not only of Palestinian geography but of Jewish customs. The first I believe to throw over these instances, though they would of course have made for his own conclusion, was Keim.

"Under this head," he wrote, "we do not reckon the list of errors, in general history, or in geography which it is the fashion to prove, over and above the Synoptics, from the Old Testament, from Josephus, and even from Eusebius and Jerome. There is the less need to accept these supposed errors about Bethany and Bethesda, Cana and Kidron, Salem and Sychar, about the 'high priest of that year,' and about the distances of Cana and Capernaum, Bethany and Peræa, because in other respects the author shows a fairly good knowledge of the country, and even the most difficult cases can be explained by a special intention. The high priest of the 'Death-Year' (Todesjahres) is significant, and does not at all betray the opinion of a yearly change in the office; Sychar is a vernacular or mock name for Sichem; Salem and Ain are situated in Judæa, or rather in Samaria, to the borders of which the forerunner of him who sat by Jacob's well made his way; the exaggeration of distances is to enhance the miracle." *

Further on Keim admits a Hebrew colouring in the language, an understanding of the Old Testament in the original, acquaintance with Jewish customs and places, and even with particular features (Einzelmomente) in the Messianic idea.† And the ultimate conclusion to which he comes is that the author was "well acquainted with the Holy Land; a Jewish Christian, though liberal and friendly disposed toward the Gentiles, and probably belonging to the Jewish Diaspora in Asia Minor." ‡

Schürer himself takes up very much the same position.

"Among serious difficulties we need no longer reckon at the present day the supposed ignorance of Palestinian and Jewish matters from which Bretschneider and Baur inferred that the author was neither a Palestinian nor in any sense a Jew. The geographical errors and ignorance of things Jewish have more and more shrunk to a *minimum*. And the opposition no longer lays stress upon them. It is true that everything is not explained. In particular it remains questionable that the author seems to have assumed a yearly change in the high priesthood. But on the whole he has without doubt a good knowledge of things Jewish. And even by opponents of the genuineness, it is more and more pronounced probable that he was of Jewish origin, Hellenistic if not Palestinian." §

To this last point we shall return. In the meantime, in reference to the one lingering objection which is still taken by Schürer, it is enough to appeal to the answer already given by Keim. In view of the writer's sense of the solemnity of the crisis which he is describing, and in view of his fondness for casting emphasis by the use of the particular word ἐκεῖνος, in view too of the admission just made of his knowledge of Jewish customs, which includes many things far more minute and remote than those of the tenure of the high priesthood, it is surely strained on the part of Schürer, and unlike his usual judgment to leave even this one objection standing. ‖

We might leave the whole matter here, content only to claim that if so much is

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* *Gesch. Jesu v. Nazara*, i. 133. (There are several faults in the rendering of this passage in E. T., i. 181 f., ed. 2.)

† *Ibid.*, p. 156 (E. T., p. 212).

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 168 (E. T., p. 228).

§ *Vortrag*, p. 67 f. This instalment was written before the appearance of Dr. Schürer's essay in English, and the quotations are left as they stood from the original as being in several respects a more satisfactory presentation of his views.

‖ The two Holtzmanns account for what they think the mistake by confusion with the Asian high priesthood, which did change hands every year. (H. Holtzmann, *Einl.*, p. 469, ed. 2; O. Holtzmann, *Joh.-Ev.*, p. 115.)

conceded as both Schürer and Keim are ready to concede, it shall be taken in earnest, and not merely remain as a concession in words, but be allowed to have the full weight in the mind which it deserves to have; we might be content with this, if it were not that a more sweeping objection has recently been raised by Mr. Cross. Mr. Cross calls in question not the minor premiss of the argument but the major. He does not dispute the local knowledge, but he disputes the inference that is drawn from it.

"We cannot but feel," he says, "as we read [the Fourth Gospel] that the writer is quite at home in Palestine. He knows the general lie of the country, the position of Samaria, the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and many such other places, with their special local features, and his narrative moves freely and without constraint through these scenes. Still this knowledge, or even his use of it in telling his story, does not prove that he was an eye-witness. It does not even prove that he was a native of Palestine." *

He quotes the cases of Origen and Jerome, both resident for long periods in Palestine, and he desiderates a fuller examination of the literary habits of the time. In a later article he returns to the subject. He urges that

"Many examples might be cited to show that a knowledge of Palestine was not limited to born Jews. . . . It is remarkable that in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, a work which is universally dated long after the destruction of Jerusalem, there are a large number of very exact references, not only to the topography of Palestine and neighbouring countries, but also to Jerusalem and the buildings of the Temple, much more than are to be found in any of the Gospels, or perhaps in all of them together." †

It may be well therefore to pause a moment, and ask a little more precisely how far this argument will carry us. There are obvious limits to it, and it is important that these limits should be borne in mind. It will be hardly necessary for me to say that the argument has not been invented for the purpose of application to St. John's Gospel, but that it is in common use amongst critics; and I confess that, so far as I can judge, the use hitherto made of it is a sound one. Some of the best examples would, I think, be taken from the writings of Professor Ramsay. I may refer, for instance, to his treatment of the stories of St. Artemon and St. Abercius in *The Expositor*.‡ "Fidelity of local detail," he says, "is one of the most important characteristics of the class of tales which is here described." However, the notes of place may be right, but the notes of time wrong. The inference is that the story grew up where the scene is laid, though it took the exact shape in which it has come down to us at a later period. The case of St. Abercius is peculiarly interesting because the growth of the legend can be traced from its beginning in an epitaph cut in stone by the order of Abercius himself, and rediscovered by Professor Ramsay.* Other examples of the same kind might be taken from the same traveller's recent work on Asia Minor. Thus it is proved that the tale of St. Zosimus "first took literary form after the reorganization of the provinces attributed to Diocletian; but the local knowledge is a clear mark of a genuine popular tradition living in the country." † In regard to another document, the "Acts of Theodore Sykeota," Professor Ramsay does not require confirmation for all the details, where enough are confirmed to be a guarantee for the remainder. At the same time, a distinction is drawn between the different parts of the area to which the evidence extends. "The numerous topographical details which we cannot control by independent testimony may be accepted with confidence for the country within a moderate distance; but in regard to remoter cities, the author's geographical knowledge is defective." ‡ Like traces of local knowledge appear in the Acts of Basiliscus and John of Kybistra.§

Another writer who has made a brilliant use of local indications is Von Gutschmid in his Essay on "Names of Kings in the Apocryphal Acts" (*Die Koenigsnamen in den apokr. Apostelgeschichten* ‖). I may mention for the benefit of our own explorers, in case it should happen to have escaped them, that he calls attention (p. 388) to the material that may be obtained from the "Acts of Barnabas" for the topography of the island of Cyprus. Throughout this essay there is the underlying assumption that geographical accuracy shows where, if not when, a legend arose.

On one of the Acts discussed by Von Gutschmid the last word has probably not yet been spoken. It was a striking discovery that the Princess Tryphæna, who plays a part in the Acts of Paul and Thecla, was a historical personage, the discarded wife of Polemo II., king at different times of

* *Westminster Review*, Aug., 1890, p. 177.
† *Critical Review*, Feb., 1891, p. 157 f.
‡ 1889, 1, 141 ff., 253 ff., 392 ff.

* See the articles referred to above; also Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. 476 ff.
† *Historical Geog. of Asia Minor*. London, 1890, p. 400 n.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 246 f.
§ *Ibid.*, pp. 262, 337.
‖ Reprinted in vol. ii. of his posthumously collected *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1890).

Pontus, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and Cilicia. Von Gutschmid locates this lady at Antioch in Pisidia, which is, or ought to be, the scene of the Thecla legend. Dr. Gwynn, in an elaborate article in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (*s.v.* Thecla), speaks more doubtfully. We know in any case from Tertullian that the original Acts of Paul and Thecla, which are probably ours, though possibly only the base out of which ours have been constructed, were written by a presbyter of the province of Asia. Dr. Gwynn thinks that he shows signs of some, but not an exact, acquaintance with the localities with which he is dealing.* We may look for more light on this subject ; † and it may be observed in passing that it is important to get at the true text of the Acts for which Lipsius, following Tischendorf, has now given us ample materials.‡

It was by following a similar method to Von Gutschmid and Ramsay, that Usener was able to assign an Ephesian origin to the Acts of St. Timothy, which he was the first to publish in the Greek,§ though in their present form they seem to date from the fourth century. On the one hand there is the mention of the *Catagogia*, a festival probably of Artemis, and the suburb of Pion ; on the other hand Lycaonia is described as a "province," which it did not become till the time of Diocletian. In contrast with these Acts we have the *Acta Johannis* of Prochorus : their scene is laid at Ephesus, and a number of would-be Ephesian or Asiatic localities are mentioned, all either non-existent or wrongly placed.‖ This is enough to mark a pure romance. Like the Acts of Timothy, that ancient Syriac work the *Doctrine of Addai* itself belongs to the fourth or early fifty century, but there are local traits which clearly connect it with Edessa.¶ An example of the way in which a single local touch may reveal the nationality of a writer is supplied by an interesting work published not long ago for the first time by Gamurrini. The work in question bears the title, *S. Silviae Aquitanæ Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta ann*, 385–388 (Romæ, 1887),** mainly on the strength of two allusions. The authoress, who is writing to the sisters in a nunnery with which she had been connected, is seen to be a native of Gaul from the way in which she compares the Euphrates in the rush and breadth of its waters to the Rhone ; and her date is fixed approximately by the state of things at Edessa, which she visits, and on the Eastern frontier of the empire.* The identification with Silvia, the sister of Rufinus, the minister of Theodosius and Arcadius, also rests on fair grounds, and has not yet been questioned. One is reminded of another coincidence on which stress has recently been laid. It will be remembered that the scene of the Ninth Similitude in Hermas is laid in Arcadia. For this Zahn proposed to read "Aricia," but Professor Rendel Harris pointed out in the *Journal of Biblical Exegesis* for January, 1887, that the description given corresponds closely to the view of the surrounding mountains from the plain of Orchomenos, with the hill of Orchomenos answering to the ὄρος μαστῶδες in the midst. An opinion of this kind gains greatly when more than one person is struck by the same thing. Professor Rendel Harris appears to base his arguments on maps and descriptions, but Mr. Armitage Robinson, who has himself visited the spot, assures me that the coincidence is very marked. The inference which Mr. Harris draws is that Hermas has made use of Pausanias, or (as there is a difficulty about the date of Pausanias' *Arcadia*) of some other work similar to his. But would it not be a still simpler explanation to suppose that he was born and brought up under the shadow of these very mountains, and that the scene which he describes is drawn from the recollections of his youth ? I am not aware that there is anything in the way of this supposition. We know that Hermas was sold as a slave to a Roman lady called Rhoda ; but that is the point at which his recorded history begins. We are not told where he came from ; and in the absence of such knowledge an indication like this may be followed.

The question is pertinent to the point from which we started. Mr. Cross seems to think that the author of the Fourth Gospel might have got his knowledge of Palestine from books, or at least from a prolonged visit. It was a rare thing in ancient times for a country to be described with so much fulness as Pausanias has given to the parts which he visited of Greece. Most of the works which do duty for geographies

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* *Ut sup.*, p. 893 f.

† Since this was written (and I leave it exactly as it stood) I hear that the new light desiderated is soon to be thrown in the pages of *The Expositor* by Professor Ramsay.

‡ *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Lipsiæ, 1891), i. 235 ff.

§ Univ.-programme, Bonn, 1877.

‖ *Acta Johannis* (ed. Zahn, Erlangen, 1880), p. lii.

¶ Tixeront : *Origines de l'Église d'Édesse* (Paris, 1888), p. 145 ; Zahn, *Diat. Tatian's*, p. 382.

** A more correct text is promised, though as an *editio princeps*, accompanied by a commentary, Gamurrini's is by no means without merit.

* Gamurrini, pp. xxvii.-xxxii.

are little more than lists of names.* Palestine in particular has had scant measure dealt to it in the works which have come down to us. Pomponius Mela was a geographer of some note in the first century; and he mentions a single place, Gaza, about which he gives us the interesting information that the name is the Persian word for "treasure."† Ptolemy in the second century is more scientific, and has given his name to a complete astronomical system. Yet he merely gives the boundaries of Palestine, and then a list of towns and cities, with a rough sort of latitude and longitude. In the whole of Galilee he only mentions four names: Sepphoris, Caparcotni (on the southern edge of the Plain of Esdraelon, opposite Nazareth), Julias (Bethsaida Julias), and Tiberias. In Samaria he only mentions two names, Neapolis (Sichem) and Thena. In Judæa he mentions twenty names, many along the Maritime Plain, but of these only one, Jerusalem, occurs in St. John. The reproduction of Ptolemy's view of the geography of Palestine, and the adjacent countries in Spruner-Menke's *Atlas* (p. 27) shows that he had a curious idea of its configuration. Strabo, the greatest of all the geographers of antiquity, gives a very poor account of Palestine. He knows something about the coast-line, but betrays his dependence on literary sources by speaking of Gaza as "deserted," although it had been refounded by Gabinius (57–55 B.C.).‡ He has then a brief and barely recognisable sketch of Jewish history, which becomes a little more definite as it approaches the taking of Jerusalem and other strongholds by Pompey. Then there is a sketch of the plain of Jericho. Then some account of the remarkable phenomena of the Dead Sea, which Strabo calls ἡ Σερβωνὶς λίμνη, clearly confusing it with the real "Serbonian bog" near Mount Casius on the frontier of Egypt. Then he mentions another instance of water with curious properties in the district of Gadara. That is all. The Itineraries again furnish very little help.§ The Peutinger Table, for instance, only gives the stations along the Roman roads, and appears to make the Hieromax (Jarmuk) fall, not into the Jordan, but directly into the Dead Sea. When we come to Christian times naturally rather more was done. Eusebius and Jerome both made a study of Biblical sites; but still the results only take the form of bare statistics of names and distances, often with etymologies giving the meaning of the names.* The stream of pilgrims to the Holy Places begins with the Bordeaux pilgrim in 333—unless we are to count Origen the first of the pilgrims.

But it will have been seen from this sketch how scanty were the materials which the author of the Fourth Gospel would have had to work upon if he had tried to prepare himself for his task by literary studies. It is not as if it were likely that he had access to other and fuller authorities which have perished. Those which have survived enable us to take the measure of those which have not survived. And that by the help of either class, or indeed of any form of literary description current in antiquity, he could have hit upon the topographical allusions in the Gospel, is simply impossible. Think for a moment what these are: First, we have Bethany beyond Jordan, not mentioned by any other writer, but guaranteed by its precise distinction from the other Bethany, which is identified by its distance (15 stades) from Jerusalem. Then we have Cana of Galilee, also not mentioned, unless —what is not certain—this is the same with a village three times named by Josephus.† Here however again the sure hand of the author appears, because he alone gives the distinguishing epithet "of Galilee," and Josephus mentions another Cana in Judæa.‡ The modern explorer has two sites in Galilee which bear the name of Cana to choose between. Aenon, M. Renan calls "un trait de lumière:" it simply represents the Aramaic for "springs." It is placed by Jerome eight Roman miles from Scythopolis near to Salim which he takes as known.§ Sychar is not quite so certain, but it is now generally identified with the modern village of Askar. The details of Jacob's well with Gerizim rising above it, are exactly given as they may be seen to this day.‖ Readers of the *Palestine Exploration Fund Reports* will know the claim that has recently been made for the rediscovery of the Pool of Bethesda ("Bethsaida," or still more probably "Bezetha," as the name is read in some MSS.), with substantial remains even of the five colonnades. The identification may

* For instance, of the ancient authorities of which Professor Ramsay makes use in his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles, the *Notitiæ Episcopatuum*, the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table are all of this character.

† For a more probable derivation see Keller, *Lateinische Volksetymologie*, p. 249.

‡ Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, ii. 62.

§ These Itineraries are based upon a survey begun under Julius Cæsar, and completed under Augustus, the results of which were represented upon a globe which was kept in the portico of Polla (Jung in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, iii. 469 f.).

* See especially Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*, 2d ed. Göttingen, 1887.

† *Vit.*, 16; *Ant.*, xiii. 15, 1; *B. J.*, i. 17, 5.

‡ *B. J.*, i. 4, 7.

§ Lagarde, *Onomast.*, p. 134.

‖ See especially Lightfoot, *Expositor*, 1890, i. 176-9.

not be certain—though the presence of such remains tallying with the description and exactly in the quarter where we should expect to find them, must count for something; but in any case, the very precise statement (including the "Sheepgate"), must be set down to the credit of the writer. The city of Ephraim readily identified with Ophrah of the Old Testament, and probably with the modern *et-Taiyibeh;* the "treasury" and Solomon's porch in the Temple; Gabbatha, Golgotha, the Kedron ravine, taken together, if not taken singly, were far too minute and precise to have come from literary sources.

But then, Mr. Cross urges, the author of the Gospel, though not a Jew, may have settled for a length of time in Palestine, as Origen did and Jerome. True, he may have so settled. But it must have been for a long time; and he must have moved about considerably from place to place to lay his finger with so much accuracy on spots so far apart as Cana and Bethany, Aenon, and the Kedron ravine.

However this may be, Mr. Cross still urges, and however the fact is to be explained, the Fourth Gospel need not have been written by a Palestinian Jew in the first century, because there are examples of works, neither genuine nor contemporary, which yet are distinguished by precise topographical details. Such an example he finds in the Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew, which it may therefore be interesting to test somewhat fully. The case would certainly be a strong one, if it should be found to hold good, as Lipsius assigns the work in question to the second half of the fifth century. I should imagine that this is not far wrong. To avoid repetition in the next section of our inquiry, we may take at once the indications which bear upon the date of the so-called Gospel and upon its place of origin. The text of the Gospel exists only in Latin, and is published by Tischendorf in his *Evangelia Apocrypha,* pp. 51–112 (ed. 2, 1876). We have also facilities for comparing the Pseudo-Matthæan legend with an older version in the *Protevangelium Jacobi,* which precedes it in Tischendorf's collection.

In cap. i. we are told how Joachim lived the life of a pious shepherd, showing his devotion by his liberality toward those who ministered in sacred things, *duplicia offerens munera in timore Dei et doctrina laborantibus et simplicia offerens his qui ministrabant eis.* Indeed, he divided the produce of his flocks and all that he had into three parts, and gave one part to the widows, orphans, strangers and poor, one part to the priests (*colentibus Deum*), while he only reserved the remaining third to himself and his house. The stress which is laid on gifts to the priests (or clergy) points to a late date. For the single and double gifts to the different orders of the ministry I have not found a parallel. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 29), firstfruits of certain specified things are to go to the priests, tithes and some other firstfruits to the widows and orphans. The common rule for the distribution of tithes was that they should be divided into four parts, not always applied in quite the same way. But besides the quadripartite division, there was also a tripartite. The earliest example of this quoted by Dr. Hatch in his *Growth of Church Institutions* (p. 112) is dated 801. Here the division applies to tithe, in Pseudo-Matthew to all produce. No doubt an exceptional degree of virtue is intended; still the idea of threefold division had apparently defined itself when the author wrote. The *Protevangelium* simply says that Joachim doubled his gifts (*προσέφερε τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ διπλᾶ*, i. 1).

In cap. ii. Joachim goes up among those "who offered incense to the Lord." The offering of incense belonged specially to the priests; but Joachim we are told was of the family of David. He is repelled from sacrificing by the *scriba templi,* an official, I believe, not otherwise heard of. The "scribes" (*γραμματεῖς*) are mentioned in the *Protevangelium,* but not in this connexion.

Meantime Anna is promised the birth of a daughter, and goes to meet her husband at the "golden gate." The epithet is an addition to the *Protevangelium* (iv. 4), and not a very happy one. The designation "golden gate" does not, I believe, occur before Justinian (if indeed then), and the present structure probably dates from that period.* It led out of the Kedron ravine through the east wall into the temple area —hardly a natural place for Anna to meet her husband. The part of the wall in which it was situated appears to have been in ruins at the time of Paula's visit (*circa* 383 A.D.), and the *porta speciosa* of Antoninus was still ruined in his time (*circa* 570 A.D.).†

Mary is born, and while yet an infant is presented to the Lord *in contubernium virginum quae die noctuque in Dei laudibus*

* See Professor Hayter Lewis, *Holy Places of Jerusalem,* p. 96 (cf. p. 92). The Bordeaux pilgrim speaks of *a* gate, and Antoninus of a gate which he calls *porta speciosa.*

† Sir C. Wilson thinks that this may have been the present "golden gate" (*Pal. Pilg. Texts,* No. 1, pp. 14, 15); but are not the domes against this? The date assigned to Antoninus on the title-page of *P. P. T.* is a misprint (cf. p. v., and *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium,* ed. Gildemeister, p. xvii.).

permanebant. Elsewhere (cap. viii.) we are told that from the time of Solomon onwards there had always been in the temple "daughters of kings who were virgins, and of prophets, and of chief priests and priests." Mary takes her place among the "senior virgins," and apportions out her own day from dawn to the third hour, from the third hour to the ninth (cap. vi.). Clearly all this group of ideas is taken from the convents and the convent schools which were not fully organized before the fifth century. The *Protevangelium* speaks only of the presentation of the Virgin without these embellishments.

At last (in cap. iv.) we come to what seems an accurate local touch. On her presentation in the temple Mary, though quite an infant, runs up "the fifteen steps" without looking back for her parents. It is true that there was a well-known flight of "fifteen steps" in the Temple on which the "Psalms of Degrees" are traditionally said to have been recited by the Levites.* It is however unfortunate for Pseudo-Matthew (1) that these steps led, not into the court of the women (which was entered by a flight of *twelve* steps, not fifteen), but from that of the women into the court of Israel; and (2) that the steps are not placed by him within the Temple at all, but outside it (*ante Templum* in some MSS., which Tischendorf favours; *ante foras Templi* in others). Still in spite of these errors the mention of "fifteen steps" may attract some notice. The "steps of the Temple" early gained and long maintained a place in Christian history or legend. It was on them that according to one version St. James met his death. There was an Ebionite *Apocryphon* called the Ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου,† with which it is natural to compare the title of Psalms cxix. (LXX.) to cxxxiii., ᾠδαὶ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν.

In cap. vii. there is a discussion on virginity which would have been much out of place in the Jewish Temple. Abel is said to have received "two crowns, the crown of oblation and the crown of virginity."

We now have the story of the espousal of Mary and Joseph, the Annunciation and Nativity, told largely in Biblical language, but with the cave as well as the manger. These features are also found in *Protevangelium*, which ends at this point. The descent into Egypt is more fully elaborated. Here it is that we get the allusions to the topography of other countries besides Palestine. The well-known miracles of the legend take place upon the way. The travellers have their journey preternaturally shortened, and arrive first at the district (?) of Hermopolis, where they enter a city called Sotinen (*devenerunt in finibus Hermopolis et in unam ex civitatibus Egypti quae Sotinen dicitur*). There does not seem to be any "district" or "nome" bearing the name Hermopolis: there are however two cities of that name, neither of which seems to suit the conditions which appear to require a place on the main route from Palestine. Hermopolis Magna is far up the Nile, about mid-way between Memphis and Thebes; and Hermopolis Parva (the modern *Damanhur*) is not far from Alexandria.* Heroopolis might have been rather nearer the mark, as there is a city and nome so-called on the road to Palestine. There is however no variant in the MSS. of Pseudo-Matthew. The nearest approach I can find to "Sotinen" is a city of the Delta called in the Coptic documents PSENETAI, and said to be represented on the maps as "Schenit, El-Seneta and Seneda." Whether this has anything to do with Sotinen I should not like to say; but at any rate it is in quite a different nome (the 11th) from either Hermopolis or Heroopolis. The Nile would have to be crossed to reach it, and it is not near either the road to Palestine or the "mountains" which had just been described as coming in sight.

At Sotinen there is a temple, *quod capitolium Egypti vocabatur.* In this temple there are 365 idols, which on the entrance of Mother and Child fall to the ground and are broken in pieces. Affrodisius, *dux civitatis illius*, arrives "with all his army" to take vengeance for the sacrilege, but instead falls down and worships. The title *dux civitatis* does not belong at all to the first century. It does not seem to have been until the time of Constantine that *dux* was used of any of the smaller units in the army or of local garrisons, and then it ranks above the "chiliarch."† In Egypt the *strategi* were officers of the nome, and only had under their orders a few police.‡ The Egyptians were not likely to call their temple the "Capitol of Egypt." It is true that the term is used of any large and splendid temple,§ but of course only in the West.

* Neubauer in *Stud. Bibl.*, ii. 56. The *Protev.* describes how the child was set on the "third step of the altar"—a different matter.

† Epiph., *Hær.*, xxx. 16; Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.*, ii. 2, 245; Salmon in *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, i. 568.

* Dümichen conjectures the possible existence of another Hermopolis in the 15th Nome, not far from the Phatnitic arm of the Nile (*Geographie des alten Aegyptens*, p. 261).

† οὐ μόνον ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ χιλιάρχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λεγομένων δουκῶν οἱ στρατηγῶν ἐν ἑκάστῳτόπῳ τάξιν ἐπεῖχον (Zosimus, *Hist.* ii., 33).

‡ Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, i. 290.

§ See Georges *ad voc.*

The pantheon of gods with their rotating days of honour needs verification; but in any case it does not agree either with Hermopolis, which was dedicated specially to the god Thoth, or with Senetai, which was dedicated specially to Horus.*

The narratives of the pilgrims to the Holy Places supply a further means of obtaining at least a *terminus a quo* for the date of the apocryphal Gospel. Of the five pilgrims before the Arab invasion of whom accounts have come down to us, three made a point of visiting Egypt, and a fourth (Theodosius) has a note on Memphis which may be derived from personal knowledge. The two earliest, Paula, whose movements are described by Jerome, and Silvia of Aquitaine, evidently had a double interest. They visited the sites connected with Israel in Egypt and the Exodus, and they were also interested in monasteries and monasticism. But of the legend which surrounds the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt there is not the slightest trace. The first and only indication of this is in Antoninus of Placentia (*c.* 570, A.D.), of whom it is said that at Memphis he saw the door (*regia, i.e.* "main door") of a church, formerly a temple, which had shut itself to against the infant Christ, and could never afterwards be opened. Not even in Antoninus is there any allusion to "Sotinen" and "Hermopolis." We may however suspect that these names are more or less distorted versions of the reports brought back by pilgrims.

In any case, I do not think it can be said that the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew supplies a substantial argument against the inferences which have been drawn from local knowledge.

Going back then to the Gospel of St. John, we are left, with two alternatives. Either the author of the Gospel was a Jew born and bred in Palestine, or he must at least have made so long a stay there, and have so gone about from place to place as to have become intimately acquainted with a great part of the country and able to handle local names with sureness and ease. In order to decide between these alternatives we must have recourse to other criteria. We must endeavour to enter into the mind of the author and see from what point of view he looked out upon things, whether from that of one who was from the first wholly a Jew, or from that of one in whom Jewish ideas were mingled with ideas foreign to Judaism.

Let us take our first test under this head from the use of the Old Testament.

* Dümichen, *ut sup.*, pp. 261, 254.

In my book of twenty years ago I used an expression which was rather too strong about this. Assuming that St. John in two places gave a version of his own directly from the Hebrew, without regard to the LXX., I spoke of this as "convincing." Mr. Cross demurs: * and in view of some new light which has been thrown upon quotations from the Old Testament on the New and in early writers, I accept the correction, though I still think that the argument has some not inconsiderable weight.

Bishop Lightfoot,† with his usual lucidity and force of reasoning, pressed home three passages as showing a direct influence of the Hebrew.

St. John xix. 37 (= Zech. xii. 10), "They shall look on Him whom they pierced."

St. John xii. 40 (= Isa. vi. 10), "Because that Esaias said again, He hath blinded their eyes," etc.

St. John xiii. 18 (= Ps. xli. 9 Heb.; xl. 10, LXX.), "He that eateth bread with Me hath lifted up his heel against Me."

It is well known that in the first of these passages the Septuagint has not "whom they pierced," but "because they insulted."

The first of these two versions was correct as a rendering of the Hebrew—at least of our present Hebrew. Mr. Cross however challenged the inference that St. John made a new version for himself. He pointed to the fact that "whom they pierced" is found not only in the Gospel but also in the Apocalypse, in Justin Martyr, in some MSS. of the Septuagint, and in the three versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; and he argued that the author of the Fourth Gospel did not translate for himself, but adopted another version current at the time.

Dr. T. K. Abbott replied to this,‡ that Aq., Symm., Theod., MSS. of LXX. might be reduced practically to Aquila, from whom all the other renderings or readings were derived. The same article contained some criticism of Dr. Hatch, who had adopted a view similar to that of Mr. Cross.

The state of the case in regard to divergent quotations from the Old Testament is this.

Generally speaking, it may be said that up to the year 1884 the assumption had been made that where an author quoted from the Old Testament in a form more nearly resembling the Hebrew than the Septuagint he had either himself translated directly from the Hebrew or followed some other writer who had so translated. But

* *Class. Rev.*, 1890, p. 453 f., also 1891, p. 142 f.

† *Expositor*, 1890, pp. 19-21. It should be remembered however that the Essay, though printed at this date, was written in 1871.

‡ *Ibid.*, Feb., 1891, p. 11 f.

from that year onwards, starting from a small beginning but with a wider accession of facts as it proceeded, the conviction has been growing that there were current as far back as the period of the New Testament itself, at least for certain books, other Greek versions than those which go under the name of the Septuagint and in some cases more nearly representing the Hebrew.

The impulse was given by two observations of Professor Rendel Harris and Dr. Hort.* Professor Rendel Harris noticed that a passage in the Shepherd of Hermas was really based upon the Greek of Daniel, but upon the Greek in a peculiar form. Dr. Hort thereupon pointed out that the form in question implied the version of Theodotion, not the text which properly bore the name of Septuagint. Hitherto it had been supposed that Theodotion's version was at least some forty years later than Hermas, but doubt was at once thrown on this. It happened that Dr. Salmon had a special interest in the date of Hermas, as he maintained a view which, though no doubt defensible, is as yet held by a minority of scholars. At his instance Dr. Gwynn worked out yet further the traces of a version similar to Theodotion's, but before Theodotion, with the result that it has been made highly probable that the name of that editor has been given to a version not only current but largely preferred to the Septuagint version before his day.

Dr. Hatch, in his essays in *Biblical Greek*, published in 1889, maintained not exactly this theory but another which somewhat resembled it, viz., that many of the quotations in early Christian writers were taken not directly from the Books of the Old Testament quoted but from collections of extracts or short manuals compiled from the Old Testament by the Jews. This too is a possibility that has something in its favour and that must be distinctly contemplated, though it is not the only hypothesis which will explain the facts.

As a consequence of these investigations, the old simple inference has at least lost its stringency. It is no longer certain that a writer who agrees more nearly with the Hebrew than the Septuagint is himself translating from the Hebrew. He may be using a different version or he may be using a collection of extracts.

What are we to say to the particular instances adduced by Dr. Lightfoot and by others who have dealt with the Introduction to the Fourth Gospel? As between Dr. T. K. Abbott and Mr. Cross, it seems to me that Dr. Abbott has certainly reduced considerably the apparent body of evidence for the existence of a version of Zechariah xii. 10 distinct from that of the LXX. It now stands as Gosp. Apoc. Just.-Mart. Aq. If the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse are both by the same hand, or at least closely connected, and if, as is possible, the form of the quotation in Justin is influenced by these writings, then the evidence would be reduced still further, it would in fact consist of only two items, *Script. Joan.* and Aquila; and between these two, for reasons which Dr. Abbott has urged, the coincidence of rendering might be accidental. Still each of these steps involves a certain amount of assumption; and on the other hand the existence of a version not identical with the LXX. seems to be sufficiently proved; so that on the whole, if this passage had stood alone, I should have been inclined to side with Mr. Cross, and to think that the use of such a version was the easier hypothesis of the two.

But it must be remembered that there are two other passages in regard to which the balance of probability seems to be different. In xiii. 18 (= Ps. xli. 9, "lifted up his heel") the Fourth Gospel stands alone: Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion are all extant, and agree more with the LXX. than with the Gospel.

> St. John: ἐπῆρεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ.
> LXX.: ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ πτερνισμόν.
> Aq., Theod.: κατεμεγαλύνθη μου πτέρνᾳ.
> Symm.: κατεμεγαλύνθη μου ἀκολουθῶν.

Here the Johannean rendering is quite isolated, and looks as if it were affected either by the original text or by a Targumic paraphrase.

There is a like isolation in xii. 40 (= Isa. vi. 10). This verse is quoted in two other places in the New Testament (Matt. xiii. 15 and Acts xxviii. 27), in both closely with the LXX.; and Symmachus, who alone is extant, is nearer to the LXX. than to St. John and the Hebrew.

There is some difficulty in supposing that in these two instances an alternative version had reached the writer of the Fourth Gospel and had not reached any of the companions which he had with him in the quotation from Zechariah. So that, on the whole, and with some hesitation, I lean to the old view that the Gospel does show signs of the influence of the original either directly or indirectly through an Aramaic paraphrase.

I lean to this view the more readily because it only falls in with a conclusion arrived at in other ways. Whether or not in

* *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, 1884, Apr. and Dec.

the outer circumference of his mind the writer of the Gospel had imbibed ideas derived from Alexandrian Hellenism must for the present be left an open question, but in any case at its centre he was essentially a Jew. The argument from style and diction I do not propose to discuss. It will be found excellently stated by Bishop Lightfoot * and by Dr. Westcott ; † I may add also by Keim in the passage referred to above.† But the question of modes of thought is perhaps more debateable, and to that I hope to return in the next paper.

W. SANDAY.

NOTE.—The last of these papers brought me two letters from Dr. Hort, which are of great value to me personally, and require a word of notice.

In the first place, I hasten to disclaim a construction which I fear might have been placed upon my words. In saying that Dr. Hort had urged all that could possibly be urged against the words τὸ πάσχα in St. John vi. 4, I did not mean to imply that this was done with any harmonistic object. The paragraph in which I spoke of the effect of the omission upon the harmony of the Gospels was not meant to be connected logically with the paragraph which went before, though I can see that it might be taken as so connected. There is no writer, English or foreign, who is so entirely above suspicion of being influenced by any such object ; and to suggest otherwise was far indeed from my mind.

I was well aware that I was myself more open to the charge of "Harmonistik," from the attempt which I made to reconcile the Synoptic and Johannean narratives on the day of the Crucifixion. I could not plead guilty to the charge, because I was only dealing with the Gospel narratives precisely as I should have dealt with any two other historical authorities under similar circumstances. I also, as I hope, succeeded in making it understood that the reconciliation which I put forward—not as my own, but on the lines of Edersheim, Nösgen, and others—was put forward most tentatively, and subject to the validity of certain premises which, as neither Hebraist nor Talmudist, I did not feel competent to criticise personally.

Dr. Hort has been so good as to give me his opinion on these premises. On every one he goes behind the data on which I was relying, with the result that as a whole I no longer regard the explanation offered as tenable. I can only fall back on the views which I expressed twenty years ago, with just this reservation, that because the two accounts are not reconciled I do not think it follows that they are not reconcilable. I venture to quote the sentences in which Dr. Hort states his conclusion.

"I feel sure," he says, "that St. John meant to place the Crucifixion on Nisan 14, and that he may safely be trusted here, more especially as this chronology is supported by often-noticed details in the Synoptic accounts. But I am by no means so confident as to the interpretation of the Synoptic chronology. The most obvious, and perhaps the most probable, view is that St. John is tacitly but deliberately correcting an error of the Synoptists. But the greatness of the supposed error is very perplexing if any of the Twelve had any part in the redaction of any one of the three Gospels. . . . I think there is real force in what Westcott urges (*Introd.*, p. 344) against treating the Synoptic language as due to mere blunder or fiction, though I cannot be as hopeful as he seems to be that fuller knowledge would justify it in all particulars."

I would gladly express my adhesion to this judgment, with perhaps some emphasis on the point contended for by Dr. Westcott. It was really this (*e.g.* a verse like St. Luke xxii. 15, "With desire have I desired," etc.) which put me upon attempting the reconciliation which I now believe to have failed.

Another correspondent reminds me that in pointing out the parallels between the Synoptic sayings in Matthew xi. 27, Luke x. 22, and St. John, I should have bracketed the prepositions in [παρ] ἐδόθη, [ἐπι] γινώσκει, as St. John (like St. Luke in the case of γινώσκει) uses the simple and not the compound verbs, but there are a great number of parallels which are very close in sense (*e.g.* δοῦναι ἐξουσιαν, John i. 12, v. 27, xvii. 2 ; δοῦναι ἐν τῇ χειρί, iii. 35 ; εἰς τὰς χείρας, xiii. 3 ; also iii. 27, v. 22, 36. vi. 37, 39, etc.; and for γινώσκειν especially John x. 14, 15, xiv. 7, 9, 17, xvi. 3, xvii. 25, etc.). That this was not more fully verified before was due to an accident which I need not explain at length.

* *Expositor*, 1890, pp. 15–19.
† *Comm.*, pp. 50–52.
‡ P. 162. See also Bleek-Mangold, p. 363 : the only dissentient among recent writers appears to be Scholten.

CRISIS CHEYNIANA.

BY REV. G. H. GWILLIAM, B.D., FELLOW OF HERTFORD COLLEGE, OXFORD.

From *The Thinker* (London), April, 1892.

THE title which is prefixed to this review has been adopted without the least disrespect to the Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture. No apology is needed for directly connecting the views propounded in the Bampton Lectures for 1889 * with the name of the lecturer. Professor Cheyne, at the outset of his work, takes the reader into his confidence,† and reveals the spiritual and intellectual experiences which at last bore fruit in his work on the *Origin of the Psalter*. In the opening of his first Lecture, he gave utterance to the following : "A lost leader of old Oxford ‡ has told us how, after twenty years in a new spiritual climate, he felt no delicacy in speaking with some authority. Those words I may venture to apply to myself."

A work of 484 pages, besides Introduction and Indexes, almost every sentence of which involves matter which has been the subject of controversy during the last half century,§ cannot be adequately considered in a short review. This I regret the less, because I am not so much concerned now with particular questions about particular psalms, as I am with Professor Cheyne's position in general. He would himself be the first to recognize ‖ that many of the details of his arguments will require modification, that many of his points are doubtful, and that, therefore, not a few of his conclusions are wrong. But all this is of secondary importance. The Bampton Lectures for 1889 imply much more than an account, more or less correct, of the origin of the Psalter. The Professor's theories, if adopted, would effect our estimate of the whole of Revelation and of Christianity. They amount to nothing less than a theological revolution. It is true that much of this has been propounded before 1889, and by other

* Readers are reminded that the printed volume did not appear till last year. All will regret to learn that weakness of sight was the hindrance (*Introduction* p. ix.).
† *Introduction*, p. xi. f. On p. x. we read, "converts to my theories (mine, not in any invidious sense.)"
‡ Quoting Newman's *Difficulties felt by Anglicans*.
§ Writers like Professor Cheyne are so captivated by certain modern theories about the Old Testament, that they seem unable to give more than a passing recognition to the work of writers of a different school. After Colenso had endeavoured to popularize scepticism about the work of Moses, there were not wanting many systematic refutations of such views. It may be well to remind younger students that there are such writers as, *e.g.*, McCaul, Pusey, Kay, Bissel, Keil—men not without scholarship, knowledge of Hebrew, and Biblical learning.
‖ See the last paragraph of Lecture viii., p. 425.

teachers ; but never till then had advantage been taken for such a purpose of the position afforded by John Bampton's foundation.* Where men had been wont to hear the Catholic Faith defended, and the miraculous character of Revelation upheld and expounded, the Professor stood up to announce his discovery that none of the Psalms were written by David, that their authors were subject to illusions, that much of their theology was borrowed from Persia, that all the supposed Messianic predictions have been misunderstood. Thus the preacher put the cap-stone on the edifice which he had been rearing for a decade. The place and the occasion gave an oracular character to his utterances. The influence of his theories spreads around. One of his disciples, an able young Hebraist, spoke of it to me as a very refreshing view of the Psalter. To a friend of mine said the charming companion whom he had handed in to dinner, as she sipped her champagne between the fish and the *entrée*, " You don't believe, do you, that David wrote any of the Psalms ?"

Now, I hope I shall not say an unfair word about Professor Cheyne. He was very severely handled by the reviewer in the *Guardian*. I would rather think differently. He was one of my teachers of Hebrew, in undergraduate days, and I received much kindness at his hands. Many years ago he addressed to me a very friendly and encouraging letter, in which he urged me not to be afraid to express my opinions about the interpretation of the Bible. Of course I read between the lines, and knew that he meant, " Don't be afraid of the orthodox." Still, I reciprocated his friendly intentions. And bearing all this in mind, I desire to believe that he honestly thinks he is helping the cause of Christianity by his criticisms and his conjectures. These, at all events, are his own words : " Reforms in that part of orthodox theology which relates to the Old Testament are, as many think, urgent, for to neglect them would mean the unchecked progress of the great spiritual revolt" (p. 4). Yes, but what he calls *reform* is revolution and destruction.

The purpose of the Bampton Lectures for 1889 is sufficiently stated in the full title, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter in the light of Old Testament Criticism and the History of Religions*. Herein lies a fundamental difference between Professor Cheyne's system and Catholic exegesis. To him ours is not, as it was to a former Bampton Lecturer, the *One Religion*. There are others, by whose light the Religion of the Bible may be illuminated. The phrase, history of religions seems innocent enough, but the reader is aware that the new science, which bears this name, seeks a naturalistic explanation of Christianity, in the evolution of religious ideas, and predicts the time when Christianity will develop into some grander " Church of the Future," even as she has herself supplanted earlier and less perfect systems. Will Professor Cheyne describe revealed religion as a mere stage in the evolution of man's knowledge of the Divine ? It is difficult to understand in what sense he speaks of *inspiration*—to what extent he believes in *revelation*. When we find him saying that from one point of view " it is not amiss to speak severely of Ezra's work" (p. 358, note aa), we can but conclude that he denies to Ezra any special Divine commission. But, how then, if at all, would he distinguish between the inspiration of an Ezra, and that of any other reformer of our own or of a past generation ? Or does he regard Augustine as equally inspired with Isaiah ? His work furnishes no satisfactory answer to such questions. There abound, indeed, expressions about the development of germs of thought, the influence of other systems upon Jewish belief, and such like, which perhaps import more than is apparent in the direction of a recognition of Divine guidance and teaching ; for it must not be forgotten that the Professor's account of the origin of the Psalter is intended as a contribution towards the defence of the faith !

In the discussion of dates and historical allusions, which forms the staple of the Lectures, strange things are uttered, which are full of significance as showing the standpoint of the writer. Some of these are the following :—

1. It is quietly assumed (p. 91) with the mere support of a note of four and a half lines, that " the promulgation of the first Scripture [was] by Josiah." This, of course, is in accordance with the temper of mind to which allusion has been made (p. 309, note 4), but a position of such importance in Old Testament exegesis surely demands some exposition and justification from the Oriel Professor.

2. It is a trifle in the prevalent looseness of theological language to read of *the Reformed Churches* (p. 358, note aa), but such an appellation as *the Zoroastrian Church* (*e.g.*, on p. 395), and the recognition of both it and the Church of the Old

* The reader can refer to the extract from John Bampton's will, printed on page vii. It is a matter of opinion whether the terms of the third paragraph would allow of such a work as that under review.

Covenant as inspired by the Spirit of Holiness (p. 270), is startling to Anglicans who have been taught to acknowledge One Catholic and Apostolic Church.

3. Next we learn that instead of the Old Testament religion being a revelation from God to men (for the hypothesis of a "heaven-descended theology" is scouted—cf. Introd. p. xxxi.), it was arranged and set forth by the leaders of Jewish thought, who provided a programme, as caterers for an entertainment (p. 323).

4. This programme was corrected by St. Paul, who, however, himself was not free from the influence of its errors (p. 4; see also p. 173).

5. Bible doctrines are developed germs, not revelations from age to age (p. 336, note jj.). Precedent, rather than Divine call, impelled Bible writers who, without support, would not be likely to venture on a new path (p. 339).

6. Inspired writers were subject to illusions (p. 28).

7. Therefore we are prepared to learn that the Gospels are not altogether authentic history, for they embody Jewish Christian traditions (p. 270).

8. The "old Messianic theory even in its latest form" is, as regards the Psalter, rejected (p. 261), and "the hope of a personal Messiah . . . is markedly absent from *Daniel*" (p. 200). And much more in the same tone, which space forbids to quote. The reader will observe that the method and details of the work all tend in the same direction.*

It will justly be said that this is no reply to Professor Cheyne's arguments. We are not attempting a formal refutation, but we maintain that it is well to inquire what will be the consequences of adopting the main conclusions of his work. The proof of Christianity is not a mathematical demonstration; rather, is it the harmonious blending of a variety of separate considerations. A want of proportion in the parts of the argument may result in a wholly inadequate conclusion. The two chief factors in the evidence for Christianity are tradition and criticism. Historical criticism has been fatal to the claims of some of the adventitious surroundings of the Christian Creed and the Catholic system. Anglicans have no reason to fear historical criticism, but they refuse to so apply it as to ignore the verdict of those men of ancient days, who have handed down to us opinions from out that dim and distant past into which history has not penetrated. Criticism may test these opinions, and if they be found to be contradictory and *à priori* impossible, our reason will reject them. But if the only objection to a tradition is, that it is unsupported, and is *à priori* improbable (I do not say, impossible), it is not for such reasons to be peremptorily set aside. This is one of the points at which we are compelled to join issue with the learned Bampton Lecturer. He appears to hold that if an opinion has been delivered by tradition it is necessarily suspicious.* Now, it is one thing to say that a traditional opinion should be supported by a critical conclusion; it is another to affirm that a traditional view cannot stand alone, in the many cases where the grounds for that ancient opinion cannot now be tested. In fact, this method of dealing with ancient documents and traditional views is an exaggeration of the power of the critical faculty. The author expressly declares his intention of using that faculty as a set-off against the lack of a Pusey's learning (Pref. p. xii.). But he does himself scant justice. No one can peruse his pages, and scan the copious and often lengthy notes, without recognizing that his reading has been very wide,† and that he is a man of general literary culture, as well as a student of what others have written on his own special subjects. But here we mark the fundamental difference between our author and the great divine whose learning he admires. Dr. Pusey in that mine of learning and research, his Lectures on Daniel, says that he cannot examine the prophet as one who doubts. He receives the book as part of the Canon which the Church had in ancient days received, and has now handed down to us. He applies his vast stores of erudition to the explanation of difficulties and the elucidation of obscurities, and to determining the grounds on which Daniel has always been accepted as part of the Word of God. The Professor—I apologize, if I misunderstand him—seems to use his powers for the mere purpose of calling into question every old and cherished opinion.

From criticism he proceeds to construc-

* There is another point which, though minute, is too significant to be passed over. The writer constantly speaks of our Lord simply as Jesus Christ. Of course, no irreverence is intended, but there certainly seems a design to place the Messiah on much the same level as *e.g.*, Zoroaster, who is so often introduced. Such language does not help to commend Professor Cheyne's views to Catholics.

* Take, for example, the following remark on p. 339: "[certain views] are tenable, however, because they are based, not on mere tradition, but on criticism." Therefore if they rested only on tradition they would be untenable.

† Even such a small and modest work (which, by the way, deserves more attention than it has yet received from theologians) as Mr. Mozley's *David in the Psalms* is quoted thrice.

tion. But how? By the use of what he terms the *historic imagination*.* Surely, to say the least, this is a dangerous weapon. First, by criticism of words and allusions, he shows that no psalm can have been written by the author and at the periods which are commonly supposed. Next, he depicts the characteristics of different periods, and imagines the circumstances under which the psalm may have been written. Imagination and criticism combine to produce certainty; and the reader is assured that the period suggested is the only time when the psalm could have been composed. If generations of commentators have agreed on some other explanation of the occasion and purpose of this psalm, their verdict is swept aside.†

It has been said‡ that on the authorship of the books of the Old Testament the Jews possess no tradition worthy of real credence or regard, but only vague and uncertain reminiscences. However this may be, at least three psalms are ascribed to David in the New Testament: Psalm ii., in Acts iv. 25; Psalm xvi., in Acts ii. 25; and Psalm cx., in St. Matthew xxii. 43. Opinions may differ as to the significance of these quotations; but it must be admitted that they are evidence of an ancient belief that the Warrior King was in some way connected with the Psalter and its composition. Now, if David never wrote a psalm, it seems incredible that any psalms should have been ascribed to him. The name of Samuel, still more that of Moses, would have naturally been chosen for the sprinkling of the Psalter (to borrow the Professor's curious expression), rather than the name of the man of war. Modern critics fully recognize this difficulty for themselves, and insist on the incongruity of ascribing spiritual songs to the bold warrior and hero of a hundred fights. They forget their English history, or they might see many a picture of a grim old Puritan slaying the enemies of the Lord by day, and thanking God at night for the opportunity of doing it with long-winded prayer and cento of Scripture texts.§ But the critics who cannot overcome the apparent contradiction between David or Samuel and the author of psalms forget that others might have noticed the same incongruity; and if, in spite of this, psalms were ascribed to David, rather than to the saintly Samuel or the reputed author of Deuteronomy, there is here afforded a strong argument that some basis of historical fact must underlie the ascription. It was not such an ascription as would have been likely to occur to the imagination. On the other hand, if David was really the author of some psalms, and if a small collection was properly ascribed to him, it is highly probable that others would be ascribed to the great king which he had not composed. It is the business of criticism to determine which these are. And not the most conservative critic would wish to maintain the authenticity of every title in the Psalter. It would be hard to prove that any of them are *a pr. m.*; although they must be very old, for the LXX. did not understand them.*

But I am willing to allow (for the sake of argument) that the Psalms were of later than Davidic times. If for the names of men who flourished before the Exile we substitute Ezekiel, Nehemiah, or any other saint of the Church of the Circumcision, I do not see that there is any difference *theologically*, although such a view affects the history of the Psalter. Again, I will allow (still for the sake of argument) that even the Psalms quoted in the New Testament were not really Davidic. I cannot indeed grant that there could have been any error in the sacred speaker or in his inspired apostles; but still, for argument's sake, I will recognize that there may be a *modus dicendi* here, something like what occurs when, in Matt. xxvii. 9, *Zechariah* is quoted as *Jeremiah*, because (apparently) Jeremiah stood at the head of the collection, and the books of the prophets were known familiarly as *The Jeremiah*—some such *modus* I am willing to grant, but the most significant features of Professor Cheyne's position will remain. It is not a mere alteration in dates, but it is a complete change in the mode of regarding the sacred records. Trite, indeed, is the objection to the Bible stories on the ground of their miraculous character, and hitherto Christian apologists have been wont to join issue and meet the objection. Not so our

* Cf. Pref. xxxiv.

† Take, as an example, the treatment of Psalm lxxii. pp. 141–7 and 476–7.

‡ By Professor Driver in his recent valuable work, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*.

§ It is safe to predict that, after a few more generations of luxury and refinement—I may add, of effeminacy and sentimentalism—the men of a future age, when socialism and physical science have procured universal peace, will doubt the real existence of such a personality as that of Hedley Vicars, who, while filled "with the gallant ardour of the soldier, leading to an almost boyish anticipation of 'a brush with the Russians,'" could write about meetings for Scripture-reading in his tent, and say, "I feel sad when I think of dearest ——, for I fear he has not been reconciled to God" (*Memorials of H. V.*, pp. 212, 219, 222). We know that these Memorials are history, and not romance. So, also, the varied aspects of David's experience are marks of a real personality; they are not the creations of an idealizing fancy.

* The LXX. presents a grave difficulty in the way of that late date to which the lecturer would assign the completed Psalter. It is no answer to be told, "I do not myself feel the objections to be important" (p. 458, par. 2). Probably not! And the further reply which is made is not of a kind to silence an objector.

author, for he is a rationalist * himself. Read his *Hallowing of Criticism*. Does he admit any supernatural workings? He seems to me to avoid, or else to rationalize, every account of a miracle. He says that no one can believe that Elijah was really fed by birds; it is a poetical way of declaring that God would never let His servant starve. In describing the story of the Ascension of Elijah, he plays, indeed, with words, but they import no more than that Elijah was killed in a thunderstorm, and then he adds the following comment—that the story of the Ascension of Elijah is a prose poem to show that the Jewish Church of the writer's time was ready to believe that some extraordinary persons might, and would, escape death. So the miraculous element is got rid of.

Whether the Professor would in like manner explain away every account of the miraculous intervention of Divine Providence, I should not wish to decide. Would that he had spoken more clearly on so important a point! As an Anglican priest he must believe in the resurrection of our Lord as an historical fact to be received in a strictly literal sense, although the way in which it was brought about may transcend the comprehension of human reason. And if, then, he accepts the greatest miracle, why reject the lesser and attendant wonders? This will not satisfy one caviller or convince one unbeliever.

But all this is intended as a defence of the faith! Is such a diluted faith worth having? A revelation which is only the dream of poets, and the developed germs of the thought of ancient days, is not worth troubling about. I admire the exalted tone in which the Professor can even yet speak of working "for the best of masters and the greatest of causes" (p. 425), but I fear the majority who are of a coarser grain will say, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." †

I do not hesitate to use plain language in expressing the effect produced by the perusal of Professor Cheyne's lectures, although he intended them, he says, for the defence of the Christian religion. It may be our ignorance, but we do not yet understand how a complete and all-round surrender of our position can prepare the way for victory. Not thus has the faith been preserved and handed down from age to age. The question is not of some trifling difference of opinion as to a name or a date, but is one of first principles. If the Professor is right, then the men of the old covenant, the inspired Apostles of the new, a multitude of theologians in every age, are wrong. We have misunderstood our Bible, and elevated it to a false position. Henceforth we must recognize that other sacred books, besides the Jewish Scriptures, are inspired; that the Jewish teachers invented a programme of doctrine, which was corrected by Paul of Tarsus, who however himself was not always right; that much of the history of the New Testament is mythical, and that Bible writers were subject to harmless illusions; henceforth we shall look in vain for prophecies of the Messiah either in the Psalter or in Daniel. When thus all the great positions of Revelation are abandoned one after another, what will remain worth defending? * Many will turn to the more practical doctrines of social and physical science. Others will find themselves faced by the question which agitated the churchmen of fifty years ago. The controversy will have changed, but the same practical question will once more arise, Can we safely abide in a Church which has so far departed from the ancient standards of Catholic doctrine? To foretell this issue is not to utter the cry of despair, as some would contemptuously describe it. At least this review shall give no encouragement to faintheartedness. We are persuaded that the truth is on our side. We regret that Professor Cheyne should trouble the faith of many; but we know that the Bible has survived a great deal already, and future generations of the faithful will yet find in it something more divine than traditions and myths, illusions and developed germs. But there is a large class who need some sure basis of belief, and who cannot or will not wait. To them Rome will appeal, and not unsuccessfully, when she offers them dogmatic certainties in the place of historical imaginations. For one whom the Professor rescues from the

* I use this term in no invidious sense, and I allow that it is open to objection, but so are most, perhaps all, the epithets by which opponents label one another in theological and philosophical controversy. A Christian may be called a rationalist when he has passed beyond the stage of blind assent to an hereditary creed, and is ready to give a "reason of the hope" which is in him. But a Christian is also a supernaturalist, for he believes in Divine operations which supersede the ordinary workings of nature. He accepts the accounts of these on reasonable evidence, although the comprehension of such wonders may transcend the powers of his reason. Professor Cheyne appears to relegate to the realm of myth and legend whatever is not susceptible of a naturalistic explanation. He accepts what his reason admits, and rejects the rest, as do all "rationalists."

† For I venture to agree with a certain philosopher born at Tarsus, that if faith in the facts of revelation (see 1 Cor xv. 32) is lost, there is no adequate motive for self-denial, and no sufficient and universal safeguard against licentious living.

* If we did not believe the sincerity of the lecturer, we should be inclined to doubt the honesty of the appeal on p. xxvi. f. to the Evangelicals. Does he not know that confidence in divinely inspired Scriptures is essential to their position? The idea that such men should take part in rationalizing the Bible provokes a smile by its very simplicity.

"spiritual revolt" by his *religion made easy*, he will land ten in the arms of the Papacy.*

The author of the Bampton Lectures for 1889 has more than once declared that the time for reserve has passed away, and that free utterance must be given to opinions about the Old Testament. We admire his outspoken courage in declaring his convictions, the more so as we do not doubt that it has cost him much to be obliged to run counter to the cherished tenets of many whom he respects. But we cannot concede a monopoly of plain speaking to the side which he represents. The Professor's width of reading demands our admiration; his industry in work and research afford an example to all Biblical scholars. It is natural that as the father of novel opinions he should be fondly blind to the defects of his offspring. We who take an independent view can note the real issue of the course he has adopted. The Bampton Lectures for 1889 must be described as anti-Christian in their tendency, albeit this is indeed far from the intention of their author. He honestly believes that his method of exegesis will best promote the cause of real religion. It is right that he should declare his convictions; the Anglican communion has long been wont to shelter many and various opinions within her comprehensive borders. But we do most strongly object to the way in which tentative results have been converted into a system to the disturbance of the faith of many. We think we have reason to complain when, under pretence of fortifying the citadel of religion, this congeries of conjectures and hypotheses is built up under the shelter of John Bampton's flag. My old teacher will pardon me if I show that I have learned the lesson he gave, and am "not afraid to express my opinions about the interpretation of the Bible."

REPLY TO MR. GWILLIAM.

BY REV. PROF. T. K. CHEYNE, D.D.

From *The Thinker* (London), April, 1892.

To Mr. Gwilliam (whose work on the Syriac New Testament one esteems so highly) I need only reply that you cannot separate an individual in this way from the movement to which historically he belongs. Not only the scholar whom he incriminates, but all those who at all co-operate with him in the English-speaking countries, have their roots deep down in the Reformation. Those of them who belong to the Anglican Church have as their charter the sixth and the eleventh of the Thirty-nine Articles; they are not, however, primarily Anglican, but Protestant Christian scholars, and servants of the Churches, and for Christ's sake of many who at present stand outside the Churches. They have a better right to regard themselves as continuators of the Reformation than those who defame them. Evangelical theology sorely needs both purifying and deepening, and this can only be done by having recourse to the fountains of living water contained in and conveyed by the Scriptures. The highest object of the literary and historical criticism of the Scriptures is to facilitate the attainment of this great end. It is a sad misapprehension, which reflects no credit on those theologians who fall into it, when critics of the school to which I have the privilege to belong are accused of watering down inspiration, or explaining away miracles. Their complaint is precisely this—that the theologians who oppose them have a too shallow doctrine of inspiration, and do great injustice to the Biblical narratives. With much reluctance (for the advice should be superfluous) I venture to refer Mr. Gwilliam (whose paper is thoroughly misleading) to Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology*, vol. ii., and Allen's *Continuity of Christian Thought*, as books which may help to correct some of his misapprehensions. He is at present at the very beginning of his study of modern theology, and it would be easy to treat his diatribe too seriously. I for my part have no desire to do so, but it is well that he should know that neither I nor my fellow-workers sue, cap in hand, for toleration. We do not wish to see the Churches steered on to the rocks, and this is the fate to which they would be exposed by the policy recommended, as it would seem, by Mr. Gwilliam. May he be guided to a deeper view of faith and of inspiration, and more fully learn the lessons of Christian humility and charity!

I venture to add, to prevent, if possible, such needless criticisms (1), that if the reader of the *Bampton Lectures* is interested in the opinion which I maintain on the subject of Deuteronomy, he will find it in the work on the times of Jeremiah, repeat-

* I am far from saying that such souls will find what they seek in Rome. If Mr. Mivart's anecdote is true to fact, and is not a caricature (*Nineteenth Century*, July, 1887), how that a certain layman, who regarded the Flood as a local inundation in which a priest and his poultry were saved from drowning, was reckoned a very devout [Roman] Catholic, then certainly there is in that body enough scepticism about the Old Testament to satisfy even Professor Cheyne. However, it is fair to add that a very different view of Roman teaching on the inspiration of the Bible was given by the late Cardinal Newman in *Nineteenth Century*, 1884.

edly referred to in *B. L.*; and (2), that what I mean by evangelical theology and inspiration is indicated, however imperfectly, in my numerous sermon-studies in the *Expositor* (also referred to in *B. L.*), and somewhat more completely in my forthcoming work, *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism* (T. Fisher Unwin). Cf. also *The Ninetieth Psalm*, which will appear in THE THINKER for May and June, 1892. I ask Mr. Gwilliam's pardon for seeming to attach importance to such popular works, which may, nevertheless, relieve some of his doubts. I would also call his attention to Mr. G. A. Smith's volumes on *Isaiah* in the *Expositor's Bible*, which in general exemplify what I mean by a sound evangelical theology.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST.

BY THE REV. S. A. BARNETT.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), April, 1892.

"THEY have Moses and the prophets" will not be urged against the Eastern nations at the Day of Judgment. Their absence should be remembered in the day of criticism. The Indians, the Chinese, and the Japanese have had no Moses to tell them of the holy God whose voice is in the thunder which rends the mountains, in the gentle breath of conscience, or in the law which giveth wisdom unto the simple. They have had no prophets who have convinced them of sin and told them of a golden age in the future. If their standard of morality is not that of Western nations who have inherited Jewish teaching, their loss should be had in remembrance by their accusers.

Their most weighty accusers are naturally Christian missionaries, who, familiar with a high Christian standard of conduct, condemn the low moral tone, the callousness and the levity of the East. These missionaries do not always remember that the people have not had "Moses and the prophets." They come to preach the Gospel; some eagerly tell the story of the Atonement and explain the process of their own conversion; some tell simply the tale of their Lord's life and death; some, devoting themselves to education and the care of the sick, draw out love to themselves and respect for their faith.

The missionaries as a body are men and women of devoted lives, not always wise, not always fit for the work they have chosen, but as a rule setting an example of upright conduct, of duty, and of service. Their detractors are often those who judge success by the vulgar test of numbers or those whose own lives they condemn. "If," said one official, "the missionaries were popular in this European community, it would reflect badly on the missionaries."

The missionaries, though good and devoted, do not succeed. The best among them would be the first to acknowledge the fact. Those who preach "conversion" get perhaps the adhesion of outcasts, who adopt Christianity as a last resort, while their doctrines and their methods win the contempt of the thoughtful and dignified majority. Those who tell the tale of the gentle life of Christ evoke some admiration among those whose lives are also gentle, and whose weakness is not that they are not meek enough, but that they are not brave enough. Those who are content to teach in schools and serve the poor and nurse the sick create a respect for their own devotion to duty which, if it does not end in the profession of Christianity, is yet the soil out of which in time a Christian life best grows.

All together, working in their different ways, the missionaries may be able to count up a considerable number of converts and to show some flourishing organizations of Churches. Their more thoughtful leaders will not, however, claim that the harvest of Christian fruit is good when quality as well as quantity is considered.

There is among the converts a general want of earnestness, of the stuff out of which Puritans were made, of that sense of righteousness which makes a man willing to be crucified rather than offend. There is also a general want of freshness, of the delight in the possession of truth out of which grows always new development of forms and ritual, and sometimes heresies. Converts whose past has lain amid the subtle thoughts and gorgeous colouring of the East adopt without questioning the phrases and the forms which have been developed in Europe by Anglicans, Romans, or Presbyterians by different needs out of a very different past. An Eastern Christian Church with its own development of ritual has not appeared in India, China, or Japan, and heretics are unknown. There is, lastly, an absence of missionary enthusiasm. The converted do not burn to convert others, they do not say, "Woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel."

Instead of earnestness, freshness, enthusiasm, the traveller hears how impossible it is to leave native churches to themselves. "It is difficult," it was said with reference to one well known and successful mission, "to

get and keep the people straight about money matters." He finds too, by his own experience, that converts become partisans; that, for instance, the native Christian pastor's usual question to the English visitor is about the effect of the Lincoln judgment, and his anxiety is that his sect should be the most generally accepted among the Christian sects.

A general conclusion will never be correct as to all the individuals, and there are doubtless Christian converts in the East who are devout and earnest. The general conclusion, however, that the missionaries have not succeeded in developing that love of God and of Christ which means a new birth, will hardly be disputed.

Many causes for the failure of missions have been suggested. The missionaries have been charged with idleness and the great societies have been charged with wasting their resources in rivalry. The methods adopted have been condemned. "What," it has been said, "is the use of preaching to people whose delight is in controversy? Surely teaching, visiting, and living would be more effective." "Why," others object, "should the money collected from the faithful in Britain be used in giving high school education which will enable young men to compete for Government employment?" "Too much stress," others say, "is laid on making machinery and on forcing organizations." And these last enlarge on the absurdity of driving upon the East a system of bishops, presbyters, deacons, pews, and church-wardens.

All these causes of failure may be in existence. Some may obviously be remedied. The class of men sent out as missionaries might be higher even if this meant that the number would be smaller. The men needed are those trained to think—well read in the literature and history of the countries, and above everything else, men with faith to have patience. If some missionaries are now idle it is often because they started with too great eagerness to make converts, they have been in a hurry and disappointment has made them despair. The best missionaries are those who go out to prepare the way and expect to see no fruit of their labours. The other causes of failure might also be modified, but there is yet another cause of failure which may be more fruitful than any to which I would draw attention. Indians, Chinese, and Japanese need to know Moses and the prophets as part of their Christian teaching. The missionaries do not, as a rule, lay sufficient stress on this knowledge.

Through many avenues the Eastern world is being taught the majesty of law. The results of scientific teaching penetrate even to the centre of India and China, and gradually every one is learning that cause and effect are indissolubly united. Germs of thought, like germs of disease, pass through the world no man knows how. All men, irrespective of race or climate, fall before the influenza; all men, Eastern and Western, are yielding their minds to scientific methods of thinking, and the idea of law as omnipotent and universal is gaining ground. A Cingalese, who had the devil-dancer to dance all night and attract the devil of disease from his body, told us next day that probably the damp was the cause of his rheumatism. The steam-engine has been often described as the greatest missionary. In more senses than one this is true. The steam-engine is an object lesson, showing what is done by obedience to law; and wherever the steam-engine reaches, the minds of men become more actively observant. Under these various influences the Eastern world is turning from fancies to consider facts, and, tracing fact to fact, to accept the reign of law. The theory of a tyrant's will, changeable and passionate, is everywhere giving place to a conception of an unchangeable law. Moses is needed to teach the people that the God of righteousness speaks through unchangeable law; that truth is His service; and that every liar is a traitor who must be punished.

In the same way, by the passage of the germs of thought, by the effect of the steam-engine, and by other means, the sense of humanity is breaking through the barriers of caste and prejudice. The people of the Eastern world are slowly becoming conscious of the brotherhood of man, their interests are passing out to others beyond their own circle, and their hopes are laying claim to whatever is held good by any son of man. They introduce parliaments or make demands for representative government. They adopt some of the habits of the western world and the more convenient dress and the more economic industrial system. They try our wines, our food, and our music. Unrest is disturbing the old caste rules and breaking down old customs. The very anxiety of Indian Brahmans on the subject of education or child marriage and the risings of the Chinese are signs of the times. A prophet is needed who in the name of God will promise to each a share in the coming good time, and who will declare that the golden age and the promised land to which all things move have been prepared by God.

If the people of the East knew Moses and the prophets they would be trembling before a law demanding truth in the inward parts, and they would be hoping for a time of joy and peace. From such people the preachers of the Gospel would find a ready hearing. The offenders against the law of righteousness would rejoice to learn that the God whom they had offended and the law which must be fulfilled is Love. The weary and sad who had learnt how to hope would be glad to hear of the new heaven and new earth revealed by Jesus Christ.

The East waits for Moses and the prophets, but to each of the three great peoples of the East these teachers must come in somewhat different forms and in somewhat different relations to one another. The Indians—that is to say, the mass of the people—are apathetic, the slaves of custom and indifferent to principle. There are, of course, Indians and Indians, and the races of the Peninsula differ as much as do the races of Europe. There are, too, individual Indians who are high-principled, but it is still true to say that a characteristic of the Indian is indifference to principle. The habit of mind which puts right in the first place, which enables an English magistrate to die for what he thinks to be his duty, which treats right as if it were enforced by armies, is almost unknown. The Indian does not, as Joseph, say: "How can I do this wickedness and sin against God?" or, as Athanasius, dare to take his stand alone against the world. For him custom holds the place of principle; custom, sometimes good, sometimes evil, but always oppressive. Custom forces kindness to animals and regard for the family; custom forces the sacrifice of the child to an early marriage; custom requires instant obedience to a tyrant's will; custom is the only security for order; and many of the better sort, seeing no principle which is strong enough to be the guide of life, deprecate an education which is destroying the power of custom.

The Indian has dignity, he has grace of manner, and is in appearance superior to the English "'Arry." The Indian is, in fact, inferior to the ill-dressed, pushing, vulgar youth who has "principle," and would hold to it even if it cost him his place.

The Indians need to be convinced of sin, and to be shown that the self-indulgence which hides behind many of their religious customs is against a law which has God on its side. A voice telling them of fire and sword, of pain and shame, must rouse them from their apathy. An image-breaker, as stern as Mohammed, must break up the customs they have worshipped. As Moses taught the Israelites of their sin, so must some leader bring the Indians face to face with the terrible God who is against lust and lies and indolence.

Christ was a prophet like unto Moses, who was stern and strong, hating wrong and intolerant of hypocrisy. He must be declared in that likeness rather than as the lamb led meek to his slaughter. Christ the man rather than Christ the woman must be preached. The Indians must have Moses to teach them the law they have broken; prophets who will search the heart and force home the conviction, "Thou art the man;" missionaries who will accept no compromise, and endure no inclined plane between heathenism and Christianity. When they have learnt how they have fallen, the news of One who has fulfilled the law, and by whom they too may come back to God, will be indeed a gospel. Indians who have not felt their sin cannot feel the joy of being forgiven.

The Chinese are ground down by a Government which holds control over every department of life. Sir A. Lyall, in his essay on "Religion in China," shows how the Government claims to administer the affairs both of earth and Heaven, and in the ordinary *Pekin Gazette* settles which God shall be worshipped, forbids re incarnations, and apportions honours to the dead. The tyranny is absolutely crushing, and prevents the budding of the small seed of liberty which might grow till 400,000,000 people joined the Western world in its search after better living. The Chinese are not without principle, and they have a solidity of character which enables them to go bravely to their end. They are slaves in the sense that the Israelites were slaves in Egypt, but they are slaves to the officials of their own Government, and are content because the flesh-pots are full. Their one anxiety, indeed, is lest they should lose the food they have, and they kill the stranger who is likely to disturb the established order. Their higher life is buried; they have no interest in humanity; little of that aspiration which is the measure of being:

> "All I could never be,
> All men ignored in me;
> This I was worth to God
> Whose wheel the pitcher shaped."

They need a prophet like Moses to tell them of a promised land within their reach.

All men, we are told, are led on by illusion. The Jews were brought to greatness because they followed the illusion of a land

flowing with milk and honey. The Chinese too will be brought to greatness and take a place in the family of nations when they have been led to see some of the good within their reach. They need a prophet who will tell the pleasures of freedom, the better houses, the better food, the longer life, the joy of living and of growing which holds among other people, and which God has also prepared for them. The words of the Jewish prophet, promising that every man shall eat of his own vine and his own fig-tree, must be brought within their understanding. The Christ who came to establish a kingdom on earth, and not the Christ who came to establish a kingdom in Heaven, must first be preached. When once they have been started in search after better things to be found here on earth, "their reach will soon be beyond their grasp," and then they will hear gladly of Heaven.

The Japanese are frivolous, caught for the moment into earnestness by the attractions of an American civilisation. "Frivolous" is a hard word for people who have been so thorough in their reforms, and are so simple in their lives, but it is the only word which seems to fit a people who have so little sense of awe and so little friendship with sorrow. They live over a volcano, but their talk is of flowers, and their interest is in the last foreign importation.

They have close to their capital city valleys of desolation, where the earth has been overturned, and its veins disclosed. Clouds of steam and sulphurous vapours rise from the earth, and the roar of the boiling waters is incessant. Hebrews or Romans or Saxons would, in such surroundings, have formed a theology of Hell. The Japanese have not even legends about the pit or the fire, and the name given to this scene of desolation and terror is "The Big Boiling." There is an absence in their art and their history of the grand. The terrible is interrupted by the grotesque, and the wish to provoke a laugh seems almost irresistible. There is no 51st Psalm in their language, and no Puritan in their history.

It is as a consequence of this frivolity that principle is weak and originality rare. They have not been awed into seriousness by a vision of the "I am," or of the "One high and lifted up;" they have not learnt that anything is fixed, and they do not know "The Eternal." "I am Shintoist and Buddhist; I help both religions; I shall help the Christians next year," are the words of a Japanese, and represent a common attitude of mind.

Certainty is necessary both to strength of principle and freshness of originality. He who is certain of a law within himself which is the will of the Almighty will hold on his course—will, that is, have principle. He who, like Jacob, has once faced that which he is certain is greater than himself, will not let it go till it tells its name; he will get at what is new, he will be original. The original man indeed is always he who has humbled himself before one greater than himself. There is no originality without humility. The Japanese have had no open vision of greatness, and they are therefore changeful; they adopted Chinese ways 600 years ago as they now adopt Western ways; they almost every year change their system of government, and many are not without fear that they may suddenly revert to old customs. "Man is hurled from change to change unceasingly, his souls' wings never furled." The Japanese go indeed from change to change, but their souls' wings have no air of divine purpose on which to beat. Because they have not come face to face with a vision of greatness compelling them to stop and forcing their awe, they are wanting in originality; their faces have not the variety and individuality of European faces; their architecture is just a series of repetitions, and town has copied town till there is none which has either character or feature; they have given to the world much that is beautiful, but nothing that is new.

The fear is lest it is in this spirit that they are adopting Christianity. The profession is certainly rapidly spreading. A Minister in the Government is a Christian; professors in the Universities are also Christian preachers; a Japanese Church, with its own Creed—*i.e.*, the Apostles' Creed, with a sentence added to exclude Unitarians—has been organised, and one of the largest colleges in the country is Christian. There is nowhere any appearance of antagonism to the new faith, and at any moment Christianity might be adopted as a State religion. But this success may not be what it seems. It may be that they have adopted a Western religion as part of Western civilisation, or even as a code of morals best fitted to promote respectable living. There are signs that this is the case. It is the reflection of one of the most experienced missionaries that seven-eighths of the converts are "intellectual" Christians.

The converts themselves show interest in Jesus Christ rather than devotion to Him as the revelation of God. They ask for opinions about His work and discuss His character; they are willing to acknowledge

Him as a teacher and a leader, but they have not the signs of being born again, the joy of those who know where they stand, and see before them an infinite beyond. They by their own confession have been taught little from the Old Testament, and themselves find in it little which seems to belong to Christianity. "Why do you read the Old Testament?" was a question frequently put to me by students. Their answers to my questions showed that even when they knew something about types and fulfilment of predictions, the teaching had taken no hold, and they certainly had not been shown how the God in history is the God in Christ.

They need Moses and the prophets lest they become Christian atheists, followers indeed of Christ as a man and a teacher, but without the knowledge of the God whose image Christ is. Moses, we are told, aspired to see the face of God, the author of the law he preached to the people. That was impossible, but as he hid in the cleft of the rock he was allowed to see the hinder part —he learned, that is to say, of God in history. The Japanese have need to be brought where, looking back on the past, they will see traces that the righteous God has passed by. A Moses must startle them by revealing the Almighty who is not far from any one, and is terrible in His righteousness; a prophet must convince them of sin, and force from their hearts the words, "Woe is me, for I am undone." The Christianity they are taught must be that which made Felix tremble; the Christ who is preached must be the Christ whose eyes are as fire; and the demand made must not be the acceptance of a form or a creed, or even of a code of morals, but of a new life. The Japanese need to be awed, to be smitten into seriousness, by the revelation of the God who is above the world, and of the hell which is underneath civilization.

Up to now they have delighted to paint Fugi-yama, their sacred mount, surrounded by birds and flowers, and they have regarded the happy man as the highest man. They have need to learn of Moses and the prophets that fire is the fitting garment of the holy mountain, and that the Man of Sorrows is the highest man. When they know the Eternal, they will make friends with sorrow, and the Christian message will be comfort and joy and peace.

Missionaries, who know the East as no passing traveller can possibly know it, and who devote themselves to hand on to the people the joy and life of Christianity, can alone lay down the exact method of preaching. What has been said here is offered only as a suggestion. Christianity was first preached to those who knew the law. The preacher of repentance prepared the way for the preacher of forgiveness. The transfigured Christ was supported by Moses and Elias. The law is read in our churches before the Body and Blood is offered. The Jews, wherever the Gospel has spread in Europe, have been the living evidence of the judgment of God, and have unconsciously preached Moses and the prophets.

The East seems to need more Old Testament teaching, given in the light of modern historic and scientific discoveries, so that the people may understand the law Christ came to fulfil, look for the "new earth" of which He preached, and be convinced of the sin for which He has won forgiveness. There ought, perhaps, to be a more aggressive Puritanism among missionaries—a Jewish intolerance of heathen ways and philosophies—a more vigorous assertion of the reign of law and of God's vengeance on all law breakers—a more practical love of simplicity in life and in worship—a greater sympathy with the human desire for liberty —a more present consciousness of being God's ambassadors to man.

This may seem a hard saying for those who are anxious only to preach the Christ they have found, and who forget the training by which they were prepared to receive Him. But it is not given to one man, or even to one generation, to sow and to reap. It may be enough if in one generation we preach Moses and the prophets to the East, and leave to our children the welcome given to those who bring the Gospel of peace.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD IN PREDESTINATION AS CONTAINED IN THE SYSTEM OF STRICT CALVINISM.

BY REV. G. W. NORTHRUP, D.D., LL.D.

From *The Standard* (Bapt.), Chicago, March 10, 1892.

III.

It is our chief aim in this article to discuss the following question: Does the doctrine of God's Sovereignty in Predestination, as contained in the strict Calvinistic system, *necessarily* imply that the perdition of a part of mankind—the non-elect—is not only certain, but *inevitable*, let them do what they can to obtain salvation, even in the way appointed in the gospel?

Three Calvinistic Systems.

There are three doctrinal systems known as Calvinistic which differ from each other chiefly as regards the order of the divine decrees.

1. According to one theory (supra-lapsarianism, hyper-Calvinism), the object of the decrees was man viewed, not as fallen, nor even as created, but simply as creatable—as a possible object of creation. God determined to glorify himself in the manifestation of his perfections—especially his mercy and justice ; and as a means to this end he decreed to save some men and to damn others, regarded as possible beings ; to create these possible beings, to ordain their fall, to provide a Saviour for the elect, and to consign the rest to hell. This scheme has been held by a small number of Calvinistic divines distinguished for learning and logical ability, *e.g.*, Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva, Gomarus, the chief opponent of Arminius, Twisse, moderator of the Westminster Assembly. The Calvinistic theologians of the present day, while many of them admit that the scheme is the most logical of all, with few or no exceptions reject it, holding " that the case is too high and too vast for the *a priori* application and enforcement of the ordinary rules of human judgment."

2. The second theory—that of strict Calvinism—differs from the first in regarding man, viewed as created and fallen, as the object of the divine decrees (infra lapsarianism).

Strict Calvinism as Defined and Maintained.

3. The third theory is that of moderate Calvinism, of which there are two types, both of which differ from strict Calvinism chiefly in two points : (1) In affirming that the atonement is not limited, but universal in its design (which involves the question of the order of the decrees). (2) In claiming for man " natural ability" to comply with the conditions of salvation, though admitting his utter " moral inability" to do so. The chief point of difference between the two types of moderate Calvinism is, that one affirms and the other denies that man is under condemnation antecedent to the age of moral responsibility.

By strict Calvinism we mean the system of doctrines contained in the early Reformed creeds—especially in the Westminster Standards ; in such works as those of Turretin, Ridgeley, Cunningham, and of the American divines, Charles and Alexander Hodge, Shedd and Dabney.

I. That the question asked at the beginning of this article must be answered in the affirmative seems to us as demonstrably certain as the forty-seventh proposition of the First Book of Euclid, " that the square formed on the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares formed on the other two sides." The steps of this demonstration are the following :

1. In virtue of the natural or representative relation of Adam to his posterity, his fall was, in the divine judgment, really or virtually their fall.

2. Hence " God justly *imputes* Adam's apostatizing act to them, treating them as legally responsible for Adam's sin, and obnoxious to the penalty ;" so that they are, at birth, under condemnation, " subject to death, with all its miseries, spiritual, temporal and eternal."

Westminster Shorter Catechism, question 19—" All mankind by their fall lost communion with God, are under his wrath and curse, and so made liable to all the miseries of this life, to death itself and to the pains of hell forever."

Westminster Confession, Chapter VI. 6 ; " Every sin, both *original* and actual . . . doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all miseries spiritual, temporal and eternal."

The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England (Calvinistic) ix.—" And therefore, in every person born into the world, it (original sin) deserveth God's wrath and damnation."

The French Confession, XI. " We believe that this evil (original sin) is truly sin, sufficient for the condemnation of the whole human race, even little children in their mother's womb, and that God considers it such."

3. The inborn depravity of man is such that he is unable by his own strength to exercise repentance and faith.

Westminster Confession, chapter XI. 3 ; " Man by his fall into a state of sin *hath wholly lost all ability of will* to any spiritual good accompanying salvation ; so as a natural man, being *altogether averse* from that good and *dead in sin, is not able,* by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto."

Cunningham, The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation, 558—" Calvinists believe that men, in their natural

state of guilt and depravity, *are not able*, by their own strength, to repent and believe; and that God bestows only on the elect, and not on the reprobate, that special supernatural grace which is *necessary*, in every instance, to the production of faith, holiness and perseverance."

Hodge, Systematic Theology, II. 267.—"In opposition, therefore, to the Pelagian doctrine of the sinner's plenary ability, to the semi-Pelagian, or Arminian doctrine of what is called gracious ability, that is, an ability granted to all who hear the gospel by the common and sufficient grace of the Holy Spirit, and to the doctrine that the only inability of the sinner is his disinclination to good, Augustinians have ever taught that this inability is *absolute* and *entire*. It is *natural* as well as moral. It is as complete, although different in kind, as the inability of the blind to see, of the deaf to hear, or of the dead to restore themselves to life."

Shedd, Dogmatic Theol. II. 229—"This is the disability that is meant in the Westminster statement that man is utterly indisposed and disabled to all that is spiritually good. And this species of inability is *real* inability. It is not a figure of speech, but an impotence as *helpless* and *insuperable* by the subjects of it as *natural* inability. The substantive 'inability' has its full and strict meaning. The adjective 'moral' does not convert the notion of impotence into that of power, but only denotes the species of impotence. It is true that the 'cannot' is a 'will not,' but it is equally true that the 'will not' is a 'cannot.'"

Dabney, Syllabus, 597—"All man's faculties and susceptibilities now have a decisive and uniform, a native and universal, a perpetual and total, moral perversion, by reason of the utter revolt of his will from God and holiness, to self-will and sin; such that it is *impossible* for him in his own free will, to choose the spiritually good for its own sake."

But it is needless to multiply authorities in proof that according to the Augustino-Calvinistic system, the inability of the sinner is as real and absolute as that of a "dead man to sit up in his coffin" or that he is, at birth, obnoxious to the everlasting displeasure of God.

4. Accordingly regeneration, of which repentance and faith are fruits, is and must be a work of God in relation to which man is "altogether passive."

Westminster Confession, Chapter X., 2—"This effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man; who is *altogether passive* therein, until, being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this call, and to embrace the grace offered and conveyed in it."

Hodge Syst. Theol. III. 31—"Regeneration is an act of God. It is not an act which, by argument and persuasion or by moral power, he induces the sinner to perform. But it is an act of which he is the agent. It is God who regenerates. The soul is regenerated. In this sense the soul is passive in regeneration, which (subjectively considered) is a change wrought in us and not an act performed by us."

Shedd, Dogmatic Theol. II. 495, 502—"Regeneration is solely the work of God. . . . Man is passive in regeneration. He cannot originate spiritual life. His relation to spiritual life is that of a recipient."

5. The decrees of election and non-election (preterition, rejection) are eternal, unconditional, and immutable, and the cause or reason of God's dealing as he does with individual men—of the bestowment of renewing grace upon some and of withholding it from others.

Westminster Confession, Chapter III. 4—"These angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

Ib. 6—"As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, foreordained all the means thereunto."

Ib. 7—"The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth . . . to pass by."

6. These decrees were formed by God:

(1) In view of reasons, unrevealed and inscrutable, lying in his own nature—there being in men *nothing* to which he had respect in deciding to elect or not elect one man rather than another.

Westminster Confession, Chapter III. 5—"Those of mankind who are predestinated unto life, God . . . hath chosen in Christ . . . without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or *any other thing* in the creature, as *conditions*, or causes moving him thereunto."

Cunningham, The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation, 434—"The Calvinistic doctrine is that in making the selection of some men, and in resolving to

save them rather than others, God was not influenced by *anything* existing in them, or foreseen in them, by which they were distinguished from other men, or by anything known to or comprehensible by us, but only by his own good pleasure."

Hodge, Outlines, 206—"The decrees of God are sovereign in the sense that while they determine absolutely whatever occurs without God, their whole reason and motive is within the divine nature, and they are neither suggested nor occasioned by nor conditioned upon anything whatsoever without him."

(2) Antecedent to and independent of *all personal action as foreseen.*

Calvin, Ins. B. III., Ch. XXIII., 2, (Italics are ours)—"In the first place they inquire, by what right the Lord is angry with his creatures who had not provoked him by *any previous offense;* for that to devote to destruction those whom he pleases, is more like the caprice of a tyrant than the lawful sentence of a judge; that men have reason, therefore, to expostulate with God, if they are predestinated to eternal death *without any demerit of their own*, merely by his sovereign will. If such thoughts ever enter the minds of the pious, they will be sufficiently enabled to break their violence by this one consideration, how exceedingly presumptuous it is only to inquire into the causes of the divine will; which is in fact, and is justly entitled to be, the cause of everything that exists."

Ib. Sec. 5—"All are not *created on equal terms*, but some are preordained to eternal life, others to eternal damnation; and accordingly as each *has been created for one or the other of these ends*, we say that he has been predestinated to life or to death."

B. III. XXIV. 17: "They also amuse themselves with the cavil, that since God is the Father of all, it is unjust to discard any one before he has by his misconduct merited such punishment. As if the kindness of God does not extend even to dogs and swine."

"Calvin here boldly declares that God regards and treats some men as *dogs* and *swine*, and *discards* them before they have merited such punishment by their misconduct." (Dr. H. J. Van Dyke.)

Mozley, The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination, 393, "Augustine and Calvin alike hold an eternal divine decree, which, antecedent to all action, separates one portion of mankind from another, and ordains one to everlasting life and the other to everlasting punishment. That is the fundamental statement of both, and it is evident that while this fundamental statement is the same, there can be no substantial difference in the two doctrines. This statement is the sum and substance of the doctrine of predestination."

Cunningham, The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation, 548, 549: "And with respect to the idea which might naturally suggest itself, viz.: that final impenitence, or unbelief *foreseen* might be the ground or cause, not only of the positive or judicial act of foreordination to punishment and misery but also of the negative act of preterition, this Calvinists hold to be inconsistent with the Scriptural statements which so plainly ascribe the production of faith and regeneration, and of perseverance in faith and holiness, wherever they are produced, solely to the good pleasure of God and the efficacious operation of his Spirit, viewed in connection with the undoubted truth that he could, if he had chosen, have as easily produced the same results in others; and inconsistent likewise with the intimations plainly given us in Scripture that there is *something in God's purposes and procedure*, even in regard to those who perish, which can be resolved only into his own good pleasure."

What Strict Calvinism Involves.

If, now, these propositions are true, (1) that men are, at birth, under condemnation—"subject to death with all miseries, spiritual, temporal and eternal," (2) that their inability to repent and believe "is as complete as the inability of the blind to see, or of the dead to restore themselves to life," (3) that eternal life is absolutely dependent upon repentance and faith, (4) that regeneration, of which repentance and faith are fruits, is a work of God in which "man is *altogether passive*," (5) that God's action in regenerating some and leaving others in a state of unregeneracy, is the certain and necessary result of the decrees of election and preterition, (6) that these decrees are, in the logical order, antecedent to and irrespective of all personal action, having respect solely to pre-natal depravity and guilt, (7) that these decrees are eternal and immutable, and the number included in each "is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished;" if these propositions are true it is demonstrably certain that the eternal perdition of a part of the human race—all the non-elect—is not only certain, but *inevitable*, let them do what they can to obtain salvation, even in the way appointed in the gospel. For, since

the eternal and immutable decree not to extend to them saving grace was formed antecedent to and irrespective of their personal action, they *can do nothing* that will have a *favorable* bearing upon their eternal destiny; they cannot repent and believe; they cannot renew themselves; God himself cannot deliver them from their state of depravity and condemnation, for he cannot reverse his irreversible decrees. Their perdition is, therefore, as unavoidable as it would be if he had decreed to send them to hell on the day of their birth.

It is urged that "if it cannot be *proved* that any one of the non-elect ever did what he could to avoid punishment, it does not follow that they shall be damned, do what they can." But it is a total mistake to suppose that there cannot be full warrant on the theory of strict Calvinism for saying that the non-elect shall be damned, do what they can, unless it can be shown that some one of this class did what he could to escape punishment. With as much right might it be urged that there can be no warrant for saying that men, unsupported, will fall to the earth, let them do what they can, unless it can be proved that some man, being unsupported, did fall to the earth in spite of all he could do. These are questions to be settled, not by experiment or observation, but by the laws of thought. Given three facts,—that man is a heavy body, that he is unsupported, that the operation of gravity is universal—and it is self-evident that his fall to the earth is unavoidable, do what he can. So given three facts,—that man is, at birth, under condemnation to eternal death, that he is as impotent to save himself as "a dead man to restore himself to life," that God determined by an unconditional and irrevocable decree not to save him, and it is self-evident that his damnation is inevitable, let him do what he can.

The Case of the Non-Elect.

From what has now been said we see how, according to the theory under consideration, the case of the non-elect stands:

1. Since men are, at birth, under condemnation—"subject to death, with all its miseries, spiritual, temporal, and eternal," the decree to refuse to regenerate and pardon leaves those included in that decree under sentence of condemnation on account of that sin, which necessarily involves their everlasting punishment. As the decision of an absolute monarch to refuse pardon to a rebel condemned to death is a positive decision to execute him, so the decision of God to refuse pardon to those who are at birth under his wrath and curse, on the ground of original sin, is a positive decision to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for that sin, whether they are appointed to die in infancy, or to live to the age of threescore years and ten. The decree not to elect and the decree to *punish* the non-elect for *original sin*, are inseparable, not only in fact, but in thought—they necessarily imply each other—they are, strictly speaking, parts of one and the same decree. If the advocates of this theory hold, as they generally or universally do hold at the present day,—that none of the non-elect will be punished forever *solely* because of their ante-natal guilt and depravity, it must be on the ground of the assumption that it is the design of God to appoint all of this class to live till they shall have added the guilt of their own personal sins to that of original sin.

The Positive Element in Reprobation.

II. Thus far in our discussion we have considered only the negative element, so-called, of reprobation—preterition—the decree to pass by a part of mankind in the bestowment of renewing and pardoning grace. What is the relation of the purpose to leave men in the state in which they are born, to the purpose to punish them on account of their personal sins, which is called the positive element of reprobation?

1. The purpose of God to do nothing in the case of the non-elect—to leave them to themselves—does not imply a *positive* agency on his part in securing their continuance through life in impenitence and unbelief; nor the use of means designed to insure this result. The proper cause of their continuance in sin, is not the action, or inaction of God, but their own depravity.

2. But the purpose of God to forsake the non-elect—to withhold from them renewing grace—renders their persistence in sin as certain as if it were brought about by direct divine agency. For the inability of the sinner, at the beginning of moral action, to cease to resist the Holy Spirit, is the same as his inability to repent and believe, or to accomplish the work of self-regeneration—an ability which is declared to be "real and absolute," "an impotence as helpless and *insuperable* by the subjects of it as *natural* inability." All that the non-elect can do, under the influence of common grace, to obtain from God the ability to repent and believe, is not only necessarily vain, but will enhance their guilt and punishment,—the

two essential characteristics of common grace being, that it never does or can save, whatever be the measure of it, or the duration of its action, and that it will greatly enhance guilt and punishment.

The decree of preterition, therefore, necessarily involves the positive decree of reprobation on the ground of original sin in the case of *all* the non-elect, and of both original sin and personal sin in the case of those appointed to live to the age of moral accountability. The distinction, therefore, between the decree not to elect, and the decree of positive damnation is of no importance. "A determination to give being to a soul, and then to pass it by, when letting it alone will certainly damn it, is only *verbally* different from a direct and deliberate assignment to damnation." Mozley, Augustinian, Doctrine of Predestination, 393 —"There is no real distinction between abandoning men to a certain state of which punishment will be the consequence, and ordaining them to that punishment. The only distinction which would make a difference respects the nature of the sinful state, whether it be original sin, or their own personal perseverance in sin. The abandonment of a portion of mankind to a state of sin in which they are born, is predestinarian reprobation, whether we express it as abandonment to sin, or as ordaining to punishment." Hence the damnation of the non-elect, in case they are appointed to live to the years of adult life, is as unavoidable as it would be if they were consigned to hell on the day of their birth, and inconceivably more terrible, since they cannot but "treasure up wrath against the day of wrath and the righteous judgment of God."

All Protestant churches—Lutheran, Calvinistic, Arminian—reject the "abhorrent doctrine of infant damnation." But is the doctrine which teaches that God assigns *some* of the non-elect to hell in infancy more, or *less*, abhorrent than that which teaches that it is his purpose to appoint to *all* of this class a period of life beyond the age of infancy, and to punish them with increased severity because of their action in a state of inborn moral impotence as real, complete, absolute, as that of "the deaf to hear or of the blind to see"—having determined by an unconditional and irreversible decree, irrespective of their perseverance in sin as foreseen, to offer them no effectual help?

Now we would earnestly ask whether it is "to speak of God the thing that is right," or to ascribe to him *impossible* ways of action —ways self-evidently irreconcilable with the genius of the gospel and with a hundred of the plainest declarations of the Bible—to represent him as dealing with a part of the human race in such a way that their damnation is *inevitable*, let them do what they can to comply with the conditions of salvation as contained in the gospel? Were this representation correct the message of the gospel, instead of being "glad tidings" to *all* people, would be to multitudes who hear it—apparently the majority of those who live beyond the age of infancy—the most dreadful tidings that ever fell on the ear of man.

Efforts to Avoid these Results.

III. Let us, now, indicate in the briefest manner possible some of the ways by which Calvinistic theologians attempt to avoid or to lessen the difficulties which the theory under examination involves.

1. There are some—and the number seems to be increasing—who hold firmly the doctrine of individual election, but reject that of preterition.

Schaff, Creed Revision, etc., 25—"The Scriptures clearly teach the comfortable doctrine of an eternal and unchangeable election of believers in Christ, but they nowhere teach an eternal decree of reprobation. The latter is merely an inference, but it is not a necessary inference."

Hamilton, A Bundle of Papers, 134—"Preterition is no necessary part of Calvinism . . . . That God has chosen a people for himself is a glorious truth; for, when interpreted, it simply means that I, as a believer, am what I am through the grace of God, dependent absolutely on him for my salvation, and therefore sure of it. But to infer from this that God passes some men by, arbitrarily leaving them to their fate, never giving them a chance, is impossible to any one who has caught the dimmest vision of him who is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

But Dr. Shedd, expressing the view of the great body of representative Calvinistic thinkers, declares that "to affirm the decree of individual election and to deny that of preterition is the height of absurdity." And from this conclusion there seems to be but one possible way of escape, viz.: by denying the application of the fundamental laws of thought to the divine proceeding in predestination.

For, "since the elect are such always, such unborn, such at birth, such in infancy," we are logically compelled to hold one or the other of two positions as to the

standing, *as infants*, in the divine view, of the rest of mankind—those not included in the purpose of election, viz. : Either God purposes to pass them by, or he has no purpose whatever, concerning them. The latter position, however, is irreconcilable with the doctrine of decrees which is fundamental in every type of Calvinism. But as President Patton remarks, "to take an agnostic position in a matter so fundamental as that the whole is greater than its part, would require a revision of the Westminster Confession," and we may add of every Calvinistic Confession, "more radical than has hitherto been dreamed of."

2. Another representation is that the reason of God's action in leaving some men to themselves—in withholding from them saving grace—is their abuse of "common grace"—their guilty rejection of offered mercy. But this is demonstrably inconsistent with the Calvinistic theory of predestination. For if God forsakes men—refuses to renew them—because of their guilty rejection of offered pardon, it must have been on the ground of such rejection as foreseen that he eternally purposed to leave them to perish in their sins. But the action of men in defeating common grace is dependent upon their reaching the age of moral accountability, and there reaching the age of moral accountability is dependent upon God's providential appointment, which providential appointment is a part of his dealing with them *as non-elect* from the first moment of their pre-natal existence. As God regards the elect as such always, appoints some of them to die in infancy and others to live to the age of responsible action, and then regenerates and sanctifies them, so he regards the non-elect as such always, appoints some or all of them to live to the age of responsible action, and withholds from them renewing grace according to his sovereign purpose. Since, then, the appointment of the non elect to reach the years of accountability is, in the logical order, subsequent to and dependent upon, the decree of preterition, it is as certain as any conclusion in logic that God's eternal purpose to withhold from them his almighty and efficacious grace, and consequently, his action in withholding from them that grace, could have had no respect, whatever, to their rejection of offered mercy as foreseen. Their personal sins as foreseen were the cause or reason of God's purpose to punish them, *but not of his purpose not to renew them.*

3. Another representation is that "as God decreed to impute Adam's disobedience to his posterity, because he knew that every one of them would, if in Adam's place, have acted as he did," so he decreed to pass by a part of mankind because he knew that they would, if dealt with under a system of gracious probation, reject offered pardon in spite of the most powerful agencies which he could wisely use in their case. But it seems axiomatically certain that God could not act in the way and for the reason here suggested. For the decree to pass by, to reject, is an act of displeasure, and the holy God could not have, and so could not express, displeasure toward moral beings simply on the ground of what he knew they *would* do if placed in certain circumstances. It would not be just, but an outrage of justice, for a government to order the execution of a man on the ground that it was infallibly known that he would become guilty of murder if allowed to live. And as it would be morally impossible for God to express displeasure toward holy beings on probation because of sins which he knew they would commit at some future period, so it would be morally impossible for him to impute Adam's sin to his posterity on the ground suggested above, or to express displeasure toward men, not only from the beginning of moral action, but in the period of infancy itself, by regarding and treating them as "non elect," or "reprobate," because of sins which he knew they would commit in the years of adult life.

The decree, then, to pass by a part of mankind has respect, not to their rejection of offered pardon as foreseen, which would be a logical impossibility ; nor to sins which it was known they would commit if placed in certain circumstances, which would be a moral impossibility ; but *solely* to the state of guilt and depravity in which they are born. The moral and legal condition of mankind, antecedent to personal action, is the reason and the only supposable reason, not of the purpose to pass by some persons *rather than* others, but of the purpose to withhold renewing grace from those who perish. The decree of preterition presupposes and finds its justification, according to the theory under consideration, solely in the ante-natal guilt and condemnation of mankind.

4. The most common method of attempting to avoid the fatal difficulties inherent in the strict Calvinistic theory is that of claiming for man "natural ability" to comply with the terms of salvation, to exercise repentance and faith, while affirming his "moral inability" to do so. But the distinction as commonly made between natural

and moral ability or inability affords not the slightest relief touching the matter in hand; for the "naturalability" is rendered "null and void" by the "moral inability," which is also "natural" in the sense of being inborn; it never has been and never will be exercised, prior to God's regenerating act, by any one of the innumerable millions of the human race. But a supposed "natural" power which never gives, under all the appropriate conditions of life, the slightest indication of its existence, not only affords no help in "harmonizing ethics and theology," but should be regarded as a nonentity.

The fact that the divine act of renewal does not involve the addition of any fundamental powers to the mind, affords no evidence that the unrenewed man has the same "natural ability" as the renewed to repent and believe. With as much reason might it be said that, since the act of waking from sleep adds no faculties to the mind, men are "naturally" able to do when asleep all they can do when awake.

And still further, the changes involved in regeneration as set forth in the Bible, are such and so great, as to render it incredible that man has the natural ability to produce them. Whatever natural ability man has, in this direction, must lie in his will, as the faculty of volitions or of fundamental choices. But do the Scriptures teach that man is able, by an act of will, to dispel his spiritual darkness, to give himself a vision of Jesus Christ, to awaken godly sorrow for sin and supreme love to God, to originate a spiritual, divine life? All these things he must be supposed to be able to do, by his power of will; for the fundamental act of faith involves or presupposes all the subjective elements of eternal life.

Questions in Conclusion.

In concluding this article we will suggest two questions which we design to discuss at some future time:

1. Are mankind, at birth, under condemnation—"liable to the pains of hell forever," on the ground of the fall of Adam?

The utter absence of any reference to the Adamic guilt as among the grounds of the sentence of condemnation to be pronounced at the day of judgment, the language of Christ respecting little children—Luke xviii. 15, 16; Matt. xviii. 10, 14; and especially the teaching of Rom. iv. 25 and v. 18, 19—seem to justify the position that, prior to personal action, men are, through the atonement, free from condemnation; that the judgment which through the one offense of Adam came upon all men to condemnation, was removed, absolutely and forever, by the one act of righteousness of Jesus Christ.

Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander, A System of Biblical Theology, 389–392. "Nothing can be clearer than this: As is the condemnation so is the justification; the one is coextensive with the other; as the offense of one brought all men under the former, so the righteousness of one has brought all men under the latter. . . . As taught by the apostle it (universal justification) stands clear of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration and the doctrine of universal pardon. It means simply that through the grace of Christ the sentence of attainder under which the sin of Adam brought men has been repealed in the case of every man, whether baptized or unbaptized; but for the sins which men actually commit, they must each one seek pardon for himself or perish."

It is evident that the view here indicated would involve a material modification in the statement of the doctrine of predestination. It would necessarily imply positions like the following: (1) That infants *as such*, and therefore, *all infants* being freed from condemnation by the redemptive work of Christ, are embraced in the love of God in the sense that those who die in infancy are regenerated by the Holy Spirit and admitted to heaven. (2) That God will not, cannot, pass by a part of mankind, giving them no chance, *unconditionally* leaving them in a state of inborn moral impotence, which is declared to be as "insuperable by the subjects of it" as the natural impotence of "a dead man to sit up in his coffin." (3) That the decree of preterition must be, therefore, in the logical order, subsequent to and dependent upon, the personal sins of men as foreseen.

2. Our second question is,—Has man, *every man*—ability, *plenary ability*—under the universal provisions of grace, to avoid committing the unpardonable sin and to escape final damnation? *full power*, for a period longer or shorter, moved by rational self-regard, a sense, of duty, the natural principle of gratitude, and "aspiration for something better than he has, or than he is," in response to the quickening touch of truth and of the Holy Spirit, "to resist the evil and guilty tendencies of his nature," to strive to exercise the repentance and faith which the Bible requires, "with the certainty that his struggle will be blessed of God" with the blessing of regenerating and forgiving grace? Who is it that says, "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good

gifts to your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him ?"

Would not the view that man possesses, under divine grace, the ability here indicated, in case it could be justified, (1) afford far more important aid in "harmonizing ethics with theology" than the theory of a "natural ability" rendered "null and void" by an inborn "moral inability;" (2) furnish a self-evidently adequate ground for the divine requirement that men should repent and believe, even though they are utterly unable to do so prior to God's act renewing them; and (3) furnish also the amplest vindication of the sincerity and good faith of God in his entreaties and expostulations with those who cannot save themselves and whom he purposes not to save because of their guilty rejection of regenerating and pardoning grace?

CHURCH FOLK-LORE.

BY J. EDWARD VAUX.

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III.

Holy Communion, Baptismal, and Other Customs.

It can scarcely be doubted that it was the original intention that a daily celebration of the Holy Eucharist should be continued in the Church of England after she had freed herself from the shackles of Rome. The fact that the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, which pertain only to the Communion Office, were to serve for the whole week, seems decisive on this point. The practice of having a daily celebration may have been more or less kept up during the five years of Edward's reign, as also with the re-introduction of Popery under Mary. The real wrench came with the return of the Marian exiles when Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558. The flood of Protestantism and irreverence which they brought back with them must, under the very abnormal condition of things, have had a most baneful influence, and have done much to hinder customs which were really Catholic. Let any one try to imagine what the religious mind of the country could have been when it was possible for Scambler, who was Bishop of Peterborough from 1561 to 1585, to lay down a rule that a day should be set apart quarterly for general Communion; one at five for servants and officers, with a sermon of an hour, to end at eight; the other for masters and dames, to begin at nine the same day, and to end at twelve.

But there were Bishops of a higher type than Scambler, bad as were the times. Overall was consecrated at the beginning of the following century, and Cosin became Bishop of Durham in 1660. As regards the daily Eucharist, Cosin says: "Better were it to endure the absence of the people than for the minister to neglect the usual and daily Sacrifice of the Church, by which all people, whether they be there or no, reap so much benefit. And this was the opinion of my lord and master, Dr. Overall." I give this quotation on the authority of the Rev. J. H. Blunt.

And it is curious to notice the difference of ideas entertained by really good men as to the frequency with which the Holy Eucharist ought to be celebrated. George Herbert, in his "Country Parson," published in 1632, says: "The parson celebrates it [the holy Eucharist] if not duly once a month, yet at least five or six times in the year, as at Easter, Christmas, and Whitsuntide, afore and after Harvest, and the beginning of Lent." To us it seems very odd if we read this paragraph to the end, for the writer goes on to say: "And this he doth, not only for the benefit of the work, but also for the discharge of the churchwardens, who being to present all that received not thrice a year, if there be but three Communions, neither can the people so order their affairs as to receive just at those times, nor the churchwardens so well take notice who receive thrice, and who not."

The following item seems even more strange if we take into account the date when Bishop Andrewes died, 1626, and his well-known devotional habits when living. Bishop Buckridge, of Rochester, preached the funeral sermon, in which occurs the following passage: "He was Dr. Andrewes in the schools; Bishop Andrewes in the diocese; and Saint Andrewes in the closet. After he had an episcopal house with a chapel, he kept monthly Communions inviolably, though he had received at court the same month." Mr. Benham tells us that a certain General Winsor left the interest of £100 to two churches in Southampton to defray the expenses of a monthly Communion. In 1718 there were only eleven churches in London where there was a weekly celebration.

Good men who lived in bad times greatly regretted the decadence of the custom of which I am treating. Mr. Abbey writes :

"Bull, Sherlock, Beveridge, and other Anglican divines, who belong more to the seventeenth than to the eighteenth century, had expressed much concern at the infrequency of celebrations of the Eucharist as compared with a former age. . . . 'Now,' said Beveridge, 'people have so far departed from primitive usage, that they think once a week is too often.' . . . In 1741 we find Secker admonishing the clergy of the Diocese of Oxford that 'they were bound to administer thrice in the year; that there ought to be an administration during the long interval between Whitsuntide and Christmas.' And he adds, somewhat dubiously, 'If you can afterwards advance from a quarterly communion to a monthly one, I make no doubt but you will.' . . . But Bishop Tomline might well feel it a matter for just complaint that, 'being at St. Paul's on Easter Day 1800, in that vast and noble cathedral, no more than six persons were found at the Table of the Lord.'"

As regards details connected with the Eucharistic service, I have not come across any well-authenticated instance of the retention of the chasuble in the eighteenth century; but I quite believe that such instances might be found. The odd thing is that numbers of the best Churchmen in their writings asserted the continued legality of the Ornaments Rubric, but as to the chasuble they did not themselves adopt it. And what makes this more strange is that no difficulty seems to have been made about the use of the cope, which was a much more costly, and, to use a modern term, a much more "pronounced" vestment, and, withal, most inconvenient at the altar. It would appear that, although widely used before the Restoration, after that event copes were to a great extent abandoned. They were, however, retained at Durham, Westminster, and Norwich until nearly the end of the last century. But since their general abandonment, I believe that on great occasions—such as coronations—they have always been worn at Westminster Abbey.

Everybody knows that the First Rubric before the office for Holy Communion in the Prayer Book directs that "So many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion shall signify their names to the curate at least some time the day before." With Church discipline so slack as it has been, and still is, in England, it is scarcely to be expected that this rule should ever have been generally observed. Yet a contributor to *Notes and Queries* states that at Bitton, in Gloucestershire, two parishioners, who were natives of Lincolnshire, used always to give this notice. It may be that in the latter county the custom has to some slight extent survived.

The custom of Fasting Communion is one which, wherever it may have existed, has evidently been handed down from pre-Reformation times. There are plenty of instances of this practice to be had dating from the last century. Thus, the clergyman of a Berkshire parish states that in 1863 an old woman parishioner told him that her mother never communicated except fasting. Another priest, speaking of those who had lived at Liskeard, in Cornwall, states that thereabouts, in the days of his grandfather, it was the general, though not the universal, custom, both by rich and poor. Similarly, this was the case at Leek, in Staffordshire. Speaking of a poor woman, aged eighty-three, who was preparing for her first Communion, the vicar states that she asked him whether she ought not to receive it fasting; and he adds that every time afterward she was careful to observe the same reverential practice. Going up to the Northern counties, the Rector of Winestead, Hull, has told me that people still living can remember the custom observed there, and it must be noted that in the days referred to there were only late celebrations. Another clergyman, verging on seventy, has assured me that his great-grandmother was very particular about fasting before reception, and that she was always strict in the observance of the Church's fast days. He added that, if she were on a visit at a friend's house, she would never, save under very urgent necessity, go beyond the garden before she had been to church. This is akin to the custom, which still prevails in many parts of England, of a woman after her confinement abstaining from appearing in public until she has been to church to return thanks for her safe delivery. The late Dean of Brechin, who was an old man twenty years ago, stated that his mother invariably received the Holy Communion fasting, and would have considered it very irreverent not to do so. These few individual instances, drawn from different parts of the country, show how the ancient reverential custom continued to be observed by religious people long before its revival under the so-called Tractarian Movement.

There have been certain other usages connected with the act of reception which may well be noted.

An Oriel man, who was at Oxford in 1864, tells me that it was then the habit, for as many of the undergraduates as sufficed to fill the Altar rail, to take their places there just before the short exhortation was read.

Again, at St. James', Isle of Grain, Kent, at the words, "Ye that do truly," &c., the communicants were wont to leave their seats, and kneel down in the chancel, the men on the north side, and the women on the south, and they remained there until the priest came round to communicate them. A similar custom prevailed at Wannington, in Northamptonshire, at least as late as 1845. At Christ Church, Oxford, it was the custom up to 1856 for the communicants to remain in their seats while the officiants walked round to communicate each. Dr. Pusey frequently administered the Holy Communion in this way.

In some places the sexes communicated separately. Let me take two parishes fairly remote from one another. This was, and perhaps still is, the usage at Churchdown, between Gloucester and Cheltenham, and it prevailed up to twenty years ago in the Parish of Bekesbourne, Kent.

I am told that in Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire it was formerly the custom of all those present to kneel through the whole of the Communion service. This was also the case in certain parts of Herefordshire, as at St. Weonard's and Michael Church. In the former of these two parishes, up to about 1834, Holy Communion was celebrated only four times a year, Easter and its octave, Low Sunday, being two of them. This is curious, as it shows a desire on the part of the clergy to carry out the directions of the Prayer Book that every parishioner should communicate at Easter, or at least that he should have an opportunity of doing so.

The introduction by choirs of the words "Blessed be he that cometh in the Name of the Lord" before the consecration, and "O Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world," after it, has of late been severely criticised in certain of our Law Courts. The Rev. W. F. Clements has told me that in 1858 an old man of eighty assured him that at a parish in Wiltshire, where he went to church as a boy, the words were always said, as a matter of course, by the congregation.

A few notes as to the retention of the Houselling Cloth will be interesting.

Some time ago a clergyman at Stockton-on-Tees told me that, about the year 1875, he was at Bolam, in Northumberland, and in the church he saw the vicar's housemaid evidently preparing the Altar for the monthly celebration. Part of the preparation consisted in tying on to the stone Altar rails a cloth of the same colour as the Altar Cloth (blue), so as to hang down on both sides. It would seem probable that this was a relic of the Houselling Cloth of former days.

The Houselling Cloth is mentioned in the Coronation Service :—"While the King receives, the Bishop appointed for that service shall hold a towel of white silk or fine linen before him." (Order of Coronation of George IV., since which time the ceremony has not been observed.)

It is still, I believe, spread in some churches in the diocese of Winchester ; at St. Mary's, Oxford ; at St. Mary's, Prestbury, and at All Saints', Leamington. It is placed over the rails before the communicants.

The following note appears in the churchwardens accounts at St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1599 :

"Item.—Paid for a long diaper cloth to make two towels for the communicants, 12*s.* 8*d.*"

When I was a boy it was the custom for old-fashioned women of the respectable servant type to carry their Prayer Books folded up in clean white handkerchiefs, when they went to church on "Communion Sundays." May not this have been a relic of the Houselling Cloth ?

The ancient office of "Server" survived longer than most people imagine. Up to a few years ago at Lower Sapey, in Worcestershire, when the parson left the reading desk at the end of the Morning Prayer, and took his place at the Altar, it was the custom for the clerk also to go within the rails. This usage existed in some churches in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire. In some cases the clerk wore a surplice.

In the *Guardian*, of May 31, 1876, certain facts are given showing that a like custom prevailed in the North of England.

A friend has sent me the following extract from Bishop Lloyd's (additional) Statutes for Lichfield Cathedral, A. D. 1693 :

"Cap. 8. De Oblatis, &c. :—The Consecrating Priest, or if the Bishop be the Consecrator, he who ministers the Chalice, shall, before his departure from the Lord's Table, count the money given at the Offertory, and commit it to the care and keeping of the Sacristan or Sub-Sacristan, &c. &c."

As the sermon, according to the Rubric, is to be preached during the Communion Office, this seems to be the place to mention a peculiar usage in relation to it. At Churchdown, Gloucestershire, already mentioned, it was customary up to 1871, and

may be still, for the labouring men to stand during the sermon.

It is, I believe, or was, the custom among the Presbyterians in Scotland to give to every intending communicant a metal token. Few people, however, are aware that instances of a similar custom in the Church of England are on record. Thus, Communion tokens were given at St. Saviour's, Southwark, in 1627, and at Henley-on-Thames in 1639.

Baptismal Customs.

So far as my researches have gone, I have come across fewer out-of-the-way customs connected with the Sacrament of Baptism than might have been expected. I will relate some of those which I have found.

To begin with Ireland. I understand that at Ballintoy, co. Antrim, on the occasion of a baptism there was always a struggle to get the first water. The first child baptised was considered likely to be lucky afterwards. A large oat-cake used to be sewn up in the baby's clothes. On the return home this, with whisky, formed the christening feast.

In Burt's "Letters from the North of Scotland," published in 1754, the following barbarous custom is related: "The moment a child is born it is plunged into cold water, though it should be necessary first to break the ice." The writer goes on to say that at the christening the father held the child up before the pulpit, and received a long admonition concerning its education.

The idea formerly prevailed among Lincolnshire folk that if a child were born with its hands open it would grow up benevolent; but if closed it would be a churl. When christened, it was believed by some that unless the child cried it would not live. Hence cruel nurses were wont to pinch the babe's tender flesh, or to prick it with a pin, in order to secure the desired scream.

Trine effusion is more common at the present day than it was in the earlier portion of the century. It is interesting to learn that there were some clergymen who knew how to baptise properly a hundred years ago. The Rev. E. Symonds states that his father, when baptising a child, and pouring water upon it only once, was told by an old Devonshire clergyman who was present that when he was ordained it was always the custom to pour water over the child's face three times.

A very odd custom has been related to me by the author of the "Heir of Redcliffe." "I have seen (she says) a cottager's tenth child christened with a sprig of myrtle in its cap to mark it as the tithe child; and I have heard of the Rector of Compton recognising such a tithe child, and sending him to school. I think the custom is dropped."

Strange names have been sometimes given to infants, but it would be difficult to find one more strange than that about to be mentioned.

In the parish of Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, there is a farm named Almesbury. In 1747 a child was left by some vagrants in one of the fields of this farm. Some pigs attacked the babe, but a dog drove them away and the child was, for the time being, saved. In the parish register the following entries are found;

> "Septr. 8, 1747. Susanna Smith buried, & Cunozoa Almesbury baptized. This child was exposed, & preserv'd by dogs wch defended it from the swine.
>
> "Oct. 10. Cunozoa Almesbury buried."

In many parts of Surrey, when several children are brought to be baptized at the same time, the clerk takes special care that the boys are presented first. It is thought that if the young ladies were first baptized, the boys would grow up beardless. This idea formerly prevailed in the north of England, and continued at Newcastle-on-Tyne up to 1863 at the least. At Harrietsham, in Kent, the notion is that if the girls were to take precedence of the boys they would have hair on their faces when they grew up.

Another odd custom prevailed in the North. When a child was taken to church to be christened a little boy was engaged to meet the infant on leaving the house, because it was deemed an unlucky omen to encounter a female first. For this service the boy received a small present of cake and cheese wrapped in paper. A somewhat similar custom exists in Somersetshire, and in Cornwall, and until lately about Dartmoor.

In Northumberland it is usual to make the child sleep the first night in the cap worn at its baptism. At the beginning of the present century the earliest possible baptism was, in Herefordshire, considered essential to the health of the infant.

Formerly a cloth was kept in many families for use at christenings, and was called in Dorset a "Christening Palm." One about five feet long and rather less broad, of crimson satin edged with silver lace, is mentioned in *Notes and Queries*. The same thing is called in Devonshire "a Christening Pane."

A curious usage was common on the bor-

ders of Wales in olden time, in cases when a mother died in childbirth. The late Dr. A. B. Evans, Rector of St. Mary-le-Strand, has stated that when officiating in a parish in Herefordshire he was sent for to baptize the child of a woman who had died shortly after her delivery. On preparing to perform the office he was told that it was customary, under such circumstances, to baptize the child over the dead body of the mother. Accordingly, he was conducted to the room where the coffined body lay, and baptized the infant holding it over the corpse.

Now for a few memoranda about baptism by immersion.

When the Church of St. John's, Torquay, was built, under the supervision of the late G. E. Street, and a sunk pit was made at the west end of the nave for adult baptisms by immersion, many people thought that such an arrangement had never been seen before. They were wrong. A late Vicar of Cranbrook, Kent, has stated: "We have a curious font for the baptism of adults by immersion, which I believe to be unique. It is a small well seven feet deep, built against the south wall by a celebrated vicar of Cranbrook in the early part of the last century—viz., by John Johnson, author of the 'Unbloody Sacrifice,' the 'Vade Mecum,' &c."

There was, and probably is still, in the Church of St. Laurence, Reading, a baptistry under some of the pews. Some years ago, a family of Quakers desiring to be admitted into the Church by baptism by immersion, the pews were removed, the baptistry filled with water, and the converts immersed.

I understand that in the Church of Trevethin, Monmouthshire, there is a baptistry for purposes of immersion, as also in the comparatively new church of St. Mary, Abedare.

Some years ago the late Canon Cadman, of Holy Trinity, Marylebone, sent me the following description of an adult baptism by immersion which he celebrated in that church:

"The parents of a young woman had delayed her baptism, and when I became acquainted with them I found that they entertained, in common with their daughter, strong opinions in favour of immersion. I did all I could to show them that the mode was not so important as they thought, but at length pointed out to them that the Church did not object, in certain cases, to baptism by immersion. After obtaining the Bishop's consent, I procured a large bath or tank (or, rather, had it constructed for the purpose) with steps inside and out. Placing it by the font, I had it filled with water, and at a certain portion of the service the young person, with her parents and witnesses, came forward. When the time for immersion came, I commended her to the silent prayers of the congregation, while she retired to the vestry to undress and put on a suitable flannel robe. Coming forth with her mother, I took her right hand, led her up the outside steps of the bath, directed her to descend into the water, and standing by the outside of the bath, and placing one arm under her head, I baptized her by immersion in the Sacred Name of the Trinity. She then retired again to the vestry. There was again prayerful silence, and when she came again to the congregation in her usual dress the service was concluded. A very solemn feeling prevailed; prejudices were excited in some quarters but removed by explanations, and I think much good resulted—certainly adherence to the Church instead of separation from it. In the course of twenty years we have had three such cases."

A more primitive method of baptism by immersion is related by a writer to *Notes and Queries* in 1866. He says that within the last three months he knew of two clergymen baptizing in rivers in Wales; the question being left to the choice of the candidate.

At the time of the Commonwealth public baptism fell into almost total disuse, and private baptism became the rule. From a charge of Bishop Bull, of S. David's, at the beginning of the last century, it is evident that this evil habit was long retained. It is probable that it was introduced at first by reason of the puritanical dislike to the use of the sign of the Cross, and to sponsors; for, according to the Prayer Book, neither was required when the Sacrament was administered privately. It is probable that the scandal of charging fees for baptism grew out of this evil custom. Whether the demand still exists in any parish I know not; but it has only recently been discontinued at a well-known church in London, in consequence of the agitation of certain earnest Churchmen there.

It may be well to note that the Act 35 & 36 Vict. c. 36, renders it unlawful to demand any fee or reward for the celebration of the Sacrament of Baptism, or for the registry thereof. Some clergymen may not be aware of this.

One or two notes on Confirmation may be interesting.

The following extract seems to show that, in Kent at least, Confirmation was grievously neglected in the early part of the last century:—"On Tuesday, July 12, and the day following, the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishop of Bristol, confirmed about 4000 persons at Maidstone."

Most elderly people now can remember that in their younger days it was the regular custom to have a Confirmation once only in every three years.

Referring, of course, to the old slovenly habit of Bishops in confirming whole rails full of candidates at a time, and using only one hand for each in the "Laying on of *Hands*," Mr. Henderson believes that throughout England a preference was felt for the touch of the Bishop's right hand over his left. It may have been so, but I do not remember to have ever heard of it.

There is a wholesome tradition in some country places that young people ought not to be married until they have been confirmed.

Churching Customs.

Before I go on to relate one or two Churching customs in olden time, it may be well to inquire what were the sentiments of the better class of the clergy respecting this rite two hundred years ago.

Dean Comber, of Durham, in his "Companion to the Temple," published in 1674, says :

"With us in England, custom only seems to determine the time to be a full month, and our rubric prudently says no more but that it shall be done at the usual time. And that we may give no countenance to the Jewish opinion of their uncleanness, we admit them to the Church before any prayers are said for them. And in most places they come up to the steps of the Altar, that being the proper place to offer the sacrifice of praise, and to remind them of their duty in receiving the Sacrament either then or on the first opportunity. The woman only goes to the Altar, but every one present hath a fresh occasion to exercise his most serious meditations . . . To do this (*i.e.*, to church women) in a private house, is as contrary to the end as it is to the name of the office. If the women will not do their duty, the priest must do his—*i.e.*, refuse to go to their private houses, which hath been decreed in a late Council, viz.: that the priest do not go to the woman's house to make the accustomed prayers there — no, not though she be so weak as not to be able to come to church. And the reason thereof is evident, because she may stay till she is stronger : she is not obliged to come at a certain time, but only so soon as she is able.

"The last rubric intimates two things. First, she must offer the usual oblations to the priest, viz : the Chrysom, or Alb, thrown over the child at christening, or some small offering to him that ministers, which are not requitals, but only acknowledgments of her gratitude to the Church. Beside which those women who are able ought to give some considerable sum of money for the poor upon every such deliverance, as a testimony of their real sense of God's mercy shown to them. Secondly, that she either do now, or as soon as can be, receive the Holy Sacrament, which these women always did in the Greek and Æthiopic Churches, and it seems in this very church above a thousand years ago. And still we carry them up to the Altar to mind them of their duty ; and doubtless the omission of it occasions the too soon forgetting of His mercy, and the sudden falling off from piety which we see in too many."

The words in the rubric requiring the woman to come "decently apparelled" require explanation. In the seventeenth century it was not thought becoming that on such an occasion the woman should wear her ordinary head-dress, and instances might be quoted of clergymen refusing to "church" women who came without the customary "vaile." It is evident that in some parishes this was provided by the church, for in an inventory of church goods belonging to St. Benet's, Gracechurch Street, in 1560, there is "A Churching Cloth, fringed, white damask."

We must inquire what is meant by the "convenient place," which, according to the rubric, the woman is to occupy. The principle, of course, is that the place shall in some way symbolise the fact that the woman is now in a position to resume those Church privileges from which she has for a time been debarred. In pre-Reformation times she was to be at the church door—a most improper place, one would think, for a woman who was out for the first time after her confinement. In Edward VI.'s First Book her position was to be "nigh unto the Quire door ;" in Edward VI.'s Second Book she was to be "nigh unto the place where the Table standeth." But during the past three hundred years the custom has varied. Bishop Wren's orders for the diocese of Norwich, in 1636, were as follows :—"That women to be churched come and kneel at a side near the Communion Table without the rail, being veiled according to the custom, and not covered with a hat ; or otherwise not to be churched, but presented at the next generals by the minister or churchwardens, or any of them." In Bishop Brian Duppa's (Chichester) Visitation Articles of 1638, there is an inquiry similar in substance to the above :—"Doth he (the priest) go into the chancel, the woman also repairing thither, kneeling as near the Communion Table as may be ; and if there be a Communion, doth she communicate in acknowledgment of the great blessing received by her safe delivery ? Doth the woman who is to be churched use the accustomed habit in such cases, with a white veil or kerchief upon her head ?"

In some churches, more especially, I believe, in Lincolnshire, there was a pew or open seat, which was known as the "churching seat."

The feeling that women ought not to

leave their own house or garden before they "have been to church" is very widely spread. The Rev. W. J. Frere says that this was strictly observed when he was at Rugeley. In Herefordshire it was formerly not considered "correct" for the husband to appear in church on the day of his wife's churching; or, at all events, not to be in the same pew with her. An antiquary of the county considers this a relic of Roman Paganism, connected with the worship of the *Bona Dea*.

The Rev. J. H. Overton tells me that at Legbourne, and, he believes, in other Lincolnshire villages, women look upon this churching with an almost superstitious regard. He had a curious instance when he first went to Legbourne in 1860. He at once tried to stop the custom of having the Baptisms after the service, and on one occasion, when he told a woman who came to be churched and to have her child baptized, that the baptism would take place after the Second Lesson, she replied, "That is impossible, for I cannot walk down the church until I have been churched." The Churching Service used to be read just before the General Thanksgiving, so he overcame the scruple by having the Churching Service before the general service began.

The idea of registering churchings would scarcely ever occur to a clergyman now; but as a matter of fact such entries do exist. In the parish church registers at Preston, Lancashire, for the early part of the seventeenth century, there is a record of the churching of women. Similar entries, I am told, are found in the last page of the Sidmouth parish registers, and also at Staplehurst.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

From *The Christian Union* (Undenom.), New York, March 5, 1892.

THE crusade of the polemical Protestants in this country against the Roman Catholic Church is saved from being a crime only by being a folly. The Christian Union represents an extreme type of Protestantism. It believes and teaches the absolute right of private judgment; that the final authority for every man is in himself; that if he accepts Church or Book as his guide, he must accept it for himself, and therefore its authority over him is an authority self-accepted and self-imposed. Our position respecting the Roman Catholic Church is not, therefore, one of ecclesiastical sympathy. Whatever other offense may be laid to the charge of The Christian Union, it cannot be charged with High Church principles. It is as a representative of what its critics would regard as extreme individualism in religion that we gladly recognize the spiritual and political worth of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. The pugnacious Protestantism which attacks that Church as a modern Babylon, a Mother of Harlots, a Man of Sin, and an Antichrist, is the last remnant of that sectarian spirit which a century ago excommunicated a Scotch Presbyterian mason for helping to build an Episcopal Church, and refused Alexander Campbell shelter from the storm because he was a Baptist.

What would the polemical Protestants do? Have they ever seriously reflected what would be the condition of the United States if their warfare were to succeed, if the Roman Catholic Church were to be uprooted, and every Roman Catholic church were razed to the ground, and every Roman Catholic priest were exiled?

There are, in round numbers, ten millions of people in the United States whose spiritual sympathies are Roman Catholic. The Roman Catholic Church furnishes these people with all the religious instruction and inspiration which they receive. If they did not attend mass, they would exercise no religious reverence; if they had no rosary, they would offer no prayers; if they had no father confessor, they would receive no moral instruction; if they had no priests, their marriages would be civil contracts contracted before justices of the peace, and their dying beds would be unvisited by the consolations and the hopes of the Gospel. Let it be granted that the secret method of the Confessional offers opportunities for immoral instruction, and that there are immoral priests who take advantage of these opportunities; that Pater Nosters and Ave Marias are not always true prayers; that worship at the mass is sometimes superstitious and often conventional; that the laity do not always distinguish between adoration and worship in their prayers to the saints. Let it be granted that the Roman Catholic Church is not progressive; that it often arrests rather than promotes spiritual growth. Nevertheless, who will say that worship at mass is not far better than none; that Pater Nosters in Latin are not better than prayerlessness; that it is not better to go to the Confessional than to go through life without any religious instruction; that adoration of saints is not better than atheism?

Can a Protestant campaigner furnish for

these ten millions of worshippers a substitute for the Church which he desires to destroy? Can he get the attendants on mass into his meeting-house? After he has abolished the Confessional, will those that attended it come to his preaching? When the Pater Noster is silenced, will the voice of extempore prayer be heard in its place? The polemical Protestant cannot get his chambermaid or his gardener in to family prayers, and does not often even try. The Roman Catholics are in our households; some of them in relations of intimacy with our children. Yet we rarely attempt to pass over the intellectual gulf which separates us from them, and we still more rarely succeed. Not infrequently their conscientious devotion shames our spiritual carelessness, and we are forced to acknowledge that they can impart to us of the spirit of self-sacrifice as much as we can give to them of the spirit of intelligence and independence.

It is, however, as a political organization that the polemical Protestant attacks the Roman Catholic Church. He figures out that immigration and the natural increase of population will, in another century, hand this country over to Roman Catholic control. He even imagines the Pope transferring his residence from Rome to Baltimore or St. Louis. He warns us of the undying hostility of the hierarchy to the public school and to free institutions. He is always able to cite respectable Roman Catholic authorities in defense of religious persecution, and his lurid imagination pictures the re-establishment of the Spanish Inquisition and the auto-da-fé on our soil, or a re-enactment of a Netherlands campaign or a Day of St. Bartholomew.

History does not justify these fears. The religious persecutions of the Middle Ages belonged far more to an epoch than to a Church—an epoch which trusted to the deterrent rather than to the remedial elements in punishment, and did not distinguish between crime and intellectual error. The wise man will remember that others as well as himself are living in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and will adjust himself and his actions accordingly. The real dangers which threaten American society are not from imperialism, in either Church or State. They are from anarchy; from contempt of authority and impatience at control; from demagogues flattering democracy, enthroning its passions and dethroning its conscience; from greed and appetite rampant and uncontrolled; from the tens of thousands of saloons, not from the churches—of any denomination. The polemical Protestant inveighs against the control exercised by the priesthood. Has he ever considered what would happen to this country, especially in our great cities, were there no such control? what dangers would ensue were that control weakened any faster than a power of self-control is developed to take its place? The abolition of the Roman Catholic priesthood in any one of our great cities would be almost as perilous to public peace and order as the abolition of the police. We are inclined to think that we could dispense with the police more safely than with the priesthood. The Church is the great conserver of social law, and, if other Churches are doing a larger work of education than the Roman Catholic, no other Church is its peer as a public guardian, because no other Church has so won the respect—sometimes the fear—of those who, but for the wholesome restraints of religion, would threaten the integrity of society. What the abolition of the Roman Catholic Church, except by the substitution of another in its place, may do for a democratic society the French Revolution has demonstrated.

There are priests and priests, just as there are ministers and ministers; we gladly honor both the person and the work of such men as Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland, and offer them our Christian fellowship, and welcome whatever measure of Christian fellowship their peculiar tenets allow them to extend to Christians who acknowledge no allegiance to the Pope and no ecclesiastical authority in the Church.

TWO THEOLOGICAL MISTAKES.

From *The Rock* (Ch. Eng.), London, March 18, 1892.

A SCHOOL of thought appears to be rising, or perhaps it is more correct to say, has risen out of the Tractarian movement, which, while believing in Ritualistic ideas, endeavours to accommodate itself, to some extent, to modern society. It tries to find a means of putting the new wine of rational opinion into old bottles of the Laudian era, and it is almost unnecessary to remark that the results are curious. Two propositions are more or less tacitly brought forward. The first is, that asceticism, or self-denial, is the chief fact in Christianity, Christian-

ity being equivalent to the Church. The second, that as God has made Christianity and society, both must be true in the form into which they have developed. Now, it must be plain to every Biblical student that these two defined principles contain two fundamental errors. It cannot be admitted for an instant that self-denial is synonymous with asceticism. The one is characteristic of Christianity, the other is not. The one is a tonic to the system, the other is an opiate. The one trains the whole nature, creates intellectual insight, and makes men of action ; the other generates mental hallucinations. Asceticism, as a phrase of human eccentricity, is long anterior to the Christian era. The Latin Church has taken it largely into account, adapted its mysticism to her purpose, and earned the praise of mankind for not omitting any phase of character. It has, however, been forgotten that Christianity does not desire merely to frame existing materials to its end, but to mould a new life. Nor are we disposed to allow that Christianity is primarily a religion of self-denial. It is surely first of all, and before everything, a religion of faith and then of warfare. Self-denial comes in according as the warfare demands it, according to the varying position of the individual in that battle which never ceases. The spirit of the thing is the same, in whatever way its manifestation takes place, but a missionary facing bodily dangers in China or Central Africa has self-denial practically forced upon him. So, too, may a London curate be called upon to teach a highly civilised people "temperance in abundance." The missionary occupies an outpost in an enemy's country ; the curate is in the reserve in his native land. The missionary may have for example's sake, or on account of climatic conditions, to carry out literally the precepts of self-sacrifice ; or he may be compelled to live generously if he desires to exercise fully his faculties and strength. We have no wish to emphasise or draw distinctions between gradations of self-denial, but to point out that it is only a means to an end, and not, like asceticism, a conclusion in itself. Christ's fast of forty days in the wilderness was a disciplinary preparation for the trial He had to undergo, the victory He gained being the essential fact. Afterwards we hear of Him at the marriage feast, as well as in the house of Levi, rebuking ostentatious self-denial. He lived in the busy world. He formed a society out of it, to transform it.

This leads us on to discuss the second pretended principle. There is no doubt that God overrules His creation, and has developed it according to His design. That it should develop rightly of itself is not at all possible. The active agency of sin must be remembered. Here, however, is the dilemma in which the new school of thought finds itself. The Church must be true, it says, because the Church is Christianity. Society has not progressed upon Gospel lines, does not act up to the Sermon on the Mount, yet the Church has spread herself over society. Therefore, if the two cannot be reconciled, there must be a fundamental error somewhere. The reconciliation is obtained. But how? The teaching of the higher criticism comes to the aid of the Tractarian. It has lowered the value of the Scriptures as the standard of faith in the eyes of many by casting doubts upon their authenticity. Could the genuineness of the testimony they bear to Christ be shaken, they would sink to the same level as tradition, which would be a gain for the dogma of Church authority. The "higher criticism" has thus loosened further, even than they were relaxed before upon some points, the opinions of the Ritual school, and has made it easier for its thoughtful exponents to retain their position instead of following their own views out to such logical consequences as Continental radicals have done, who have been driven either to infidelity, or to a readmission of Evangelical views with a partial rejection of their early Ecclesiastical training. Thus, the reconciliation between Christianity and Society is procured at the expense of the Scriptures. We are told times have changed, and that the teaching of Christ was meant more directly for the period in which it was given than for to-day. That is, the Gospel doctrine imparted to the Bride as a guide during the absence of the Bridegroom is not of the same value as at the date of its promulgation.

It is a perilous attitude to assume, although one which can be easily explained. The trouble lies wholly in the assumption that "the Church" and Christianity are necessarily the same ; a confusion of terms which in Italy at the present moment is hindering people of cultivation from throwing over the Papacy. In Italy and in other Roman Catholic lands there is a class which is religious, but has not learnt its religion at the fountain head. The hypothesis we have considered dates from the period when Constantine the Great made Christianity a career. Christ never meant it to be

such. He wished to change society. Christianity was to be an ameliorating, vivifying, transforming power in the world, but never of the world. As it was formed so it advanced, altering and conquering, until it gained a mighty victory by permeating the Roman Empire. The Emperor saw he must control it, or it would control him, and the Christians of those times, flushed with triumph, forgot, perhaps naturally from a human standpoint, their principles. Will any one assert that this compelling of man's attention to its work, four centuries after Christ, was brought about by watering down its animating motive? Rather, when we look into the world, when we see as we must see, Christianity has not leavened Society in the way it was originally intended, but has been leavened by Society, should we not seek in a return to apostolic customs to reawaken its vital energy? Christianity has not failed, but official Christianity has failed. The candlesticks have been removed from the churches of Asia, their outward life is gone, the true inward life was known only to the Lord, and is still in His keeping, for nothing truly Christian can pass away. Our nineteenth Article declares that the churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome have erred in manner of living, of ceremonies, and "in matters of faith," yet the real Church, the "congregation of faithful men" were and are formed out of such as these. It is this Church which has not decayed, which can stand the appeal to history, which is remoulding society, which contains the germ of progress. It is this Church which is capable of winning the same victory over the modern that she did over the Roman world. It is this Church which cherishes, and whose aim is to act up to, the direct teaching of Jesus Christ. This is the Church which still regards the "Good Shepherd" as her symbol, being a militant body, warring against Society, requiring the tender care of her Saviour, and grateful when He brings back to the fold one erring lamb. It is not the Church, which in the pride of temporal possessions, in absorption by the world a thousand years after Christ's death, banished that type from her sculpture and painting for a gloomy or terrible judge. This she did, not as Didon remarks, because "it would seem as if Jesus had become hardened by the ingratitude of His sheep," which is impossible, but because being of society, of the world, the Church had an earthly kingdom to defend, and she no longer felt the need of consolation.

PRINCIPAL CAIRNS.

From *The British Weekly* (Non-Conformist), London, March 17, 1892.

"No such Christian priest is now left." The words of Carlyle on hearing of the death of Chalmers must have come unbidden to the lips of many when they heard that their venerated father and friend, John Cairns, had passed from this land of shadows. And yet we much mistake if the prevailing feeling is not one of solemn thanksgiving for a life which has been through grace one long triumph in Christ. Great lamentation will be made over him, as is meet, and yet he will be laid to his rest with songs of praise. To use his own words, "The grave is the great laboratory whence alone the incorruptible, glorious, powerful spiritual product of the Resurrection can emerge. Death is the gate of life. Let us see those we love borne through it without dismay, since they go in the train of Christ, and come forth from the temporary shade in the brightness and splendour of their Divine Leader."

Dr. Cairns, who died suddenly on Saturday morning in Edinburgh, was in his seventy-fifth year. He had suffered for some years from heart disease, and under medical advice had to refrain from public work for some time. From the same constraint he found it necessary a few weeks ago to resign his professorship. But it was hoped and earnestly desired by the United Presbyterian Church that he would find it possible to continue as Principal. It was not to be. His experience was strikingly similar to that of Dr. John Brown, whose life he wrote. Dr. Brown, also a Professor in the United Presbyterian Church, had to abandon public labour at seventy-five. Like Cairns, he very earnestly wished to die in harness, and both had their wish. Both accepted with Christian cheerfulness their relegation to the sick room, and busied themselves with their books. Both maintained a lively interest in all the events and discussions of the day. The last thing Dr. Cairns ever wrote for the press was the tribute to Dr. Donald Fraser which we published on February 18th. It was written in a very tremulous hand, and accompanied with a characteristically kind message. Now, with nearly all the comrades of his prime, he has taken his seat in Christ's rest.

There is no possible difference of opinion as to Dr. Cairns' main characteristic. It

was charity—Christian love. Sydney Smith said of Horner that the ten commandments were legibly written on his face. On Dr. Cairns' rugged and noble countenance the eleventh commandment was plainly inscribed, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another." This it was that determined his whole course and thought of life.

No Edinburgh student ever commenced with a braver promise. The shepherd lad from the Merse—so tall that his friend George Wilson said an act of parliament must be passed to stop his growth—measured himself with the strongest minds, and came out first. He was Sir William Hamilton's favourite pupil, and the friend and associate of the brightest spirits in the University. The prizes were all open to him. He might have been Christopher North's successor or Sir William Hamilton's successor had he pleased. But young Cairns' heart was fixed. He had decided for the nobler office of the Christian ministry, and the most touching memoir of Professor George Wilson shows that amid all the literary interests and ambitions of these days, his religion was supreme alike in thought and speech. His article on this friend in *Macmillan* shows what he might have done in literature, but he found, and knew that he had found, "the true good in another direction."

Dr. Cairns' first and only pastorate was in the ancient town of Berwick-on-Tweed. From the first he gave himself devotedly to his ministry. He wrote some philosophical tracts—entering into controversy with Ferrier—and contributed the article on Kant to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' It is worth mentioning by the way that a story in Ferrier's biography refers to him. When Ferrier was dying the card was brought in, with kind inquiries, of a former opponent. Ferrier was perceptibly touched by this mark of friendly feeling, and remarked, "That must be a good fellow." The "opponent" was Dr. Cairns, who was at St. Andrews opening a new church there. But the work of the ministry claimed his whole thought. He became almost at a bound one of the most popular preachers in Scotland. Every sermon of his bore the marks of severe toil, for he attached the greatest importance to preaching, and has expressly condemned "the loose and unscriptural opinion that the duties of the pastor were superior or even equal in importance to those of the public teacher of Christianity." Massive in structure, and dealing mainly with great themes, these sermons were delivered with overwhelming energy in a manner entirely the preacher's own — open enough to criticism—but fulfilling the end of preaching if it ever was fulfilled. His fame brought him continual invitations to other spheres, most of which he contrived to conceal. Once, on an important church being vacant, the minister presiding at a meeting of the members jocularly observed, "I suppose we begin by calling Dr. Cairns; that is the regular thing to do." These proposals caused Dr. Cairns nothing but pain. Oratorical fame turns the head sooner than any other kind of repute; to him it was merely burdensome. He clung with loving tenacity to the people of his first choice, and only tore himself away when it became necessary that he should either abandon professorial work or give his whole time to it. By rigid economy of time he made himself a great pastor as he was a great preacher. He knew and cared for the humblest members of his congregation. He would at any time cross the street to shake hands with a servant girl and to inquire minutely about her welfare. A young man engaged in business had to tell him that his only free hour was from one to two. Dr. Cairns contrived to visit him repeatedly then, with the result that he became a decided Christian. He concerned himself in his own humble, earnest fashion with the soul's welfare of those whom he met in his many journeys—from the highest to the lowest—and it may safely be said that no one ever found it possible to be offended by his solicitude.

The interests of such a man necessarily spread far beyond Berwick-on-Tweed. Dr. Cairns was the servant of the United Presbyterian Church, and no man was so frequently called upon to open churches and preach special sermons. The *esprit de corps* of that church has been a remarkable and honourable feature of its history, and in none was that spirit stronger than in John Cairns. The United Presbyterian Synod is perhaps the most purely democratic church court in the world; but it was impossible for any one to regard Dr. Cairns with envy. How could it be? Every one knew that he assumed nothing, asked nothing, coveted nothing, shrank from honour as a burden, esteemed himself less than the least, and cared only for opportunities by which he might serve his Lord and his brethren. But his sympathies were very wide. Few men of his time have had so much of the spirit of catholic love. He was an eminent example of the truth

that the man who most devotedly loves and serves his own denomination is the man who is most likely to care for that wider Church of which Christ is centre and root. For the cause of Presbyterian union no one did more. We have little heart to speak of what was perhaps the special labour and the great grief of his life—the attempt to unite the Free and United Presbyterian Churches in Scotland and its failure. Happily in England a solid success was attained, to his deepening joy and thankfulness. Even though he was the first to sound the trumpet for the Disestablishment movement in Scotland, none of his opponents have been ungenerous enough to doubt that he did this too in the service of the cause of Union. The work of English dissenters he followed with the most earnest sympathy and interest, and on many occasions delivered special sermons at their anniversaries. What is perhaps the finest of his printed sermons, 'The Offering of the Gentiles,' was preached for the London Missionary Society. It was a very keen disappointment that he was compelled to forego a part in the most successful Wesleyan Centenary services of last year. The Pan-Presbyterian Council, it is needless to say, was enthusiastically supported by him. He travelled much in Germany, and was perhaps better acquainted than any other of his countrymen with the churches there. He was not narrow—not pessimistic. Even in the presence of things unhopeful he could say, "Grace be with all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," and his outlook was to the last that of a sober optimism. His words about Dr. Brown are eminently true of himself: "His views of the present age in regard to its theological relations and tendencies had nothing of a morbid or alarmist tinge. The ancient Christianity, he was convinced, was surely making way, and would emerge, unchanged in substance, and in a form yet more pure and apostolical, from the conflicts and reactions of the nineteenth as of all foregoing centuries." His judgments on individuals were generous to excess; we doubt whether he ever spoke evil of any human being; those who have been with him under all circumstances say they never once saw him out of temper. It accords with this that Dr. Cairns' religion was of a joyous—that is, of a New Testament—kind. Mr. Spurgeon said in one of his latest sermons that he had been vainly looking for any command in Scripture, "Groan in the Lord alway, and again I say groan." Dr. Cairns did not preach the inexpiable, the irretrievable. He believed that the burden of guilt had been borne by Christ, and was now buried in the depths of His grave. Many will remember the loud energy with which he sang; his delight in gospel hymns.

> Jesus my salvation is;
> Hence my doubts, away my fears,
> Jesus is become my peace.
> Happy soul who sees the day,
> The glad day of gospel grace!
> Thee, my Lord, then thou wilt say,
> Thee will I forever praise.

He had come to Mount Zion, the city of the living God.

With unfeigned diffidence we refer to the one feature of Dr. Cairns' character which has ever provoked criticism. We mean his resolute reticence about the burning questions of the day; his entire and absolute refusal to take his place as a guide amidst the perplexities of the time. No one knew more; no one studied harder; a few years ago he mentioned with delight that he found four hours of sleep quite sufficient, so that he had two hours gained for reading. Yet he has left practically nothing to help us, for his book on 'Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century,' though excellent in its way, is largely historical. There was a Cairns behind the Cairns. His people at Berwick were astonished at the shrewdness and incisiveness of his lectures on the Book of Proverbs. They did not think that their grandly simple minister observed life so keenly. We once pressed him to publish these lectures; but he smilingly and enigmatically refused, saying, "I know much more Hebrew now than I did then." Once in the disestablishment struggle he made a speech to a small meeting so full of wit, of badinage, of sarcastic power, that the listeners were electrified. We believe that he deliberately refused to descend into our frays lest he should in any way break the law of charity. Nevertheless speak we must; fight we must; suffer we must. Questions are asked of religious teachers now which men have a right to ask, and for which some answer must be given at the risk of error, misconception, and pain. Nor can that battle be declined, immunity from which is only to be gained by surrender. Who has not missed at times a clear word of guidance from Dr. Cairns? And yet who would wish that his life had been other than it was? This was a life that fulfilled life's noblest purposes; that held fast the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end. "God and Christ and the angels and the cloud of witnesses require no more."

EASTER-TIDE IN GREECE.

BY MRS. DEBRES BROUGHTON.

From *The Newbery House Magazine* (London), April, 1892.

THE ceremonies and observances carried on by the Greeks at Easter-tide are so curious in themselves, and so different from anything that we are in the habit of seeing in other parts of Europe, that a short description of some of the prominent features of their festivities, of which I have this year been an eye-witness, may not be found uninteresting.

The festival of Easter is fixed in the Greek Church upon the same principle as in the Western Church—that is to say by the Paschal moon—but as the Julian Calendar, or "old style," is still in use in Greece, the Gregorian Calendar not having been as yet adopted there, the Sunday upon which Easter Day happens is necessarily a different one from that in our Church. This year (1891) it fell on May 3, according to our reckoning, but on April 21 by the Greek almanac.

The season of Lent is kept, as in our Church, for a period of forty days, but it commences on the Monday six weeks before Easter Day—not on Ash Wednesday, as with us—and terminates on Good Friday, or rather on the evening of Thursday, which exactly completes the forty days inclusive of Sundays, while the forty days in our Church are exclusive of Sundays, on which no fast is ever kept. The modern Greek term for Lent is "Σαρακοστή," meaning literally a period of forty, and the whole of the time is kept strictly as a fast by all good Church people.

When Good Friday (Μεγαλη Παρασκένη) comes round, the services in the churches begin at a very early hour, and continue at intervals through the day and evening. At about 9 o'clock P.M. the congregations of each church meet at the doors of the building, every person carrying a lighted candle in their hands—a long thin candle, generally of a dingy yellow colour, but sometimes white, and ornamented with flowers, or with bows and streamers of many-coloured ribbons, the size and quality of the candle and the amount of decoration depending upon the social position and circumstances of the individual holding it.

After certain ceremonies performed by the priests, who walk about among the assembled crowds, blessing the people, sprinkling them with Holy water, and purifying them with incense, they all fall into procession and perambulate the town. The processions are headed by the priests, bearing crosses, censers, and other emblems of the divine nature of the observance, a certain number of them carrying a representation of our Saviour, generally painted on white satin, the picture being held in a recumbent position, as if going to burial. This is followed by a band of music (military when available) playing a funeral march, and after that follow the people in no sort of order, but still carrying their lighted candles.

In Athens the processions from the various outlying churches, as well as those from the Métropole, or Cathedral, and other churches of the city itself, all meet in the principal Square of the place, and then disperse. The scene would be an impressive one but for the spirit of revelry, or, to use a slang but very expressive word, rowdyism, which is mixed up with the solemnity of the idea. The boys and men, even quite respectable people—not necessarily roughs—who are following in the rabble, throw crackers and fireworks among the crowds, not only during the processions, but at the very doors of the churches while the religious services are going on. Rockets are at the same time sent up in every direction, and a general feeling of fun seems to pervade the show.

Upon the meeting of two of the processions this year, a free fight among those in the foremost ranks took place, and a general stampede of the mob ensued. The onlookers could not quite make out what had occurred, but supposed that those forming the processions had come into collision through neither of them being willing to give place to the other. The hot Southern blood is quickly roused, and knives are brought into play upon the smallest provocation—indeed life seems to be held very cheap here. Upon this occasion the soldiers at once interfered and the *fracas* was soon quelled, but not before some wounds had been inflicted.

This year, after the processions were over (and I believe the same performance takes place annually), there was a display of fireworks from the top of Mount Sykabettos, the highest hill within the precincts of Athens, on which stands the small church of S. Georgios. At midnight a final service commenced in the several churches, and, this over, all were supposed to return to their homes, but the streets were not cleared, nor were all sounds of revelry suppressed till about three o'clock the next morning.

Saturday was again observed as a holiday with the same curious admixture of re-

ligious ceremonies. The church services began at as early an hour as on Good Friday, and continued with but few intermissions throughout the day, the bells ringing quite incessantly from 5 A.M. till midnight. At that hour a grand religious ceremonial took place on a platform raised in front of the Cathedral, at which several members of the Royal family were present. The Crown Princess had, in the morning, been received into the Greek church, so she and the Crown Prince took a prominent part in the proceedings. The whole ordinance was performed in the most gorgeous manner and the robes and appointments of the Priests were magnificent.

At the same hour (midnight) a salute of forty guns, to usher in the great day of all Christian communities, was fired from the drill ground of the Artillery Barracks in Athens, fireworks were again sent off in all directions, while services were being held in all the churches of the town.

On Easter Sunday, the principal ceremony belonging to the day, beyond the church services which are held at the usual Sunday hours, is the roasting of a lamb whole. In Athens this performance can only be seen at the Barracks, but in the country towns and villages it is done in any convenient open sheds, and even in the open streets, over fires made up of the shoots which are cut off the vines after the grape harvest is completed in the autumn, and which are dried and stored through the winter for this express purpose. These fires are made in the roadways, the whole place being in a state of smoke almost as dense as a London fog for hours ; and the men and boys who are engaged upon the business sit round them continually turning the spit upon which the lamb is placed. It may easily be conceived that this is no light work with the broiling sun on their backs and an equally broiling fire in front of them ! The women have nothing to do with the preparation of this feast, which is called in common parlance Ἀρνι πελυκάρι (the bachelor's lamb), though they please themselves by looking on and gossiping with the men while the roast is proceeding, and partake of it, when ready, very heartily with their families.

This custom dates from the earliest period of Grecian history, its origin having doubtless been in the Jewish feast of the Passover. It is mentioned by Homer in one of his works, and is said to have been carried on annually with no intermission ever since his time at any rate.

Any one passing down the street, who happens to be known to any of the roasting parties, is greeted by them with the words Χριστός ἄνέστι (Christ is risen) accompanied by a kiss, and is offered small pieces of fat, such as they consider the tit-bits of the animal, which are cut off, when they see their friend approaching, with the long-bladed knives always carried in their belts, which knives are used for every purpose, though perhaps more especially for killing one another ! All pedestrians, men and women alike, are liable to be accosted in this way in all parts of Greece on Easter Sunday and Monday, it being done in good humour and fun, but with a sort of semi-solemnity befitting the words.

Another most curious Easter custom, which is now fast dying out, is the burning of Judas. A stuffed image, something like our Guy Fawkes, but supposed to represent the betrayer of our Lord, is strung up to a gibet erected in front of the principal church of the place, after having been carried through the streets of the town ; and, at an hour previously decided upon when the expectant crowds are assembled round, the priests emerge one by one from the church door and curse the effigy of the malefactor, all the people answering with shouts and groans. After this, it is set on fire by means of a fuse, this being accomplished with much ceremony by a man in authority answering to our churchwarden.

This custom is still observed at Thebes, and in some other towns in the northern parts of Greece, but in Attica and the Peloponnesus it is rarely, if ever, heard of now, to the regret of many of the old inhabitants.

Throughout the whole of the Easter festivities, and, indeed, upon all great days in the Grecian Church calendar, noise seems to be the principal object sought to be attained —this being a remnant of the Mohammedan mode of worship, implanted in the breasts of the Greeks during the Turkish occupation, and readily taking root there. Hence fireworks and crackers are employed as assistants in the demonstration of their religious feelings, and music (or, more properly speaking, what they wish to be considered as music) comes under the same category. On all festive occasions our more refined ears are tortured by the continual hammering of a big drum, the noise and discordance of which is increased by a reed being held in the left hand against the back of the instrument, accompanied by the Ὀξναυλον, a shrill pipe, the tone of which is something like that of the Scotch bagpipes ; and sometimes there is an addition to the band of a mandoline, or of an

Albanian fiddle, an instrument resembling the mandoline, but played as a violin with a bow. When possible to distinguish an air in the general din, there is something attractive in the wild native music, which is, however, very difficult to pick up by ear, there being but little distinct melody to seize upon. Musical taste is at a very low ebb now among the people of Greece, and all their national airs are the productions of past generations.

The Easter rejoicings are concluded by dancing *fêtes*, which are held at certain places in different parts of Greece year after year. By the people of Athens the spot that is most frequented for a sight of this performance is Megara, a small town of great antiquity on the road to Corinth, the people of which place pride themselves not a little upon their pure Greek descent.

On the Tuesday in Easter week, trains begin to run to Megara from Athens at a very early hour, crowded with strangers and people from all quarters, anxious to witness a spectacle so greatly celebrated and so unique. Upon their arrival at Megara they have to find their way on foot, for there are no carriages, to an open space upon a hill just outside the town, where booths are erected, or rather simple shelters from the heat of the sun, being composed of posts with cross bars over the top into which are twisted boughs of fir and other trees, casting an agreeable shade. Here are stands, where the wine of the country and light refreshments may be obtained, and where chairs can be secured.

The scene is one of animation and merriment. The great variety of costumes worn both by men and women, and the pretty, bright colouring of the aprons and of the handkerchiefs or scarves forming the head gear of the latter, greatly enliven the general effect. Many of the dresses are of great beauty, besides being both curious and interesting from their having been handed down from generation to generation for many ages past. There is also a good deal of handsome jewellery in the possession of these peasant women. The characteristic head-dress of the girls of this part of Greece consists of a sort of helmet or close-fitting cap, formed entirely of coins, over which is thrown a gauze scarf, generally of a yellowish colour, with embroidered ends which fall behind, one straight down, and the other crossing it and pinned up to the right shoulder. The hair hangs down the back in one long plait, to the end of which are attached coins and other ornaments like tags, many of which are of real value. When a woman does not possess these gold ornaments, tinsel tassels and bows of ribbon are substituted. The same with the chains and jewels hanging on the breast. Some have a perfect breast-plate of genuine old coins, connected with chains of real gold, while the less fortunate girls have to content themselves with strings of worthless beads ; but all wear some special adornment upon full-dress occasions, which greatly enhances the brilliancy and picturesqueness of the general effect. The long sort of jacket is usually of velvet or silk, and richly embroidered all over the back and on the sleeves. Sometimes a short bodice (shaped like a Zouave jacket), also of velvet, and equally handsomely embroidered in gold, is substituted for the long "*πεπλος*."

The usual dress of the men all over Greece is the "*φουστανελα*" with the jacket over, and the belt, the pouch in front, which serves (like a schoolboy's pocket) as a receptacle for every kind of useful implement—pistols, knives, etc., being also thrust into the belt ; the long kind of gaiters, which are of white, dark blue, or black ; and the red slippers, called "*Σαρουχια*," which are worn alike by men, women, and children.

Soon after eight o'clock, A.M., begin the dances at Megara, which, though supposed by the people themselves to be of ancient origin, are said, by those who have studied the question, to have been introduced by the Albanians. They are performed by the men and women separately, and are impossible to describe clearly, being simply graceful undulating movements, scarcely to be called dancing. The girls in long rows, (those in similar dress usually joining together in sets) cross their hands and begin moving slowly in one direction by taking, simultaneously, three steps forwards with an inclination to the right, and then three short steps backwards—their bodies swaying in correspondence with the movement.

After proceeding in this way for a considerable distance, the leading girl gradually turns round, drawing the long line after her till they reach the spot from whence they started. That is all. Graceful and pretty it certainly is, but not exciting ; and in this manner they go on during the whole day in the broiling sun, but never seeming to tire. In the afternoon they move down from the hill to the town, where they continue the dancing in the Platia, or Square.

The dance is called the "Trata," meaning literally a seine net ; it having got this name through the undulating motion being precisely the same as that of fishermen drawing in their nets.

The men show a little more animation and activity in their dancing. They join hands, but keep in a ring, and do some sort of steps, but all with the utmost solemnity. The music for the men consists of a band such as has already been described. The girls have no music but their own voices, singing as they dance a simple, weird sort of melody, consisting of a very few bars, which they repeat over and over again in a most monotonous tone of voice, and with no change.

While looking at the dancing on the hill, I felt myself suddenly soused with scent from a fine syringe, while above the noise all round me I heard the words, Πολύ Χρονια, which literally translated is "much time," and means "many years to you," or "many happy returns of the day." At the same time, a tray pilled up with coppers was presented to my view, and I was given to understand that a collection was being made for the church. I added my mite to the pile, received another deluge of scent with a blessing, and then the men passed on. An unusual, but not unpleasant, mode of begging.

Thus end the Easter festivities; and after this last day of holiday-making the peasants return to their work, more or less—generally (I fear I must add) the latter; for work, as we understand the term, hardly enters into a Greek's vocabulary; and in the course of the year they have so many saints' days and other festivals, upon which occasions nothing is to be expected from them, that it is difficult to know when one can depend upon any steady work being done.

EASTER.

BY THOMAS M. CLARK, D.D., LL.D., BISHOP OF RHODE ISLAND; BISHOP A. G. HAYWOOD, D.D.; T. L. CUYLER, D.D., AND T. G. APPLE, D.D.

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LIFE is the keynote of the Easter festival. Everything which has in it the principle of growth is certain sooner or later to die. It is merely a question of time. The flower that comes up in the morning may perish before the sun goes down; the oak battles with the storms of centuries, but in the end the oak must perish.

It is also true that where the element of life exists we find the germ of a perpetuated existence. The fragile plant produces a seed by means of which the stock is reproduced indefinitely. Not only so, but death becomes the condition of life; the seed itself must perish in order to produce the plant. All this has its analogy in the spiritual world.

The Savior speaks of life and resurrection as if they were the same thing, and declares that the life which comes from him is continuous and eternal. The resurrection is no more a miracle than birth and life; neither of these processes is explicable by any law that we comprehend.

When Jesus stood by the tomb of Lazarus he said to Martha: "Thy brother shall rise again;" and to this she replied: "I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day." Who but the Son of God would have dared to say in response to this: "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live?" A few months afterward he demonstrated the truth of this declaration by re-appearing himself on earth, after he had been dead and buried.

I assume that, if any great occurrence in the past can be satisfactorily proved, it is this. And if Christ was indeed the resurrection and the life, how it changes the character and meaning of our present existence! To innumerable multitudes this earthly life is only a dull routine of working, and eating, and drinking, and sleeping: the same thing over and over again, with nothing to relieve the monotony, nothing to lighten the burden, nothing to bring sunshine into the heart, nothing to accomplish, but just to keep soul and body together after some poor fashion, until the old weather-beaten hulk is broken up and goes to pieces. And if this is all, you may well ask: "Why was I ever called into being? If I had never been, I should never have been conscious of any loss, and I do not see that I have gained much by coming into being! I am only a part of a great, grinding, groaning machine, which I had no hand in making; I have no interest in what that machine produces; I have to keep on working for the benefit of those who never do any work themselves; sometimes I have little to eat and little to drink and not much clothing for my back. What is there for me worth living for?"

Not much, if this mortal life is the all and ends all. The experiences of this world are inscrutable, and hard to reconcile with impartial justice, unless it be true that when a man dies he shall live again. In Christ we have the most positive assurance that we shall live again; and so this weary routine

may be converted into a discipline, leading us on and upward all the time, until we reach a world where there is no more servile labor, no more hunger, and no more thirst, and no more weeping.

You may have inherited very little, perhaps nothing of this world's goods ; but you are heir of immortality, and, if you are in Christ, a partaker of his nature, you possess all things—all that is abiding and eternal.

Then again, what a stimulus this faith in immortality must give to all those higher pursuits which enlist the mental forces and help to enlarge the boundaries of our knowledge and penetrate the mysteries of the universe, and open to our vision the marvelous fields of art and science ! If I am liable at any moment to be struck out of being and so all my labors and acquirements go for nothing, what inducement have I to trouble myself with matters which, in a very short time, will cease to concern me forever ? But if you feel assured that the study which is suspended temporarily may be resumed with a clearer vision and a more translucent atmosphere and a deeper insight than was possible here on earth ; that the art to which your life has been devoted may be prosecuted in a world where the hues of the rainbow and the rich coloring of the sunset sky will furnish the material for the pictures which you paint, and the work which you model shall be copied from the forms of those who have crowned the mercy seat, and the temple of the New Jerusalem give you the pattern by which you are to build, and the music of the spheres furnishes the harmony of the strains that you are destined to call into being—what an incentive to the student, the philosopher and the artist to put forth his best strength here below, in order that he may be the better prepared to enter upon the grander pursuits of eternity !

The revelation of another world solves the mystery of death. This is the one thing from which we all shrink, and the one thing from which none of us can escape. But why should we shrink from it, if we believe that it is the entrance to a higher and more abundant life ? And when the faithful die, why should we clothe ourselves in sable weeds, and speak with bated breath, and toll the mournful knell, and sing the melancholy dirge, and go sorrowing all the day long ? This Easter festival brings us into communion with the departed, not as those who are dead but as those who are still living. The Church militant to-day joins hands with the Church triumphant. The gates swing open, and, standing here in the earthly porch, we look out upon the eternal temple and hear the anthems of the redeemed, as they float around the great white throne, and join with them in singing the praises of the Lamb. They also may possibly hear our voices and join with us in our hymns of praise. We do not forget them, and we cannot believe that they have forgotten us.

I have now lived to see not less than four score Easter days. Very few are left who started with me in the race. For the most part, the old familiar voices are silent now. There is something sad in the solitude of old age ; but if we will persist in living, we must take the consequences. It is not of necessity depressing to know that we are old, and it does not seem to bring the end much nearer to our *apprehension,* although we are certain that it cannot be far off. It is a period of life that has its compensations.

" The flash of youthful life is past and gone ;
Not as of yore !
Earth's joys abound ; but I am left alone
Still more and more,
As one by one the little sparks go out
From this world's stubble, that lies round about.

" One hope remains, and that, as others fade,
Grows brighter still
As shadows lengthen o'er this earthly glade,
And up the hill
We higher mount toward the final Home,
To which in God's good time we hope to come."

BISHOP ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD, D.D.

What the Easter season means to a man depends upon the man. How fair the world is here, in Southern California, these last March days, one cannot know through another's words ; one must see it. Very many who are here do not see this beauty because they cannot. " In this world," says an old German proverb, " the eye sees what it brings capacity for seeing."

Not a few, looking over the green plains and the grass-crowned hills, say only this : " There never was such a pasture." It is what the stock raiser sees. A little child I saw yesterday stoop down and pull away the tall grass with his chubby hands and gaze with delight on some tiny pink flowers that were hidden away near the ground. He had learned by some happy chance where they grew, and was unconsciously forming the habit of looking for beautiful things. Happy for him if he keep on looking for the most beautiful and for the best things ! He will find them everywhere, and they will lift him up to higher things, seen only by the inner sense.

A man buried in mere business cannot see what is in Easter beauties as he cannot un-

derstand, or so much as hear, resurrection songs. To one who gauges life by mere money the noblest resurrection anthem ever sung would only be a disagreeable noise. Waiting one evening for a delayed train at Lynchburg, Va., a middle-aged Philadelphian said to me : "I am a slave to my business." What a slave he is ! What can Easter signify to him? He cannot be "risen with Christ" for he is "seeking mere things"—earthly things. His master is one—even his money-making ; he cannot so much as understand St. Paul's words : "If ye then be risen with Christ seek those things which are above."

He has set his "affections on things on the earth." Solomon said : "As he thinketh in his heart, so is he." And a better man than Solomon, Robert South, said : "No man ever went to Heaven whose heart did not go there before him."

The Divine Man said : "Where your treasure is there will your heart be also." Slavery to business, money loving, hurts religion more than all that men call unbelief. Jesus, who knew what was in man, denounced mere money-getting as blocking men's way to Heaven more than he did what we call crimes. He said : "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of Heaven." Why did he say such terrible things ? Because they were true. When the heart is full of the love of mere things—any things, it cannot love God ; cannot do what St. Paul enjoins, "set the affections on things above." "Things" in such a connection Paul knew to be an awkward word ; things are not above, but below.

It is not difficult to find out what a man's ruling love is not by asking him, but by observing him. If brought to face the question he might readily answer that he loves most what he ought to love most—God, duty, purity. For very shame he could hardly tell the truth. But observe him, and judgment is easy. He loves most what he most strives for ; what he gives his time and energy—himself—for. If he be a "slave to his business" then he most loves his business ; his affections are set upon mere things—earthly things. What a low love it is !

In Atlanta a Methodist in name once said to a friend of mine : "I do not mix my religion and my business." He was a pagan, pure and simple, though he counted himself a Christian ; had been, by a worldly-wise preacher, made a steward ; a man zealous, after a fashion, for his church, which to him was a sort of Sunday club, respectable in itself, giving "standing" in the community. He was not a hypocrite ; he knew too little of religion to suspect that for him to do business in an unchristian way was clear proof that he had absolutely nothing in common with Christ Jesus. When men talk of "seeking those things which are above" they are apt to think of a home in Heaven and begin to sing of "A home over there." Not so Paul ; he was writing to men here—of duty here and now. Loving God, loving man, doing duty, we are not only seeking but finding the things which are above ; "things" he had to say—but really not things at all, but high living—living in a Christlike way.

THEODORE L. CUYLER, D.D.

Among all the bright Sabbaths of the round year, the brightest is that which commemorates the most thrilling fact in the history of the human race—Christ's triumph over the power of death and the grave. Easter bells ring from church towers ; Easter flowers make the house of God fragrant ; and Easter hymns are pitched to the most jubilant key. All this is very beautiful and inspiring ; but there are multitudes of people who profess and call themselves Christians who need something more than flowers or songs or Easter sermons. Their daily lives are not very joyous or vigorous ; it is a gasping for breath rather than a growth in grace. There is not much bloom or fragrance in their religion. Their spiritual pulse is low ; their spiritual joys are about as few and scanty as sunshiny days are in Alaska. The most that they can honestly say for themselves is : "Well, I think that I was converted some time ago, and I am a member of the Church, and I hope that I am a Christian." They are like the conies, "a feeble folk"—with little muscle in their faith, little ring in their devotion, and little power in their influence on those around them. What these people need to have is a genuine *Easter for their souls.*

1. The Easter message to them is : "If ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ is. Set your mind on things above, and not on things of the earth." We seldom get better things than we seek for ; and you, my good friends, may be grubbing away—like Bunyan's man with his muck-rake—among the straws and rubbish, while there is a crown in the air above you. What you need is first to look higher, and then strive to live higher. Set your mind on something better than

merely getting *on* in the world, and aim at getting *up*, which is infinitely more important. Adding dollar to dollar in your income, or adding room to room in your dwelling, or round to round in the ladder of social promotion, is not the true mark of the prize for a Christian. There is a loftier realm of spiritual life—of which the risen Christ is the center—that you should strive to rise into. This need not make you a visionary or a sentimentalist, or any less a practical, every-day Christian. You may make these every-day duties in your business, in your shop or study, in your home or elsewhere, the stages in your climb upward toward Jesus Christ. Dr. Maclaren has wisely said that "no man is so well able to perform the smallest duties here, or to bear the passing trouble of this world of illusion and change, as he to whom everything on earth is dwarfed by the eternity beyond as a hut is dwarfed beside a palace —and is *great* because it is like a little window a foot square through which infinite depths of sky with all their stars shine in upon him." So you may make your every-day duties—even the simplest and the plainest—to be the rounds in that ladder by which you attain to "the things above."

2. In order to attain this higher and stronger and sweeter and really happier life, you must honestly desire to possess it. Sick and tired of being what you are, you must yearn for something better; and this must voice itself in prayer. Probably you have done but little praying—especially in secret, and what you have done has been from the throat and not from the heart. If you want to be lifted into the warm, pure atmosphere of fellowship with Christ you must use the wings of fervent prayer. Lay hold of the promises of divine strength. There is a prodigious *lift* in the prayer of faith. When I once kneeled beside Spurgeon at his family altar and heard him pour forth a most wonderful prayer I discovered one of the secrets of his power. He was laying hold of God with what the old Scotch doorkeeper called "close groups." Then, my friend, *seek* those things that are above, strive in fervent prayer after them; and you may be sure that the risen Christ will manifest himself to you as he did to his disciples in the evening of that Easter Sabbath in Jerusalem.

3. As you look searchingly into your own heart, you will probably find that a great many besetting sins have found house-room there. A cleaning and clearing out is necessary if you would have the Master dwell there. You must make a fresh surrender of your heart to that loving Lord, and that will amount to a *reconversion*. Peter got such a reconversion, and what a different man it made of him! No more bragging and cowardly skulking now! Peter, after his baptism of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, was as superior to the Peter in Pilate's courtyard as an athlete is to a sickly child. He had indeed risen into Christ — into a close and vital and victorious union with his Lord. It was a prodigious lift that hoisted the sleeper in Gethsemane and the coward of Pilate's court up into the heroic thunderer whose single sermon converted three thousand souls. Oh, if this Easter season could see a thorough reconversion and reconsecration of God's people, what a Pentecostal power our churches would attain! What a new liberality in giving and new zeal in working! What a new revelation of the risen Christ to an ungodly world; for assuredly that world never will be converted by men and women who are gasping for life themselves. Even such a soldier of Christ as Charles G. Finney confessed that he sometimes found that his preaching had no power to awaken or convert souls; he seemed to be firing only blank cartridges. When he put himself into close connection with Jesus Christ and sought a fresh baptism, the currents of spiritual power flowed again mighty and irresistible. On a certain morning Dr. Horace Bushnell told his wife that he had had a revelation made to him. When asked what it was, he replied: "The Gospel." He said that the glorious core-truth of the Gospel had broken upon him as an inspiration from Heaven; he had got a spirit-illuminated conception of Jesus Christ. From that time onward he rose from doubts and partial glimpses into a freeness and fullness of communion with God such as he had never enjoyed before.

Something similar to this in kind—though not in full degree—has happened to tens of thousands of Christ's people. They have realized their low estate and begun to "seek the things that are above." Instead of grieving and thwarting the Holy Spirit, they have prayed to be filled with the Holy Spirit and have sought a fresh baptism. Instead of leaving their Christian lives in the condition of yonder cathedral up on Lafayette Avenue—where for twenty years there has been a mere foundation and no edifice on it—they have laid hold of "*building themselves up* on their holy faith, in the love of God." They have added to their faith, courage, meekness, temperance, patience and the other graces

that beautify the Christian. A happy and a glorious Easter will this one be to all of us who get a new vision of the risen Christ, and prostrate ourselves in humble adoration at his feet and cry out "Rabboni, Rabboni!" Then shall we set our hearts—lifted into a new atmosphere—on things above and reach an actual *higher life*. We shall know more of what it is to live by Christ, in Christ, for Christ, and with Christ, till we reach the marvelous light around the throne in glory.

PROFESSOR THOMAS G. APPLE, D.D.

The disciples of Christ were liable to fall into one or the other of two errors in apprehending the mystery of his resurrection. There was danger, on the one hand, that they would conceive of his resurrection as merely a return to his former manner of life. They shared with the Jews in their expectation that the Messiah would set up an outward worldly kingdom here on earth, which would be an everlasting kingdom, and all that the Savior had taught them did not entirely efface this expectation from their minds. What more natural, then, than to think that if he arose from the dead it would be in order to carry out and finish such a purpose? As yet they grasped but vaguely and partially the significance of his atoning death. It still seemed to them, in some sense, a defeat. So it was regarded as his enemies, and the disciples were not prepared to make answer to their boasting. But now when on the third day rumors began to spread that his body had disappeared mysteriously from the sepulcher there was a turn in the scales. Those enemies were discomfited, and the disciples began to be encouraged. What if, after all, the Saviour, after having suffered death for some wise purpose, would come back and realize all the promises in relation to his kingdom? To do that he would only need to show himself to the world, take up his unfinished work where he had laid it down, and now carry it forward to completion. But this would require no transformation on his part; all that was needed was that he should live and work as he had done before, only now with much more effect.

What method, now, did our Savior employ in order to guard them against this error? How did he educate them into a quite different view of his resurrection? Let us see. His first appearance was to Mary Magdalene. The narrative informs us that when she came to recognize him she pressed forward to greet and worship him in the way she was accustomed to do before his resurrection. The affection contained in that word, *Mary*, as spoken by the Saviour, seemed to invite such greeting and worship; but now there fell upon her ears those mysterious words: "Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father!" Whatever other explanations may be given of these words, this certainly is one, if not the main one, that Christ wished to teach her that the old manner of communion was now at an end, and that a spiritual communion through the Holy Spirit must take its place. The same lesson is taught by his other appearances, in that he surrounded them with an air of mystery, as in the case of his entering the room when the doors were closed for fear of the Jews, and of his vanishing from the sight of the two disciples with whom he walked on the way to Emmaus.

We must bear in mind that the resurrection was an entirely new thing for the disciples. They knew of restorations to life, as in the case of Lazarus; but of the glorification of the natural, of a spiritual body, of a being living in another state and yet appearing in a natural form, all this was as yet a hidden mystery to them. The only way to convey a conception of such a state of being was to make it appear mysterious, something above their natural comprehension. And this is precisely what our Saviour did; he inspired them with a feeling of awe.

But there was a liability, also, of falling into the opposite error of spiritualizing away his real humanity, and making the form of his appearance an illusion. With the idea of a life for the soul after death they were familiar. The idea of ghosts has prevailed in all ages. A ghost is merely a spirit assuming for the time an outward appearance, a form which is unreal. They might now suppose that their Lord still lived in the spirit world and yet not believe in the resurrection of the body. This seems to have actually been the case, for Christ on one occasion assured them that it was not a ghost that appeared to them. "Handle me and see," he said; "for a ghost hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." And what else could he have meant to teach them when he ate with them on the shore of the lake? They had seen him, he had invited Thomas to touch him, but now he gave them still greater evidence of the reality of his bodily existence in eating with them. This, of course, is a mystery which no one can explain, but it has significance for the object in view; it was a lesson in the education of their faith; it assured

them that his resurrection included his whole person, body and soul, humanity and divinity.

We see from this how difficult the problem was; for while he was cautioning them against one error, the very means he used for this purpose might serve to lead them directly into the opposite error. If he had made free to converse with them, and especially to eat with them, when he first arose they might have become confirmed in their notion that he had merely come back to his former mode of life; and if he had cautioned them against this error after they had learned to regard him as having undergone a spiritual transformation they might have carried this idea so far as to lose sight altogether of his real humanity. To teach both such opposite, though not contradictory, truths at the same time was the difficult problem he had to solve.

His resurrection was a transcendence of the state of being in which Christ existed while living on earth, and existence within the sphere of time and space, into a spiritual and eternal world. His resurrection was also a resurrection of his whole theanthropic person in the union of his divinity and humanity, including on the human side, body, soul and spirit. His divinity, as such, it is true, underwent no change, but in its relation to his humanity it did; that is to say, the unity in his whole person, human and divine, was lifted up and glorified in his victory over death and Hades. The main point to be observed here is, not only that his body was raised from the dead, but that his entire humanity continued in union with his divinity, so that it became filled with all the fullness of his divinity in a degree in which this was not possible before. If his humanity was the organ for his divinity while on earth, so it continued to be such organ in a higher, glorified state of being. Here we meet the incomprehensible mystery of the possibilities of humanity, in that it can be so expanded and lifted up into the bosom of the Godhead as to become an adequate organ for his divinity in his exalted state of glorification. Who can set limits to this elevation of Christ's humanity? But while we cannot *comprehend* the mystery, yet we can *apprehend* it by faith, and experience its power; for all believers are partakers of his glorified human life, represented by eating his flesh and drinking his blood; and through this union with his glorified humanity they become partakers also of the divine nature, as we are told by St. Peter. There are those who regard this idea of mystical union with Christ as pantheistic; but it is just this that saves us from pantheism. To be united to the essence of God immediately and directly would be pantheism, would make man God, and such union was possible only to the Son of God in his incarnation; but Christ here also is the true Mediator, in that he mediates the divine nature to us through his humanity. So in the new Christian sense "we are his offspring," as St. Paul said to the Athenians; and adoption to be "sons of God" is not a merely external transaction, as coming into an inheritance by a legal form; but it means that Christians are joined in a real life-union with Christ, and thus God is their Abba, Father.

The two errors in reference to the resurrection of Christ point to two corresponding errors in regard to the view we take of Christianity.

The one error regards Christianity in a purely humanitarian sense, as a religion human only, and designed to elevate the human race on the plane of its old Adamic life. It contains, indeed, divine influence, as God influences all men; it is a purer and better religion of this sort than other world religions, but as to its essence it does not transcend our natural human life. It cultivates and refines this life, and so it is regarded by some as the religion of culture. But of a radical change, such as our Saviour refers to in his discourse to Nicodemus, a veritable new birth, it is utterly ignorant. Christianizing the nations means, according to this view, merely humanizing them; hence, Christianity is to work out its consummation in a kingdom on earth. The view of this kingdom, though much elevated above that of the Jews, is yet essentially Jewish. Through the instrumentalities of wise governments and education, the world is to be righted and made to be a paradise for man.

But there is in this application another error, also, which corresponds to the hyperspiritualistic error in reference to the resurrection of Christ. It makes Christianity a ghostly religion, just as that error made Christ a ghost after his resurrection. It regards Christianity as a pure spiritual power hovering over humanity, but never coming into true organic union with humanity. Religion, it says, is a matter that pertains only to the soul, not also to the body; it affects our religious sensibilities, but does not enter into our whole being; it is something apart and distinct from business and trade; it simply prepares man for a spiritual existence called Heaven after this life, and does not, in any sense, make a heaven here on earth.

May we not say that this purely spiritual view of religion, or rather this view of religion as being only spiritual, has had much to do in begetting the opposite error? Men need a human as well as a divine Saviour, and they need a human as well as a divine religion. They seek for a religion that enters into and sanctifies our whole nature, that lays hold of our earthly relations, that humanizes as well as spiritualizes, that brings new life and harmony and peace here in our earthly estate, as well as promises a Heaven hereafter.

This error is, perhaps, more subtle than the other, because it poses as being highly spiritual. It speaks of spiritual food, while it cares not whether men have natural food to satisfy their wants. No matter what he lacks here on earth, if only he has a prospect of Heaven hereafter. True, Christ did say: "Labor not for the meat which perisheth;" but yet he made bread to satisfy their hunger, and he did say to Satan: "Man shall not live by bread *alone;*" but we must not overlook the word "alone." Men say, We want a religion that will feed the hungry and clothe the naked, a religion that will come down to our toil and sorrow, and go with us into the workshop and counting room, as well as into the church, that will shed its light equally in the lowly cabin and in the princely palace, that will make all mankind akin, and find some sense in which all are on equality. Such humanitarian religion we need, a religion that does not lose sight of the lowly Nazarene, the friend of publicans and sinners, in the ineffable glory of the exalted Saviour. And this precisely is the religion we have in Christianity. Our Lord, although he was King of kings after his resurrection, to whom all power in Heaven and on earth was given, yet did not despise his human form, nor seek to hide the marks of his shameful death. Nay, those marks of his wounds have become diamonds in his crown of rejoicing, stars that shine forth to sin-laden men in the night of our sorrowing life. They are the testimonials of his sympathy with all who suffer on earth.

The great lesson for us to learn is to avoid these two polar errors. They are essentially the old Ebionism and Gnosticism over again which first attacked Christianity. Christianity is essentially a new creation. It comes to form a new race under the last Adam and to create a new heaven and a new earth; so it is divine as Christ was divine. Christianity, however, enters organically into the old creation of which the first Adam was the head, it penetrates our whole earthly life and estate, it is truly and intensely human as Christ our Lord is more deeply and truly human than any other man; for he is the Son of Man. Unite these two conceptions and we get such a conception of the Christian religion as will present it in its true nature. The key to this right conception is a proper conception of the person of Christ. He is the revealer, in his own divine-human person, of the deepest mysteries of God and of man; he is the central object of our faith, and he is the centre of all our knowledge of God and man. Through his resurrection he brought life and immortality to light.

From the above consideration of the appearances of Christ after his resurrection, we learn that they were designed, not so much to beget faith in his disciples, but rather to guard a faith in his person already started in germ from errors, and thus to aid in nourishing it to its full development. An important lesson on this subject of evidence of his resurrection may be found in the fact that in his walk with his two disciples on their way to Emmaus he did not make his appearance to them the first evidence, but turned their attention to the Old Testament Scriptures, beginning with Moses and the prophets, in order to show them that the deepest evidence of the resurrection is to be found in its internal necessity in the person and work of Christ, "*ought* not Christ to have suffered and done all these things?" etc.; and only then did he give them a glimpse of his presence to the natural sight, as though such evidence to the natural senses was designed merely to help a weakness in their faith which should never show itself. Because they depended on such evidence Christ rebuked them as fools and slow of heart. He who has found Christ as his satisfying portion, the life of his life, his Redeemer from sin and death, will not need any natural, tangible evidence to convince him that Christ still lives. "Whom not having seen we love," says St. Peter, speaking for those who had never seen Christ in the flesh. Then, the fact that he never revealed himself to his enemies, so far as we know, teaches us that those who believe not Moses and the prophets, *i.e.*, the revelation that has been made through all the ages, will not believe though one rose from the dead. And this starts the inquiry whether even the appearances vouchsafed to his disciples did not result from an opening of their spiritual sight to the vision of the Lord rather than from his coming into the sphere of time and space to be seen by the natural

eye. We say it starts this inquiry, for we do not assert that such is the case; but we may learn even from the inquiry, what is the truth, that an apprehension of the now glorified Christ by faith is far more to the believer than any sight by the sense, or any argument based upon the mere natural reason. "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it to you, but my Father which is in Heaven."

THE POPE'S TEMPORAL POWER.

From *The Church Times* (Ch. Eng.), London, March 11, 1892.

Mr. W. S. Lilly, who is probably the ablest and most scholarly of the English lay champions of the Papacy, has been lecturing upon the secular kingdom of the Pope. It has now become the custom at all Roman Catholic congresses on the Continent to pass a resolution affirming the necessity of a restoration of the Temporal Power. Frenchmen, Belgians, Germans, and Spaniards, who would be patriotically indignant at the interference of any foreigner (except the Pope or officers commissioned by the Pope) in the domestic political arrangement of their own respective fatherlands, seem to hold that if they are Roman Catholics they have a right to insist that Italy shall give up her capital and part of her territory to the head of their religion. A not very wise English advocate of Vaticanism said some time ago, "It is hardly fair to call us Romanists now that Rome is taken away from us!"

Mr. Lilly is too much of an Englishman, and too familiar with the English respect for nationality, to echo the absurd and impracticable demands of the Continental "Catholic Congresses," which could only be made effectual by a military invasion of Italy. He freely owns that he has no desire for "the restoration of the old Papal government by Cardinals and Monsignori in the old Papal States, or in any smallest fraction of them." He disowns any expectation or wish to see "foreign bayonets force" the Pope's worldly kingdom "on unwilling people, and maintain it there. Force is no remedy."

Nevertheless, Mr. Lilly is quite as anxious as any French, Polish, German, or Spanish Roman Catholic can be that the Pope should become and be recognized as an undoubted secular monarch, and have as his own a kingdom of this world. It was a current saying in Europe, shortly after the Vatican Council, that the next article added to "the Faith" would have to be the dogmatic affirmation of the Pope's secular monarchy. It was originally said in irony, but Mr. Lilly's lecture has reminded us how much reasonableness there was in such a forecast. That kind of universal episcopacy which is claimed for the Roman Bishop, and which makes him the one and only real Apostle and real Bishop in the earth, cannot possibly be maintained everywhere and for all cases except by supplementing it with some kind of secular monarchy. For it is ridiculous and unreasonable that a potentate to whom every conscience ought to be subject, even though his universal authority be called spiritual, should himself be a subject, even in matters secular, of any prince or any commonwealth.

Mr. Lilly quotes "Lord Brougham, a man of strong anti-Catholic prejudice," as saying, "Stripped of that secular dominion, the Pope would become the slave now of one Power, then of another." Certain it is that St. Peter was the subject of Nero. Certain it is that all the Bishops of Rome—until the old Catholic constitution of the Church was invaded and violated, and the pseudo-Isidorian decretals were compiled to give a pretence of law and canon to the violation—owned themselves to be the subjects of the Roman Emperors. The greatest canonist of our generation, J. F. von Schulte, has shown in passage after passage what an extravagant supremacy in the Church, even over the Roman Bishop, was conceded to the Roman Emperor, "the King of Kings, in whose power are all the kingdoms of the world," by such Popes as Leo the Great and Leo II. It is true that they thought they were exalting the Roman See by exalting the Roman Emperor. We find not only the Emperor, but the Empress, accredited by the greatest of Roman Bishops with an apostolic and a sacerdotal character far exceeding anything which Cranmer, or Whitgift, or Laud, or Sheldon have been accused by the modern Vaticanists of having attributed to the English kings, or far beyond anything which they accuse the Russian Bishops of attributing to the Russian Tsar. The Roman Emperor is chosen immediately by God, according to Pope Leo I., as the instrument by which the unity of the Church is preserved, the Faith is strengthened, order is maintained in the Church, the peace of the Church is ensured, and the righteous investiture of the episcopate is secured. The Emperor is the head of the Church; he convokes the General Council, he confirms it, his commands must be obeyed by all, and therefore by the

Bishop of Rome. The Emperor is chosen by God as the inspired organ of God's government over the world and within the Church. The faith of the Emperor has the guarantee of Divine inspiration, it flows from the Holy Ghost, it is in need of no human information, not even that of the Pope. The Emperor's faith is the touchstone for the correctness of the faith of all other Christians. St. Leo the Great was himself assured of the correctness of his own faith by its agreement with the faith of the Emperor. The Emperor's faith is a fundamental for the decision of the Council. All these sentences, and others equally extravagant, as Von Schulte proves by an immense catena of citations, are either contained in so many plain words in the epistles of St. Leo, or they emanate from them with a clearness and simplicity which are self-evident to every unprejudiced reader. Indeed the language of this great Pope, the very Pope who first distinctly conceived and dogmatically elaborated the idea of the Roman Primacy, is so damnatory of the claims of his later successor that the modern Vaticanist is obliged to fall back upon the poor apology that St. Leo, in his letters to his sovereign lords, did not speak *ex cathedra*. This is an apology which we need not here consider, though we may add that it is examined and torn to shreds by the master hand of the great Catholic canonist. "According to the teaching of the Pope Leo the Great," he concludes, "it is the Roman Emperor who is infallible." The Roman Bishop might well, therefore, desire to become a sort of Roman Emperor.

The secular government in Rome, after the "fall" of the Western Roman Empire, was forced upon the Roman Bishops, as Mr. Lilly sees, by the necessities of their position as the fathers-in-God of the miserable Roman people. There must be either anarchy or the secular rule of the Bishop. The Roman Emperors to whom Leo I. attributed so tremendous an authority, temporal and spiritual, in the Catholic Church, were far away in Constantinople, or in Ravenna, while the Roman Bishops were always upon the spot. What the Popes now claim, and what Vaticanism attributes to them, temporally and spiritually, is the inalienable transferrence to the person of the Roman Bishop of everything which Leo the Great flatteringly asserted to belong to the person of the Roman Emperor. He exalted and developed his own Roman Primacy over the entire episcopate of the Church, as we have already said, by thus exalting and developing the person of the Roman Emperor. It is clearly not upon the individual Cæsar, still less upon his own personal piety or theological insight, but wholly and solely upon his office, that St. Leo establishes the marvellous position and function of the Cæsar as supreme in the Church and the world. The Emperor is the Vicar of the Ascended King of the Nations; he is the holder of Christ's authority to rule all men. Christian and Pagan, all "Christianitas" and all "Latinitas" are summed up, so to speak, in the Roman imperial authority. The Council of Chalcedon affirmed the primacy of the Roman Bishop, not on the ground of his succession to St. Peter, but because he was the Bishop of the capital of the Roman Empire. The Bishop of Constantinople, though his see was not Apostolic like Antioch or Alexandria, ranked above them because he was Bishop of the Eastern Rome.

The "Donation of Constantine" so long believed in the Western Nations to have been a fact of history, was invented to account for the amazing transference to the Roman Bishop of the high place and power, ecclesiastical and secular, which the Roman Bishops originally attributed to the Roman Emperors. A new epoch began in the history of Christendom when, as the Greeks said, "the successor of St. Peter ceased to be a Bishop, one among Bishops, in order to become a Cæsar." The Roman Primacy had to strip itself, so to speak, of its originally apostolical and episcopal character, though the Popes remained Bishops, and to clothe itself in the character of a secular monarchy, in order to become the Roman Papacy. The name *Curia Romana*, the Court of Rome, as applied to that venerable *Ecclesia Romana* which had received St. Paul's Epistle in the first century, was an implicit confession that the Church of Rome had ceased to be principally "a Church" in the proper sense, that is, a congregation of the faithful and their clergy, united to their apostolical chief pastor. It had become "a Court," wherein sat the Roman Bishop on his secular and quasi-imperial throne, as successor of the Roman Cæsars in place and function, surrounded by his Cardinals, the great dignitaries of his secular empire, and his imperial council, and sending out his ambassadors to other secular courts, and receiving their ambassadors at his own secular court. The pious German Abbot Gerhoch of Reichersberg was so startled in the twelfth century at this amazing transformation, that he believed with devout simplicity that he need only call the attention of the Pope to it in order to secure its reformation.

"Is it not a scandal," he asked, "that men now-a-days should name that the 'Court of Rome,' which used formerly to be named the 'Church of Rome?'" Even St. Bernard, who had no means of examining the claims of the Papacy by historical criticism, and who believed that it was in the power of the Pope, and indeed his proper function, to be the Reformer of the Church, was startled and alarmed at the too evident and visible change of an Apostle and Bishop into a King and Emperor. "Do you not perceive," said he in the *De Consideratione* (*ad Eugenium Papam*), "that St. Peter never appeared in public vested in silk and gold, and mounted on a white horse, with a tumultuous following of officers and soldiers. Lo, you have succeeded Constantine, and not St. Peter." St. Bernard, ascetic as he was, was not a Puritan, and confessed it to be reasonable that the Pope should "accommodate himself to his times," but only in such a degree as not altogether "to forget his pastoral duties," and neglect "the oversight of his own proper clergy," that is, the Roman diocese, "who ought to be the models for all others."

The Saint, who had so much in him of the prophet, was thus unconsciously repeating and justifying the old accusations of the Orthodox East against the actual results of the perversion of the Roman Primacy into an Imperial Roman Papacy. When Lothar was in Italy he gave audience to an embassy from Constantinople, an account of which is recorded by Baronius. One of the Eastern deputies declaimed in the presence of the Western Cæsar against the worldliness of the Western clergy, and extending his sharp criticism to their highest member, the Pope, he declared—what was fast becoming a fact, little as it was realised in the West—"The man is an Emperor, and not a Bishop."

That which the primitive conscience of Christianity regarded as a scandal, that which the word of God readable in the processes of history so evidently declares to be an apostacy and a corruption, Mr. W. S. Lilly asks all the nations of Christianity to establish. The Papacy cannot again establish itself, as it did in those ages when it was imagined that the Roman Empire was a permanent and central institution of Humanity and Christianity. Some kind of Papal kingdom, half spiritual and half secular, is now an absolute "necessity," as Mr. Lilly confesses, to the adequate maintenance of the Vaticanist claims. The Pope's "political independence, his financial independence"—which the lately deprived Monsignore Folchi has almost brought to bankruptcy—"is as necessary as ever it was. *Aut Cæsar, aut nullus!* Monsignore Capel, of unpleasant memory, "Domestic Prelate of his Holiness Leo XIII." appealed to the States of Europe to establish and endow the Pope as a bulwark for themselves against Socialism, and urged the Queen to begin by instituting "diplomatic relations with the Sovereign Pontiff." The late turning of Leo XIII. from the Monarchists to the Republicans in France, the present threat of his Belgian Bishops to raise a cry for the Republic in Belgium, the increasing inclination amongst the Vaticanist leaders in all Continental states to some degree of alliance with the Socialist, must prohibit Mr. Lilly in 1892 from adopting the form of Monsignore Capel's policy of ten years ago. But while the form differs, the matter is the same. The Vaticanists desire, just as our domestic Liberationists desire, that that State shall do for them what they have not the spiritual nor intellectual power to do for themselves: that is, secularly establish their religion, or give to their own particular religious hypothesis the force and the awe of law. There is indeed this difference, that while Liberationism asks only for a national establishment of its theory of any number of "Free Churches," Vaticanism asks for an international establishment of its theory of the one and only Papal Church, which cannot be permanently maintained unless its head is recognised by the Kingdoms and Republics of the world as a King, or rather as an Emperor, and not merely as a Bishop. "The Great Powers," Mr. Lilly thinks, "ought to provide an effective guarantee of the Pope's sovereignty and independence," if only "even within the narrow limits of the Vatican." The plea of the Vaticanist to all the great States is exactly the same as the plea of the Liberationist to the English State: "Do what we ask, and then you and we will have political peace, or a *modus vivendi*." But the Vatican conscience, like its fellow and co-worker, the "Nonconformist conscience," has never yet owned any finality, but uses whatever it gets only as a stepping-stone from which to demand more.

THE RIGHTS OF CRITICISM AND OF THE CHURCH.

BY BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, D.D.

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The Right of Criticism Unassailable.

We hear a great deal nowadays of the right of Criticism, spoken with a certain air of conscious heroism, as if Criticism (with

a big C, doubtless because it is "Higher"), were being dreadfully oppressed by somebody. But we know no one who denies the right of Criticism. Everybody uses it; and everybody honors it. It is the instrument by which we test truth. And in proportion as the truth is important or the claims which it makes on us are supreme, is not only the right of Criticism allowed, but its duty insisted upon. The indifference with which we allow the claim of a book to be a romance of impossible life by Mr. Rider Haggard, or a romance of impossible Canon-building by Mr. Herbert E. Ryle, passes, for the student of historical politics at least, into interested alertness to the evidence when it claims to be the lost work of Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens, and for all of us into something more than interest when it claims to be the Constitution of the land in which we live, with its declaration of our rights and its safeguarding of our liberties. It ought to, and it does, rise into the keenest and the most searching critical inquiry, when the book claims, or is claimed, to be the Law of God binding on all our souls, and the discovery of the only way of salvation for lost sinners. So far from the Bible being less subject to criticism than other books, we are bound to submit its unique claims to a criticism of unique rigor. Criticism is the mode of procedure by which we assure ourselves that it is what it claims to be. Who will cast his soul's eternal welfare on an uncriticised way of life? It is because we believe in criticism, and practice it with unflinching severity, that we reject the revelations of Mohammed, the book of Mormon, and the religion of Israel according to Kuenen and his fellows, and accept and rest upon the religion of Israel according to Moses and the Prophets and the Gospel of Christ according to the evangelists and the apostles. When such concerns are at stake, we wish to know the pure facts; and every one of us exercises all the faculties God has given him and exhausts all the tests at his command to assure himself of the facts. Criticism consists in careful scrutiny of the facts, and is good or bad in proportion to the accuracy and completeness with which the facts are apprehended and collected, and the skill and soundness with which they are marshaled and their meaning read. Deny the validity of criticism of the Bible! Nobody dreams of it. Abate the earnestness of our practice of it! At our soul's peril, we dare not. In proportion as we are awake to what the Bible means for man, will we search the Scriptures to see whether these things are so.

Whence, then, arises the plaint which we hear about us, that the right of Criticism is impugned and the rights of Criticism denied? From the ineradicable tendency of man to confound the right of Criticism with the rightness of his own criticism. We may safely recognize this to be a common human tendency; for, as all of us doubtless know by this time, "humanum est errare." But as soon as our attention is directed to it, the way seems to be opened to remind ourselves of a few distinctions, which it will be well for the Presbyterian Church to attend to in the crisis which is at present impending over her—a crisis the gravity of which cannot be over-estimated for a church of Christ, to which has been committed the function of being the pillar and ground of the truth.

I.

Misleading Methods of Criticism.

It is not to impugn the right or the duty of Criticism to declare that an untrustworthy and misleading method of criticism is not right but wrong. Criticism, we are justly told, is only a method. So is mathematics only a method. But this does not vindicate the correctness of every mathematical calculation, by every hand. Neither figures nor criticism will lie; but the men that use them may manage to reach very false conclusions through them despite their incorruptible veracity. And we soon discover, as there is mathematics and mathematics, so there is criticism and criticism. Because we believe in mathematics, we do not care to trust our weight on a bridge the strain of which has been calculated by a misleading method. An eminent professor of mathematics tells me that he can prove by an unexceptionable process that one is equal to two. Some of the critics seem to have learned his method. Am I impugning the right of Criticism when I politely decline to believe that their criticism is right?

What is the present situation with regard to the criticism of the Old Testament? On the credit of a method of criticism which is discredited wherever it can be tested, we are being asked to believe that a large number of the books in the Old Testament are not the product of their apparent ages or their reputed authors, but the stratified deposits of the sea of time. On this evidence, at least, we respectfully decline. We point out the inconsequence of this method of criticism elsewhere. We recall the weary shadow-dance of similar methods in the sphere of the New Testament literature,

and the recession of their boasted results into the realm of shadows whenever the light is fully turned on. We point to that admirable "jeu d'esprit" of the ingenuous Mr. McRealsham by which the very same methods applied satirically to the Epistle to the Romans, are shown to yield parallel results—and lo! that logically compacted epistle falls apart into four underlying documents, discriminated from one another with a sharpness and a breadth which must make the Pentateuchal critic turn green from envy. Or, if we must have a real case, which is no "jeu d'esprit" but solemn earnest, we point to Scherer's brilliant analysis of the Prologue of Faust, which distributed its parts to their proper periods of Goethe's life, on the ground of deep-reaching differences of style and internal inconsistencies, such as were thought inexplicable save on the supposition of composition at different times and subsequent combination. But Ehrich Schmidt publishes the oldest manuscript of the poem, and lo! "it is the 'young Goethe' who wrote the prologue essentially as it now stands, in a single gush; it is the same 'young Goethe' who assumes the style at the same time of an effervescent youngster and of a cynical greybeard." We point to the thorough refutation of this method in principle and in results by such Old Testament critics as possess independence enough of scholarship and judgment not to be swayed beyond their centre of gravity by the reigning faction. Or if we glance at the method itself we are led to commend the insight of one of its founders, Graf, who already pointed out the danger of its degenerating into an argument in a circle, as we perceive that it first creates the documents it finds by distributing all the elements of one kind to each, and then proves their reality by the fact of this constant difference. We decline to be caught in this circle and whirled around until we mistake our giddiness for superior wisdom. It is not denying the right of Criticism to assert that this criticism is not right, and cannot lead to right, but only to wrong conclusions.

II.

Biblioclastic Criticism.

It is not to impugn the right of Criticism to declare that such a misleading criticism, when used as an engine to undermine the divine authority of the Scriptures, vindicated as that authority abundantly is by overwhelming evidence thoroughly tested by a sound and truth-eliciting criticism, is not only wrong but a serious wrong. That the effects of the current type of Old Testament criticism are of the nature of a disillusionment as over against the Bible, lies in the nature of the case, and has been illustrated lately by Mr. Horton—whose thoroughly disillusioned (and disillusioning) book on "Inspiration" Professor Cheyne recommends as the best he knows for these times of distress—from an old-fashioned clock which in youth he deemed to be of massive black marble with golden face, but which his wiser years have discovered to be only wood and gilt. Let any reader note the number of portions of the Old Testament which Dr. Driver in his recent sober "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" adjudges to be "scarcely historical;" and then ask whether the authority of a historical revelation can be maintained when so large a portion of its historical record is "unhistorical." Then let him remember that the critical analysis which is the chief result of this method turns largely upon the discovery of disagreements and inconsistencies in the present texts. No wonder it has become common to speak of the authority of the Scriptures as belonging to, and their inspiration as residing in, not the form but the substance, not the husk but the kernel. It is a prophet of our own whose language runs: "The divine substance has been given in human forms, and no one will truly understand the Bible until he has learned to distinguish between the temporal, circumstantial and variable form, and the eternal, essential and permanent substance." We seem to have heard something like this before. But whether in the mouth of the old German Rationalist, or the new American "Critic," it is a position which must ultimate in the denial of inspiration properly so-called altogether; since inspiration as distinguished from revelation necessarily concerns the form, or, as it is now commonly spoken of (not without an undesirable purpose), "the record of the revelation," not the "revelation itself." Accordingly, Professor Stapfer says frankly: "The doctrine of an Inspiration distinct from Revelation and legitimating it, is an error." And Dr. Washington Gladden, who desires us to note that he follows the leadership of "conservative criticism" only, with equal frankness says: "Evidently neither the theory of verbal inspiration, nor the theory of plenary inspiration can be made to fit the facts which a careful study of the writings themselves bring before us. These writings are not inspired in the sense which we have com-

monly given to that word." When we remember the strong tendency of these same "conservative critics" to reduce Revelation itself to what they call "historical revelation," to ACTS not WORDS, or as Dr. Gladden expresses it again, to the "superintending care" of God over the progress of history, "his moral leadership in history,"—we may estimate how nearly to a minimum the supernatural element has been reduced in a Bible a large portion of the historical record of which is "unhistorical."

Nor are we to be soothed by the assurance that though the authority of the Scriptures is gone for all else, it remains to it as a religious guide. In the nature of the case this can hardly be. Nor does this critical school find it possible so to conceive of it. We observe Dr. Samuel Ives Curtis writing: "We find in the theology of ancient Israel the divine revelation not only contained in earthen vessels, but also, on account of its temporal and educational character, containing incomplete and EVEN ERRONEOUS STATEMENTS AS TO CERTAIN FORMS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. That is, the revelation which has come from God is allowed to stand in juxtaposition with some forms of human error." Criticism must, therefore, discriminate among the distinctively religious teachings of the Bible, accepting some and rejecting others. We must thank a recent English writer, Mr. J. J. Lias, for permitting us to see with equal frankness whereto this must logically grow. "Even for matters of religion themselves," he tells us, the Bible has lost its authority, and we cannot "command assent to the contents of a volume which contains an infinity of propositions" further than "to require the acceptance of a few simple statements embodying all the essentials for salvation." We are not surprised to find on reading further that these "simple essential truths" are not according to the Gospels of either Matthew, Mark, Luke or John, nor yet of Paul or Peter,—but according to the Gospel of Schleiermacher. Is it denying the right of Criticism to assert that this criticism is not only wrong, but is committing a serious wrong against the Church and the whole world lying in wickedness, in undermining confidence in the one charter of salvation?

III.

ANTICHRISTIC CRITICISM.

It is not to impugn the right of Criticism to declare that such a misleading criticism, when so far pressing beyond its mark as to curtail the trustworthiness of the witness of the Truth Himself as a teacher of truth, is not only a wrong but an intolerable wrong to every Christian heart. Yet the current form of Old Testament criticism trembles on the verge of this gulf. The findings of its misleading method run athwart the implications of the words of him who spake as never man spake; and instead of adjusting its theories to accord with his teachings, it thinks of adjusting the God-man to its theories. Thus we have curious sustained efforts to minimize the amount and decisiveness of his teaching; new discussions of the propriety of "accommodation" in his teaching; and a whole new crop of studies on the limitations of our Lord's knowledge as man. When such a ball is once started rolling downwards, who knows to what it may grow? Not merely as a "critic" and as an "exegete," but also as a moralist and as a religious teacher, we shall find we have lost our Lord; if we cannot trust him as to the revelation of God (of which he, the Logos, was the revealer) of the past, how can we trust him as the revealer of God for the future? Are we indeed to say with one "critic" that "interpretation is essentially a scientific function, and one conditioned by the existence of scientific means, which in relation to the Old Testament were but imperfectly at the command of Jesus," and so rid ourselves of his authority in interpreting the Old Testament? Are we to say with another "critic" that as a logician or critic he belongs to his times, and as such had "a definite, restricted outfit and outlook, which could be only those of his own day and generation?" But let us go at once to the bottom. Mr. W. Hay M. H. Aitken is reported to have permitted himself recently to use such words as these: "Literary criticism is a science, and one that requires as much exercise of mind as the pursuit of mathematics. You are not surprised that Christ, in his manhood, was not the equal of Newton in mathematical knowledge; why should you be surprised if he prove not to have been the equal of Wellhausen in literary criticism? The case may be put thus: In the truth of his manhood, Christ would naturally accept the views of his contemporaries as to the authorship of the Old Testament Scripture, just as one of us would naturally accept the common view of the authorship of Shakspeare's plays in spite of recent Transatlantic theories on that subject. The only thing that would induce on his part a view that was something more than the popular opinion of the period in which he lived would be an ex-

press revelation. Of course, if God specifically revealed to Christ that the Pentateuch was written by Moses, 'cadit quaestio,' let God be true, and every critic, if not a liar, at any rate mistaken."

But is not Christ himself, God? Is it true that we could not expect him to be a "critic," because criticism requires so much exercise of mind? Are we rushing down to the pit of a new and crasser Unitarianism? What Christ is this that Mr. Aitken pictures before us? Not the Christ of the Bible, who is our Prophet and our Guide; who is the Truth itself incarnated; who is dramatized before our eyes in the length and breadth of the Gospels, not as a child of his times, limited by the mental outlook of his day, but as a teacher to his and to all times, sent from God as not more the power of God than the wisdom of God; and whose own witness to himself was, "Verily, verily I say unto you, we speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen; and ye receive not our witness. If I have told you of earthly things and ye believed not, how shall ye believe, if I tell you heavenly things?" Is it to deny the right of Criticism, to declare that a criticism which, starting on a wrong path, rushes headlong into the very face of the Truth himself, is an intolerable wrong which no Christian heart can calmly bear?

IV.

The Church's Right to Criticism.

It is not to impugn the right of Criticism to declare that those who adopt a misleading criticism as their guide to truth; and draw from it conclusions inconsistent with what is held as precious truth by the Church with which they are connected; and teach these conclusions in opposition to the public Confession of the Church; may not rightly continue to receive the endorsement of that Church as sound teachers of religion. The refusal of the Church to remain responsible before the world for their teaching is no blow at the right of Criticism in the abstract, or even at the freedom of these "critics" to teach their special form of criticism. It is, on the one hand, only the assertion by the Church of HER right to teach only what she believes, without infringing in the least upon the right of others to teach what they please on their own responsibility and in their own names; and on the other hand the liberation of the new thinkers from whatever trammels to their thought and speech they may recognize as growing out of the pledges they may have taken to believe and teach the doctrines of the Church. Or is the Critic only to be free and the Church bound? Let him exercise freely his right to criticise; and let the Church also be free to test not only the truth of the Scriptures as he does, but also the truth of his theories of the Scriptures, and to act accordingly. What Democrat would feel that his liberty of thought and speech were infringed by the refusal of a Republican club to become or remain sponsor for his political teachings? But, you say, no Democrat would desire to become or remain a member of a Republican club. This is the strangeness of the situation. One wonders that a new Criticism involving, as we are told, a wholly reconstructed theology should find so much attraction in a "traditionalist" Church of an "outworn" creed; or should care to do business under its trademark.

Hear the parable of the Thistles. Thistles certainly have beauties of their own, and many virtues, which nobody would care to deny. But they do seem out of place in a garden designed for roses, even though they proclaim themselves more beautiful than any roses in the garden. And the husbandman seems to have a duty toward Thistles growing in the garden, which even their irritable "noli me tangere" ought not to deter him from executing, with all due kindness indeed, but with that firmness of touch which becomes one in dealing with Thistles. Otherwise, what will he say to the Lord of the garden, whom even the more luxuriant growth of the Thistles may not please, when they are tossing their bold heads in the bed intended for roses?

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH NORTH.

BY PROFESSOR E. D. MORRIS, D.D., LANE SEMINARY, CINCINNATI, O.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, April 21, 1892.

THE geographic term in this denominational title would mislead if it were understood to imply that the denomination itself is anything less than *continental*. The fact is that the Church so designated has planted itself substantially in every Territory and in all but two of the States of our Union. While its main field of development during the last twenty years has been the far West and Northwest and along the Pacific coast, its five synods, twenty presbyteries, 460 churches and 48,700 communicants in the older South, east of the Mississippi, show

sufficiently that there is no section of the continent from which it consents to be debarred by a geographic title. In this Southern field the work among the colored people, begun just after the Civil War, constitutes at present the most prominent feature.

The growth of our Church since the war in the farther West, from the Dakotas southward to Texas, in the Rocky Mountain States and along the Pacific has been remarkable. Somewhere in this half of the continent one new church has been organized every two days without intermission for the past twenty years. No less than 1,100 such churches have sprung into existence, mostly within this region, in the last five years—208 in 1890–91. Not far from a thousand missionaries are now employed in various ways in this mighty task of denominational development west of the Mississippi. In our Church schools, 118 in number, among the Indians, Mexicans and Mormons 340 teachers were employed last year, and this work is steadily increasing in magnitude and promise. The claims of our various exceptional populations, including the immigrant multitudes from both Europe and Asia, and the equally urgent claims of the illiterate mountain whites and of the submerged masses in our great cities, West and East, have also called forth an unusual degree of interest during the year. The contributions to the various departments of this great home mission work, including the planting of Sabbath schools and the erection of churches and other buildings, may be estimated at $1,700,000. The kindred work of foreign missions has been prosecuted vigorously during the year at a cost of nearly $1,000,000. The progress made in the establishing and endowment of our various institutions founded in the interest of higher education has been highly encouraging, and the several theological seminaries, which are so largely a crowning feature of our church life, have enjoyed, with no marked exception, a year of unusual growth and fruitfulness. The entire contributions of the Church for all purposes, including congregational expenses, is reported at $14,000,000.

The narrative of the state of religion issued by the last General Assembly shows a fair but not remarkable advance in this regard. A net gain of only 27,000 in the membership is reported, though the accessions on profession of faith were more than twice that number. A distinct gain in the number of licentiates and of candidates for the ministry is reported and also a larger number of licensures and ordinations. The present roll of ministers is 6,223 and of churches 7,070—a small yet encouraging advance upon the roll of the preceding year. Revivals have not been as general as in some previous periods, yet the general condition of the churches spiritually, as indicated by attendance upon religious services and especially by earnest labors among children and youth, and the increase of associations for religious culture among the young people of our congregations, is every way cheering.

The chief denominational movement of the year has been the revision of our Confession of Faith. In 1889 a number of the presbyteries petitioned the General Assembly in favor of such revision. The reference of the question by the Assembly to the presbyteries in general brought out, in 1890, the fact that a decided majority of these bodies desired some revision, and many of them indicated the particular points at which they wished to see the Confession revised. Accordingly, a committee of twenty-five was appointed by the Assembly of that year to undertake the task, and this committee presented to the following Assembly, in May, 1891, a tentative report, containing the changes and additions which it had agreed to propose, for consideration by the Church. The Assembly submitted this report to the scrutiny of the presbyteries, instructing them to consider anew the matters presented and to send their judgment on each point to the committee for its further guidance. About 175 of the presbyteries responded to these instructions, twenty-five or thirty declaring more or less fully against the tentative revision and the remainder—constituting two-thirds of the whole number of presbyteries—217, favoring it and making further suggestions in the same direction.

This committee met recently in New York and after a fortnight of deliberation completed a final report to be presented to the next General Assembly in May. This report has already been published in substance, and is now informally before the Church for inspection. If approved by the Assembly as a revision proper to be made, it will be again submitted to the presbyteries for their formal adjudication upon its merits. There is good reason to anticipate, first, the acceptance of the report by the Assembly, and then its authoritative indorsement, at least in the main elements of it, by the presbyteries, which alone have ultimate power in the case. Such indorsement, when properly certified to the Assembly of 1893 by two-thirds of all the presbyteries, will constitute the revised Confession henceforth

the authorized creed of the Church. The process is a long and complex one, but probably will seem to us none too long or too elaborate if we remember what is involved in such a reconstruction of a denominational symbol so comprehensive and elaborate as that of Westminster.

The movement toward such reconstruction is significant as being the first instance in which any Protestant body has seriously attempted to recast a venerable creed inherited from the period of the Reformation. It is the more significant because other Presbyterian bodies, as in England and Scotland, are now engaged in the same delicate and difficult task. But it is believed by the friends of the movement that the result will abundantly justify the toils and the perils involved in such an attempt. The revised creed, as now made public, does not abandon at any point the Calvinistic or reformed system of doctrine as embodied in the old Confession. But it seeks to present that system in milder, more conciliatory, more practical aspects and with better adjustment to the present convictions and teachings of the Church. It sweeps aside forever the old taunt about the damnation of infants and the eternal reprobation of a certain portion of mankind. The two new chapters contained in it are the first efforts of Protestantism to formulate its conception of the gospel and of the Holy Spirit, and the admission of these chapters will put to silence the kindred taunt that the Presbyterian Church holds only to a restricted atonement and puts unwarrantable restraints on the free and cordial offer of the gospel to every creature. It is hoped that these two chapters will receive universal indorsement among Evangelical people, and that they will do much to lower the dividing barriers between the Presbyterian Church and all other churches of our Lord Jesus Christ.

It should be mentioned as another item of doctrinal interest that for the past three years a committee of scholars has been engaged in revising the proof texts of the Confession and Longer Catechism with a view to the sifting out of all proofs that have been found since the Westminster age to be inappropriate as quoted and to the adding of other proofs wherever these are needed. Such a revision was undertaken just after the organization of the Assembly a century ago, but the necessity for another and more thorough review has long been obvious. This work has already been twice reported to the Assembly, but of course it cannot be completed until the question of revision has been settled. Among those engaged in this work are several of the leading exegetes and theologians of the Church; two of the number, Drs. Crosby and Welch, have died since the work began.

The discussions on this subject have occasioned a considerable demand for a new and briefer creed. Such a creed is desired by some as a mere condensation of the old Confession, by others as an embodiment of the common doctrines for the benefit of private members in the Church, and by some as a substitute for the old, which is to be put thereafter upon the shelf as a venerable archæological relic. This demand is not likely to have much significance so long as it is in itself so indefinite and so inharmonious. A more promising movement is that on which the last two General Assemblies have acted in the direction of securing what is termed a consensus creed—a creed in which all bodies holding in general the Presbyterian faith and order may be agreed as containing the essentials of their common belief. The committee having this interest in charge is now endeavoring to secure the concurrence and aid of all such bodies, fifty or more in number, in the framing of such a generic creed. This new symbol is not designed to supersede the Westminster symbols, but rather to draw these Presbyterian churches into closer fellowship by such simpler, more practical declaration of their joint belief.

An effort of this sort was made ten years ago within the Presbyterian Alliance, but it was found, first, that the constitution of the Alliance would hardly permit such an undertaking under its sanction, and then that the pressing of the proposal might result in the withdrawal of certain important churches from that organization. It will require some years of correspondence to determine whether the present movement will be successful or will be fatally checked by similar obstructions, especially on the other side of the Atlantic. If the proposed creed should finally be framed as a distinctively Calvinistic document, it would probably be so broad and so irenic in its statements that Christian men of other types of belief would find in it little to oppose. Possibly it might prove to be a step toward the framing of that coming creed in which all branches of the true Church of Christ can be harmonized doctrinally into one household of faith.

The past year has witnessed fearless action by our Church in the direction of practical and federative union with other sections of Protestantism. The General Assembly has virtually rejected the proposition of the Episcopalian bishops to accept the

Nicene creed as a sufficient doctrinal basis. This would be impossible for a body of believers long trained in the symbols of Westminster. It also rejects the proposal to introduce the historic episcopate into its polity, on the ground that this episcopate has but doubtful warrant in Scripture and is not essential either to the being or the well-being of a church. But our Presbyterianism is becoming more and more catholic in its sympathies, more and more broad in its fellowship, and the action of the last Assembly in this matter shows that our communion will be ready always to join all other communions, on equal terms, in federative measures of every sort, waiting always hopefully for the ultimate federation and unification of Evangelical Protestantism.

One of the special phenomena of the past year has been what is termed the Briggs controversy. The details of this unhappy matter are already familiar. The whole Church became involved, directly or remotely, in the doctrinal issues raised by his inaugural address in two ways: first, through the formal disapproval by the last Assembly of the appointment of Dr. Briggs to his new professorship, and, secondly, by an effort to subject him to an ecclesiastical trial for alleged heresy before his presbytery. Neither of these matters can be regarded as settled as yet, but there is good ground for anticipating that a fair and just solution will be reached on both points at an early day. The Presbyterian Church has no appetite for ecclesiastical trials and will enter into one only as a last resort and for the defense of vital truth. On the other hand, the Presbyterian Church has no sympathy with serious error, particularly on such topics as were discussed in this unfortunate address. Least of all will it tolerate looseness of teaching on its cardinal doctrines and especially its doctrine of Scripture in its theological chairs. But even here it cannot afford to allow mere gusts of excitement to sweep it into unconstitutional or revolutionary action. It would rather bear patiently with error and trust to the curative power of better teachings and the purifying touch of time than to rob its humblest member of his personal rights.

The next General Assembly will be convened in May in Portland, Ore., and this fact is full of suggestiveness. In 1870 there was but one synod with five small presbyteries, having thirty-seven churches, forty-two ministers and a membership of 2,000, west of Kansas and Nebraska. One of these presbyteries, with nine churches and eight ministers and a membership of 308, was located in the distant territory of Oregon. In 1891 there were reported three synods, fifteen presbyteries, 359 ministers, 400 churches and a membership of nearly 26,000 in the Pacific States alone. Within these twenty years four other synods in the Northwest—North and South Dakota, Colorado and Utah—with their hundreds of churches and ministers and their large membership, have also come into existence. How fitting is it that the parent Church should by its highest representative body visit these vast regions, where a quarter of a century ago there was little but wilderness but where now such large and happy spiritual growths are seen!

The main purpose, the first duty, of the Apostolic ministry was to witness to the fact that Christ had risen. The Apostles did not teach the resurrection as a revealed truth, as they taught, for example, the doctrine of justification; they taught the resurrection as a fact of experience, a fact of which they themselves had had experience. And this is why the different evangelists do not report the same appearances of our risen Lord. Each one reports that which he himself witnessed, or that which was witnessed by the eye-witness on whose authority he writes. Put the various attestations together, and the evidence is irresistible. He left on a group of minds, most unlike each other, one profound, ineffaceable impression, that they had seen and lived with One who had died indeed, and had risen again, and that this fact was in itself, and in its import so precious, so pregnant with meaning, and with blessing to the human race, that it threw in their minds all other facts into relative insignificance; it is worth living for, it was worth dying for. "That which we have seen and heard, that which our hands have handled, that declare we unto you." "I might disbelieve the resurrection," said a shrewd man of our day—certainly with no very ecclesiastical, I fear with no, perhaps, very religious bias—"I might disbelieve the resurrection, if without it I could possibly explain the existence of the Christian Church." Yes, if Christ did not rise, the existence of the Christian Church is unaccountable. The hopeless discredit and failure attaching to the crucifixion, if the crucified One did indeed rot in His grave, would have made it impossible, I do not say to set about the conversion of the world, but to interest any sensible person in the streets of Jerusalem.—*Canon Liddon.*

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE GENERAL ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH: Its History and Rationale. By WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, Bishop of Iowa. The Bohlen Lectures for 1890, delivered in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, in April and May, 1890. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1891. 12mo, pp. vii., 291, $1.50.

By the American Church the author means the Episcopal Church in the United States. He falls into the common mistake among ardent Churchmen of assuming in this public way what the Episcopal Church itself has refused to claim, at least by way of title. Incidentally, in the course of his story, he defends the assumption by saying that its American character justifies the title "American Church." But this American character, by which he means the democratic quality given to it by lay representation in its government, is shared by it with every other Protestant Church in the country, and does not distinguish it from them therefore, but only from such hierarchical churches as do not possess this element; and it is not by this that Churchmen defend this claim, but, on the other hand, by the very things that identify them with these hierarchical churches.

When we come to the book itself, we find that it has an interesting story to tell. The Episcopal Church was by its constitution dependent on England, and when this country threw off its dependence and became involved in war with the mother country, this Church found itself in a trying position. As a dependent of the English Church it could not exist here, and yet, in order to achieve an independent existence, it had to secure from the English Church that episcopal succession which seemed to most of its members the very breath of its life. While the war lasted that was, of course, impossible, and even when the war should end, the relations between the two countries did not seem to justify any very sanguine expectations. There seemed nothing left but the wretched alternative of letting its existence lapse, and thus depriving its members of their church life, with its accompaniments of grace, or of shifting without that very element of episcopal succession which seemed to many of the members so essential. And at this juncture, just when things seemed to be at their worst, Dr. White, afterward Bishop White, of Pennsylvania, published a pamphlet which advocated this latter expedient. He proposed that the churches of this order should organize with an episcopal government, but that the presiding officers should be given some other name, until Providence should open the way for them to obtain the episcopal succession, and with it the title to the name of bishops. Within a year came the close of the war, and with it all necessity of considering this question, as there was now a possibility, at least, of securing the succession, which made any other proposition out of the question; but, meanwhile, the proposition had awakened opposition. The churches in New England, and especially of Connecticut, looked upon it as a surrender of that without which they could be no church at all. They insisted that the episcopal succession was as essential to the Church as the sacraments themselves, that the bishops have the sole right of ordination and government, and that this regimen was appointed by Christ Himself. On the other hand, the churches in South Carolina did not want any bishop at all, and generally in the South there was an uncomfortable laxness that boded evil to the already harassed Church. In these circumstances it became White's endeavor to secure a gathering of representatives of all the churches, which should consider the questions involved, and form some common platform and rule of action; and he busied himself drawing up such a scheme in consultation with all the prominent men of the Church. But the Connecticut clergy insisted that nothing was possible in the way of organization until they had a bishop, and courteously declined to have anything to do with these measures until that first step had been taken, on the principle that you cannot take the first step in anything until the first has been taken. And meantime, consulting with nobody, keeping their purpose a profound secret from their own laity even, they were preparing to secure for themselves a bishop, if possible, in the English line, but if not, then in the Scottish line. Bishop White, too, and the men associated with him, were corresponding with the English ecclesiastics with a view to the same end, but determined to wait until they could procure a bishop from England; but they did not postpone for this the equally important work of securing a stable organization for the Church itself. The outline of the plan proposed by them was to complement the executive power of the bishops with legislative bodies, one for the entire Church and one in each diocese. In the Diocesan Convention it was proposed to have one house, composed of clergy and laity, and in the General Convention two houses, one composed of clerical and lay representatives, and the upper house of bishops. This proposition contained explosive material as well. Lay representation was an innovation and not a small one either, since the clergy had been the governing body in the Church; and in this matter, as in everything else, Connecticut clung to the old ways and to the hierarchical idea. Having secured their bishop, not, however, from England, they had at last consented to come into consultation with the other churches, and to be represented in the convention. But they were represented by clergy alone and steadily opposed the opposite plan. Not less disturbing than this was the question of the power of the bishops. The first proposition was to give the House of Bishops simply a veto on the measures of the lower house, and even this it was proposed to overrule by a vote of three fourths of the other house. The conservative party, on the other hand, contended that they should be given an equal power of initiating measures, and that their veto power should be absolute. These questions entered into the discussion of the constitution of the Church, and caused disputes which greatly delayed the final action; but they also complicated the decision of the English bishops in regard to the consecration of American bishops. Besides these, and entering into both these main questions, there was the matter of the Prayer-Book. Of course, the simplest and most obvious way of providing a liturgy for the American Church was to adopt the English Prayer-Book, with only such changes as were necessitated by the change of government; but there was a very strong feeling that the Church here must not so bind itself to the English book as to preclude the possibility of change when occasion should arise; and certain immediate changes were urged, such as the omission of the Athanasian Creed and even of the Nicene Creed.

Back of all these interesting questions there was

at work a strong force and great individuality of personal character. There were able men who were not very good; conscientious men who allowed their sense of duty to override their judgment and make them contentious about small matters; and, on the other hand, those who had strong convictions about certain things, but whose spiritual vision was clear enough to let them see the supreme importance of peace and unity where matters not absolutely essential were in question; mixed in among the ordinary run, some men of an original and piquant flavor; and among them all the towering figure of Bishop White, not by any means a man of ripe years, but of an extraordinary ripeness of judgment; wise, firm, conciliatory, seeing clearly the ends to be accomplished, and able to devise and carry through the measures for their accomplishment. To him belongs the origination of the constitution of the American Episcopal Church, and of its fundamental principles, and his genius for affairs carried him safely and victoriously through the various controversies that arose about it. Here are all the materials of an interesting story, such as eye for the dramatic situations of history seizes upon. Whether Bishop Perry has done justice to the situation, we leave the reader to judge.

One thing is certain, he writes history with an eye to current events. He dwells with enthusiasm and something of solemnity upon the prophetic element in Bishop White's pamphlet, outlining a plan for the Episcopal Church in America, seeing in it foresight of what has actually come to pass, and of some things yet to be accomplished. The great end still to be realized is the provincial system, intervening between the Church and the diocese, and what makes Bishop Perry's enthusiasm in regard to this interesting is, that it enters into the present polities of the Church, being one of the questions about which sides are being taken. The vision of the Church in this completeness seems to him like that vouchsafed to the Seer of Patmos. The fact is, that there is nothing prophetic about it, the whole thing being so far only a copy of the English system. The prophetic element is to be found in the adaptation of all this to the American soil and spirit, and in the wisdom with which democratic ideas were engrafted upon this original stock.

Again, frequent emphasis is placed upon the fact that the dioceses were made equal and independent, a small diocese being given the same voice in the convention as the largest. This is treated as if there were something fundamental in it, something which the founders took pains to secure, and deviation from which would destroy the symmetry of the structure. Here, too, the bishop has an eye to present ecclesiastical politics, this being one of the burning questions in the present period, in regard to which an historian has to take great care lest present interest bias the historical mind; but instead, the bishop has to stop continually to call attention to what does not of itself attract any attention, in order to make it appear that he has history on his side. Of course it is, if he means that the way which he wishes the Church to take is the old way; but that is just the question, whether in this case precedent and principle do not conflict with each other. If he were able to show that one of the principles belonging to the constitution of the Church was at stake, that would make his contention valuable; but that is not in any way made to appear. In fact, this is one of the places where civil prejudices determined ecclesiastical action. It was the period when the States were discussing the question of merging themselves in a general government, and when the self-consciousness of the States was at the maximum. In the national Constitution concession had to be made to this so far as to allow the States equal representation in the Upper House. In the Church the same prejudice, the same exaggerated notion of the importance of the State prevented any discrimination. If this were the place to discuss the question, it might be contended with some justice that this is one of the devices by which the will of the people is defeated and something else substituted for it. Equality of State or diocese means the inequality of men; a man in the smaller body counting for more than the same in the larger body, and making it possible, to say the least, so to manipulate things in the constitution of these small dioceses, these "pocket boroughs," as to defeat the will of the majority. But what we set out to say was simply this, that this is one of the places where the historian ceases to be historical by reason of partisanship.

We cannot close without calling attention to one evident thing in this history, and that is, the presence in these men who constituted the Episcopal Church in America of a courtesy, a spirit of conciliation and breadth, which makes a church possible instead of a sect. A church is different from a sect, but the note of a church is not narrowness, but breadth. Would that we had some Bishop White now to write for us "The Case of the American Churches Considered," and to pave the way for us out of our present difficulties and controversies into the breadth and unity of the American Church. E. P. GOULD.

PRONAOS TO HOLY WRIT establishing, on Documentary Evidence, the Authorship, Date, Form, and Contents of each of its Books, and the Authenticity of the Pentateuch. By ISAAC M. WISE, President of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. 193, $1.50.

This Pronaos to Holy Writ is what is ordinarily termed an introduction to the Old Testament. Its large claims are set forth in the title as given above, and are stated in full in the preface. In reality the author has no more "documentary evidence" than any one else. His method (so far as he has one) is to argue from the internal evidences of the books. What he (as a Jewish scholar) adduces from the Talmud has long been known to Christians, and it is evidently an abuse of language to call Jewish testimony of the third century after Christ "documentary evidence" for books from six to twelve centuries older. As some conservative scholars are inclined to give importance to this book, I will quote the author's fundamental assertion (p. 4):

"If the historical veracity of the post-Pentateuchal records is established, as he verily believes he has done [!], all arguments against the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch are untenable, inasmuch as in all matters of fact the direct testimony of veracious witnesses or the documentary testimony of authentic records, are conclusively demonstrative opposite [?as against] all circumstantial evidence of the *a priori* or *a posteriori* category, which after all can prove probability or possibility only, and not certitude, which the direct or documentary testimony establishes."

To apply the author's principle, let us ask a question or two:

Is it on "documentary testimony of authentic

records" that the modern Jew declares the Thorah to be eternal (p. 12), and then refuses to live in accordance with it?

Is it on documentary testimony that we are told that "Psalms i. and ii. were naturally counted as one, on account of the beginning of the first and the closing of the last being similar" (p. 14)?

Does documentary evidence establish that there were three different degrees of inspiration, plenary inspiration belonging to Moses only and not also to the prophets, "Hagiography" being considered of inferior holiness to the prophets (p. 17)?

Is it on documentary evidence that we are assured that the Thorah of Moses "was *never* forgotten and never set aside in Israel, not even in times of prevailing pagan corruption, also not in the kingdom of Israel, and was always read at stated times in the temple" (p. 30)?

We are assured that "documentary evidence not merely entitles, but compels us to maintain" what? That certain manuscript rolls "*may have been* connected with the Mosaic books of Genesis, Covenant, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, and shaped in the present form of the Five Books of Moses, if *not Moses* himself performed this task" (p. 34). The author surely has forgotten himself, and brought in here, at least, "circumstantial evidence of the *a priori* or *a posteriori* category."

The documentary evidence is clearly not self-consistent. In one place we are told of the historical books that "none was rewritten by critics or literary editors, none went through the hands of a corrector." Yet the author of the Book of Judges "evidently transcribed his narratives from the Book of the Wars of Jehovah," and, besides, two stories are appended to his book. This is too much like the conjectures of the critics, which are notoriously based only on circumstantial evidence of the *a priori* or *a posteriori* category, to satisfy those who expect conclusions to be established on documentary evidence.

Nearly every page furnishes examples of the author's extraordinary looseness of language or utter misapprehension of the force of evidence. The above are sufficient to characterize the book.

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH.
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THE BIBLE WORK. THE OLD TESTAMENT. Vol. I., Genesis, chap. i., to Exodus chap. xi. From the Creation to the Exodus. Vol. II., Exodus (chap. xii.), Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The Exodus and Wanderings. The Legislation Codified. Vol. III., Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 Chronicles xi., 1 Kings i.–xi., 2 Chronicles i.–ix. Israel under Joshua, the Judges, Saul, David, and Solomon. The Revised Text, arranged in sections, with comments selected from the choicest, most illuminating and helpful thought of the Christian centuries, taken from nearly three hundred scholarly writers. With illustrations, maps, and diagrams. THE NEW TESTAMENT. Vol. I., The Fourfold Gospel, the four Gospels consolidated in a continuous narrative, presenting the life of Christ in the order of its events. Vol. II., The Acts, the Epistles, and the Revelation. The text arranged in sections; with brief readings and complete annotations, selected from the choice and best observations of more than three hundred eminent Christian thinkers of the past and present. With illustrations, maps, and diagrams. Prepared by J. GLENTWORTH BUTLER, D.D. New York: The Butler Bible-Work Company, 85 Bible House, 1892. 8vo, pp. (O. T., Vol. I.) 647; (Vol. II.) 756; (Vol. III.) 635; (N. T., Vol. I.) 685; (Vol. II) 831. $4. each. (Special terms to ministers and clubs.)

The titles of the various volumes composing this set have been quoted thus at length, because they serve to show at once the scope of the work before us. The series is the *magnum opus* of the author, a man well known and honored in his own denomination, and one whose industry and zeal are also recognized far beyond those lines. We are informed that the other volumes of the series are in a forward state of preparation, and that erelong the entire work will be completed. Only one who carefully examines these pages, 3544 in all thus far, can at all appreciate the immense amount of labor which is here represented. The reading which has produced the work has been exceedingly extensive, and the judgment which has guided in the selection of the "choice and best observations" of Christian scholars has proved its excellent character.

In preparing these volumes the author has presented to his readers a very extensive selection of the best and most pertinent comments of those whom he adjudges to be best qualified to express an opinion, to set forth a view, or to expound a passage. It is, of course, inevitable that there will be some differences of opinion between the author and his readers in the matter of selection, where the quotations are taken from so many books and aggregate so many thousands. But we have found very few upon which we are inclined to join issue, for Dr. Butler has been catholic enough to give both sides where there is a disagreement, without trying to force his own view upon his readers. The writers who are quoted belong to no one school and represent no one tendency or bias. Exegesis, exposition, explanation, comment, and illustration are all represented, so that the reader has before him a galaxy of views upon each question of importance as it arises in or is suggested by the text

It might be supposed that a work thus composed of passages selected would be scrappy and disconnected, making continuous reading somewhat repetitious, but this is not the fact so far as our observation goes, for the author has shown remarkable judgment in arranging his material, so that there is a steady progress and a unity of treatment which are remarkable. Even where there is some slight repetition it is a matter of congratulation rather than of regret, for it serves the more clearly to bring out the prominent thought or the important fact.

The series will be of benefit and profit to several classes. The Sabbath-school teacher will find that attention is directed to the prominent idea of the passage to be studied, rather than to the mere words and phrases. The preacher will find a vast amount of suggestive thought in short space, which will be useful in preparation for the duties of his office. The layman will find a continuous exposition in a form that is attractive, varied, rich, and good. In fact, the series was not made for any one class, but for all classes of those who love the Word of God and who desire to gain profit therefrom.

In external appearance the volumes are excellent, the paper is good, the type is clear, though of moderate size, the binding is substantial and attractive. It will be a matter of regret to some that the exact source of each quotation is not given, but it is easy to see that this addition would have augmented immensely the detail of the work,

while the advantage to be gained would have been appreciated and valued by comparatively few. The idea of the work is a good one, and it is to be hoped that its usefulness may be in some degree commensurate with the amount of labor which it has cost and the excellence of its performance.

Charles R. Gillett.
Union Theological Seminary.

The New Theology. By John Bascom, author of "A Philosophy of Religion," etc. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1891. 8vo, pp. viii., 217, $1.50.

The title of this book is happily chosen, though the author hastens in the introduction to explain that that which he has to set forth is not, after all, a theology, and almost on the last page justly claims that that which he has set forth is not really new. "There is no creed that we can call the new creed, there is no conclusion or series of conclusions that occupies, in this movement, any more a final position than do other allied convictions. The New Theology is not a creed, but a tendency, is not a result, but a movement. All men may feel it and share it—most cultivated men do share it—no man can make it his own or sufficiently voice it" (p. 1). "The New Theology is not then new, but as old as the world in the inner force which brings it forward. It indicates, indeed, a productive spring-tide of thought, but its seeds are those of many previous seasons. It is one more movement, standing in file with a thousand others past and to come, by which the limitations of knowledge give way, and we are enabled to take another step upward in the Revelation of God, another step forward in the largeness of the Gospel of Christ" (p. 215). And yet, as I said, the title is a happy one; for the attempt is to delineate the effect upon current theological notions of the recognition of that supreme naturalness, orderliness, continuity of the whole universe of things, which is the major premise of so much of modern thought, and to indicate what modifications those notions must accordingly be subjected to. This is the chapter entitled "Naturalism." It is followed by a section headed "Supernaturalism," being a reconstruction of the notion of the supernatural upon lines which what has been already said in part suggests, a vindication not only of the validity, but also of the philosophical necessity of the notion, and an indication of what an entirely rational faith in the supernatural implies. Then follow two chapters relating not so much to the subject-matter as to the method of theological inquiry, considerations partly theoretical and partly practical, which are in large measure to be held responsible for the errors and unprogressiveness of the past. The theoretical considerations are grouped under the head of "Dogmatism," while those hindrances which are to be ascribed, not to a narrow and perverse intensity of the intellectual life, but to the absence of such vitality, to the mere appeal to emotion, to a sentimentality about religious catchwords and the like, are brought together under the word "Pietism." The contents of the last chapter would hardly be inferred from its superscription, "Spiritualism." It is doubtful, for more reasons than one, whether it is expedient to try to redeem to one's own sense of it a word which, as a mere matter of fact, is appropriated to and in the common man's apprehension almost exclusively associated with a widely different sense. However, this is a mere question of a name. The attempt is to resume what was positive in the foregoing, to indicate some points of its application, and to give a somewhat elaborate interpretation of it in the light of certain well-known passages in the New Testament Scriptures. The first chapter is the strong point of the book. Readers of "Natural Religion," by the author of "Ecce Homo," will know beforehand what is meant by "Naturalism." Indeed, it is the inevitable name for a discussion of the large complex of matters in hand. It is the effort to do away with that pestilent distinction between natural and revealed religion; the effort to show that Revelation itself is natural in the highest and holiest sense. The central point of the discussion is, of course, the conception of inspiration. The principles laid down are those fundamental to all modern scholarship. The materials for the chapter were superabundant. The difficulty was only of selection. The argument is only a readable summary, most brief and hardly even intended to be proportionate, of the results of the best labor of the spirit of the time, as those results bear upon religious matters, and have even been held to involve the existence of religion at all. Thus much is certain, that for the thoughtful men of the next generation there will be no religion which is not natural in this noble sense; and he does great service who shows, as here, in popular form, how an enlightened, thoroughly religious spirit finds the very strength of its position in the naturalness of its religion too. In the second chapter it is doubtful if the ordinary reader will be able to find himself and follow quite so easily. He is probably by his previous reading much less well prepared for it; and the thing is much more subtle in the nature of the case. Much more, also, the author has had here to mark out a course for himself. The method, on the whole, however, is not without resemblance to that of Martineau. I have in mind particularly the remarkable little tract on "Materialism," and certain of the papers in the "Endeavors after a Christian life." Here is the same devout reliance on the facts of the religious consciousness; and if I may be allowed to express my own opinion, I should say that these parts of the argument are of much greater worth than those which are more purely speculative.

The chapter on Dogmatism confines itself to the elucidation mainly of three points, the viciousness of a purely deductive method, and the utter absence, on the one hand, of the historical, and, on the other, of the literary sense, which seems to go with the genuine dogmatic temperament. One would think that the very consciousness that a method is largely deductive, would make men extremely careful as to their assumptions and extremely anxious to submit them, or the conclusions drawn from them, to correction at every chance, by every fact from which an inference as to their validity could be made; but the whole history of dogmatics is a demonstration that a dogmatician never sees things in that way. It is admirably pointed out that "the principles which make up systematic theology are not pure mental conceptions, they are ideas which owe their entire value to their perfect correspondence with obscure and complex facts." The result of such a process from such data may be metaphysics, but it has no right to be called theology any further than it explains and illuminates the facts; and the oracular nonsense that is often perpetrated with "proof-texts," the entire obliviousness to what the words of Scripture meant as they were originally uttered, the ignorance of the limitations of human speech as a means of the expression of Divine and heavenly things, the agility with which a palpable figure of

speech is manipulated to make it work backward —that is, yield some new quality of the thing figured, which was not so much as dreamed of when the plastic phrase was used—all this is but the paraphernalia for foisting the said metaphysic on us as inspired. The fourth chapter is again almost as fresh and helpful as the first. It deals with certain things arising mainly in practice, and only afterward defended with a theory, which have nevertheless had much to do with narrowing Christian thought and life. Asceticism and ritualism come in for their share, but the instructive part is that which relates to the peculiarly Protestant pietism of intensified religious sentiment, "the apprehension that religion consists not so much in a large and wise government of life, as in certain obscure experiences superinduced upon it," that conversion is necessarily a moral earthquake, that "salvation has chief reference to another life"—all these errors and their consequences are properly classed here. The partial separation of the manly and religious life is not the least of these consequences; and one cause, at least, of the inefficiency of the pulpit, and of the alienation of the masses from the Church as an institution is in this direction not very far to seek.

The book is lucidly written and the publishers work is fairly well done.

EDWARD C. MOORE.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

THE HARMONY OF ETHICS WITH THEOLOGY. An Essay in Revision. Is there Probation after Death? Is there Hope for the Heathen? Can Infants be Saved? By the Rev. HENRY E. ROBINS, D.D., LL.D., late President of Colby University (1873–82); Professor of Christian Ethics in the Rochester Theological Seminary. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1891. 16mo, pp. 100, 50 cents.

He must be unusually insensible to the power of earnestness of thought and feeling and eloquence of speech, who can read this little book unmoved, even though he may not be able to follow all its reasonings. Not that we should have any difficulty in following the author in his fundamental conception that the world has lived under a dispensation of grace since the fall, and that it is in this fact that all the apparent anomalies of its moral government find their explanation. This conception has become, indeed, almost a commonplace of Reformed thought; it may be found worked out with great thoroughness and consistency, for example—to name only a single representative from each side of the sea—in Dr. Robert S. Candlish's "The Atonement: Its Efficacy and Extent," or in Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge's "The Knowledge of God, Subjectively Considered." Dr. Robins's treatment appears to us less felicitous than theirs, inasmuch as he organizes the matters involved in this conception, from the point of view of the moral government of God alone, without reference to the Covenant of Redemption, in which alone the scheme of the dispensation of forbearance has its ground, and from which alone it can receive its justification. Accordingly, the justice or possibility of such gracious dealing with a lost race does not appear in his pages. We pass at once from the contemplation of man under the eternal and unchangeable demand for moral perfection, made by moral law—which "cannot be modified by any conceivable conditions in its claims"—to the contemplation of man under grace with perfection no longer demanded of him but only "repentance and faith," with no account of the possibility of the change except the intimation that it pleased God to interpose a Mediator between Himself and our lost race. Here is not a "harmony of ethics and theology," but a deep *dis*harmony; ethics demanding perfect obedience for acceptance with God; theology offering the prize on the easier terms of "repentance and faith." And as the provisions of the Covenant of Redemption can alone solve this difficulty, so they alone supply a safe guide for the explanation of the details of the administration of the dispensation of forbearance. Had the author taken them for his clew, he would have been saved from what we cannot but think certain exaggerations—and shall we not even say inconsistencies?—in the conclusions which he draws. He would have known, for instance, how to preserve the principle that "the conditions of salvation must be in essence the same for those who hear, and those who do not hear the New Testament revelation," without reducing the ground of acceptance with God to general "repentance and faith," in the face of the whole New Testament, which knows of no saving faith except personal trust in Christ Jesus, known and believed in; and thus he would have escaped becoming amenable to his own warning (p. 86) against those who cherish "a larger hope" for the heathen than God's revelation warrants. He would have known also how better to reconcile common grace and special grace, election and the free offer of salvation, the sincerity and the sovereignty of God, than we find any hint of in his pages. But we cannot here go into details.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. By the Rev. G. T. STOKES, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, and Vicar of All Saints', Blackrock. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Crown 8vo, pp. xxiii., 424, $1.50.

The fourth series of the Expositors' Bible is completed with the volume of Professor Dr. Stokes. The general character of the voluminous work edited by Dr. W. Robertson Nicoll is already well known to most English-speaking clergymen. Dr. Stokes has wrought along the lines marked out in the design of the editor, but his volume has its own characteristics. The exposition covers only the earlier portion of the Acts of the Apostles, "down to, but not including, the conversion of St. Paul and the baptism of Cornelius" (p. v.); about one third of the book. Accepting this point as the close of the first great division of the inspired narrative, and finding in it a statement of great "representative facts," as Bishop Lightfoot called them, the author discusses these facts in twenty chapters, each appropriately designated. The first chapter, however, is rather an "introduction" than an exposition. In the preface there is more or less matter that belongs to what is termed "introduction," since it refers to many of the corroborative "sources" of apostolic history. Special prominence is given to the recovered Apology of Aristides, which was not accessible to the writer when preparing the earlier chapters of his volume. In the last chapter this work is made use of for apologetical purposes

Dr. Stokes writes "as a decided Churchman," but while positive he is not pugnacious, and while churchly he is candid and truly catholic. His *naïve* confession (p. xii.) about the difficulty of using the Revised Version, as he has attempted to do, leads him to say that "the mixture of the Re-

vised and Authorized Versions will form a prominent feature in theological works composed toward the close of the nineteenth century."

The discussion of the authentic character of the Book of the Acts is based on thorough study and clear apprehension of the facts that affect "criticism." The tone is popular, and the argument very plainly stated. Tertullian is introduced as a witness, and then the value of his testimony is illustrated by modern analogies. Here we meet what is a characteristic excellence of the expositions of Dr. Stokes. He has a wonderfully fresh way of putting modern instances into service, as illustrating or enforcing the principle embodied in the "representative fact" he finds in the Book of the Acts. The ability to do this well is rare. To do it well, one must look at modern history with less prejudice than is possible for most men. Dr. Stokes manages, by his illustrations, to give us his views on a hundred questions of the day. Whether we can agree with him in these views or not, it is only justice to say that there is no lack of pertinence in the examples he cites, and plenty of courage and of candor in his statements. Looking through the author's eyes, we can always see precisely what he finds in the inspired record. He is perhaps too optimistic in his estimate of the danger from modern criticism, but here he speaks as a "decided Churchman," and finds a blessing in uncertainty from the stimulus it gives to research as well as the demand it makes for faith.

There is no doubt that any intelligent Christian can comprehend this volume. Very few laymen would fail of profit from reading it. That it would startle many of them is likely enough, but it would certainly set them to thinking. Perhaps all Protestant ecclesiastical bodies might take heed to these words (p. 262): "We have been too much in the habit of looking upon the Church of Christ as if it were once for all stereotyped in apostolic times, and as if there were nothing to be done in the living present save to adapt these ancient institutions to our modern needs." Dr. Stokes thinks the Roman Catholic Church has been wiser, in this respect, than the children of the Reformation.

Many other points in the volume might be mentioned, but enough has been said to indicate the character of the author's expositions.

M. B. Riddle.
Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.

What is Reality? An Inquiry as to the Reasonableness of Natural Religion and the Naturalness of Revealed Religion. By Francis Howe Johnson. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891. 12mo, pp. xxvii., 510, $2.

This is a learned work, of wide reading, great acuteness, much profundity, and of perfect temper and fairness. In spite of the sub-title, the bulk of the work is metaphysical. A test of reality is first sought for, and after much criticism of the subjective and objective methods, the test is found in life itself, as follows: "The necessity of living the affirmation of a proposition shows that this proposition expresses a reality." This brings us out of the barren wastes of speculation and introduces us to life as the supreme test of reality. This is a result of great practical importance, but truth or validity would be a better term here than reality. For all that such harmony with life shows is that we are not following a private whim, but have reached an independent order of some sort; but the metaphysical question as to the true nature of that order is not touched by this consideration. Probably the most determined idealist would admit an order of manifestation quite independent, both of himself and of his neighbors, while denying the ontological reality of the various material existences of which theoretical science speaks.

The remainder of the speculative discussion is mainly devoted to maintaining the theistic position. Beginning with the conscious self as the only discoverable "thing in itself," and as known to us as the "unity of being, as intelligence, and as cause," the author aims by means of this knowledge as a key to cosmic problems "to climb from the knowledge of one finite reality—man—to a true, though limited knowledge of the Being that is the soul of the great sum of things" (p. 131). Of course this is the familiar argument from analogy; but instead of applying it in the familiar way, the author advances a number of obscure speculations about atomic, molecular, and cellular souls drawn from the obscurest regions of biology. Lewes, Cope, Haeckel, Murphy, Binet, and other similar authorities are drawn upon for suggestions which, we fear, are more fanciful than solid. Among the conclusions of this part are the following: "The more intimately we become acquainted with cell-life, the more necessary does it seem to reason analogically from the human *ego* to the hypothetical cell ego" (p. 208). "The human organism is a hierarchy of beings dominated by the *ego*." Of these lower beings when working under the supervision of the ego, "we may reasonably conjecture that, had they the power of reflection, . . . in the moments of their highest activity they might conceive themselves to be inspired" (p. 243). It is doubtful if thinkers of the severer type will find valuable aids to faith in science of this sort. The author wisely calls attention to the fact that his main argument is independent of these biological speculations.

The "naturalness of revealed religion" consists in the fact that it constitutes an integral part of the one system which, in its unity and outcome, was known unto God from the beginning. This, which is a necessary implication of the Divine foreknowledge, has often been overlooked by superficial theologians. We are not to think of God's revealing and redeeming work as an afterthought or makeshift, but rather as the perfecting and completion of the whole. This work also has profound analogies with the laws and processes of nature. The author finds great help in the doctrine of evolution, which, however, is only the Divine way of working. God is the author of variations. The key to the problem of evil is found in the fact that "conflict" is the necessity of life. It is a matter for regret that this leaves us as far off as ever from seeing why the "conflict" should take on the disastrous and destructive forms it often seems to do. In such cases conflict appears to be overdone; and general considerations on the necessity for struggle and conflict only exasperate by their inadequacy.

Borden P. Bowne.
Boston University.

De Bibliorum Sacrorum Uulgatæ Editionis Græcitate. G(unther E.) A. Saalfeld, Ph.D. Quedlinburgi: Viewig, 1891. 8vo, pp. xxvi., 180, 7.50 marks.

This is another specimen of the microscopic investigation so characteristic of German scholarship. The author has brought together and arranged in alphabetical order not only all words of Greek origin used in the Vulgate version, but also all those which, though derived from other languages, have Greek terminations or affixes. He has also affixed

to each word citations from or references to all passages where it occurs, so that for the words cited the work serves also as a concordance to the Vulgate. There is given in German or Latin the meaning of each word, and in most instances the essence of Du Cange's definition, with remarks as to the usage among later ecclesiastical writers.

One cannot resist the conclusion that the author has pushed his citations to the furthest possible limit, and has classified as Greek terminations some that are as much Latin as Greek, which indeed belong to the common "Aryan" stock. The number of words collected, making, with definitions, a mass of matter covering 180 pages, illustrates very clearly the extent to which the Latin borrowed from the Greek; the fact that patronymics nearly all take Greek forms being especially significant of the wide influence of Greek culture. Perhaps this is the chief value of the book. Beyond this we question its utility. Certainly no one whose concern is not with the veriest minutiæ of the Vulgate will care for it. When a full concordance to that version is compiled, this work will be helpful so far as it goes. Greater value than this we do not believe can be allowed to this latest of Professor Saalfeld's works. GEORGE W. GILMORE.

BROOKLYN.

BRIEF REVIEWS, BY THE EDITOR.

The Life of Our Lord upon the Earth, considered in its historical, chronological, and geographical relations, by *Samuel J. Andrews*. A new and wholly revised edition. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891, 8vo, pp. xxvii., 651, $2.50.) It is matter of congratulation to ministers, theological students, Sabbath-school teachers, and educated persons generally, that this valuable work has been made accessible in a "new and wholly revised edition." Many inquiries have been made for it in the period during which it was out of print, and the announcement that a new edition was preparing was received as good news. As is well known the author's original purpose was to deal with the life of Christ only in those relations which are noted upon the title-page. The Gospels are taken as reliable historical documents, and upon them the story is based without any extended attempt at "criticism," exposition, or doctrinal discussion. It is an account of deeds, not of words, of facts and dates, not of the contents of discourses. Inside of these limits the book is a masterly presentation, and one which is especially valuable because of the singleness of its aim.

The present edition contains not only a large addition to the list of authorities on the subject, a table of contents, and over thirty pages of additional matter, but also an "Outline Harmony of the Gospels and Chronological Index" and seven new and very convenient maps. These were entirely lacking in the previous edition (fourth, 1873).

The merit of the work is such and has always been acknowledged to be such, that more than a mention of a new and revised edition does not seem to be needed. To all students it is to be most heartily commended.

Ethical Christianity, a Series of Sermons, by the Rev. *Hugh Price Hughes*, M.A. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1892, 8vo, pp. xii., 177, $1.25.) An additional volume in the "Preachers of the Age" Series, mentioned in these columns a month ago. There is no falling off in the character of the volume. The style is vigorous, pointed, and exceedingly direct, evidencing a man alive to the importance of his subject and anxious to impress it upon his hearers. In explanation of his general topic the author says, "Christianity aims at producing a particular kind of life upon earth, and it declares the only way in which that particular kind of life can be realized. . . . It is of great importance that all men should clearly understand what is the nature of that Ethical Christianity which is the direct and inevitable fruit of vital union with Jesus Christ. What that Ethical Christianity is, this volume tries to explain." These fourteen discourses contain much suggestive thought which will prove valuable to both clergy and laity in their various apprehension and need.

The Divine Library of the Old Testament: Its origin, preservation, inspiration, and permanent value. Five lectures by *A. F. Kirkpatrick*, B.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge and Canon of Ely Cathedral. (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1891, post 8vo, pp. xviii., 155.) This volume is one of those which should be most widely read by men of all shades of opinion, because it is to an eminent degree careful, circumspect, useful, and instructive. The attitude of mind which is becoming in those who reverently desire to know what the Word of Life is and contains, should be that of docile receptivity, not that of dogmatic eclecticism and preconception. The truth will prevail, whatever men may do, and the only way to arrive at the truth is by investigation. Interpretations will change in the future as in the past, and he is a short-sighted and fearful Christian who fears lest the "critics" shall succeed in "overthrowing" the Word of the living God. But meantime they are assuming an awful responsibility who allege that such is the object and aim of the majority of biblical scholars, and so place all under condemnation.

The Battle of the Standpoint. The Old Testament and the Higher Criticism, by *Alfred Cave*, D.D. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1890, 8vo, pp. 58.) This book is mentioned simply to call attention to the utterances of a conservative upon some points which are too often lost sight of or ignored. Much of the invective against the name "Higher Criticism" is based solely upon dense ignorance. To such assailants Dr. Cave's remark is crushing, "'*Higher Criticism*' *does not mean* '*Superior Criticism*,' though so many appear to think it does." Flings are frequently heard from those who assert that the special aim of "Higher Criticism" is to pick flaws and find errors in the Bible. To such Dr. Cave deals a blow between the eyes, when he says in italics: "*The sole object of the Higher Criticism is* nothing else but this, *the truest and best understanding of the Bible.*" Such study "*is, of course, legitimate,*" and is "absolutely necessary to any adequate understanding of the Bible."

Wheat and Chaff. A defence of verbal inspiration, by *James H. Brookes*. (New York and Chicago: Revell, 12mo, pp. 46, 15 cents.) It is only the character of the language of this tract which causes its mention. The author's acquaintance with "higher critics" seems to have been unfortunate. He has found that "while professing to be friends" of the Bible, they are really "false prophets" lacking "common-sense," who are engaged in an "effort to destroy faith" in it by means of "blasphemous and infidel assertions," "idle dreams and empty chaff," "untrue assertions," and "false teaching." They are also characterized by "irreverence," "rash intrusion," a "vain imagination," and they are practising something classed with "devil's criticism," which has landed them in "monstrous heresies," and all this upon learning "borrowed" from German sources. Thus calmly and dispassionately the author combats all those who do not see with him that "ver-

bal inspiration" is "affirmed more than two thousand times" in the Bible, and who do not agree that "it is foolish to talk about a theory of inspiration," and who love the Bible too well to proclaim that "one real error" would destroy it absolutely. We are sorry for the author's infirmity of temper and critical short-sightedness, while we hope that soon he may meet some "higher critics" who are neither fools, knaves, nor liars.

The Bible Verified. By the Rev. *Andrew W. Archibald.* With an introductory note by Professor Ransom B. Welch, D.D., LL.D., of Auburn Theological Seminary. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 12mo, pp. 252.) Many will regard the title of this book as unhappy at least; the thesis could be much better expressed. The reception of the volume has been cordial and in the main well-deserved, for it is a creditable performance by one who does not lay claim to the title of specialist, but who has evidently read widely and intelligently. Worthy of commendation is the sentiment: "A geological error [in Scripture] if proved, need not unsettle our faith in the reliability of the Bible within the sphere of religion." This is in bold contrast to the suicidal teaching of some. We do not think that the author has well weighed his words when he makes the statement that "they [the inspired penmen] were so possessed and penetrated by the spiritual, that everything they wrote had weight," if he means thereby, as the context certainly implies, that all their words or writing were inspired. In this connection 1 Cor. vii. 25, 40 are suggestive.

Jeremiah: a character study. *Ezekiel:* a literary study of his prophecy, by *William G. Ballantine*, President of Oberlin College. (New York and Chicago: Revell, 1892, 16mo, pp. 32, 15 cents each.) Two neat little pamphlets which are adapted to call attention in a pleasant, though forcible manner to the subjects discussed.

The Early Days of My Episcopate, by the Right Rev. *William Ingraham Kip*, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of California. (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892, 12mo, pp. x., 263, $1.50.) Though the preface of this volume is dated within the past year, the text was composed over thirty years ago. The title indicates the contents in a general way; for besides being autobiographical the book possesses value as an outline of a portion of the early history of the Episcopal Church on the Pacific Coast. It contains also pen-pictures of the various phases of life witnessed by the author in the years 1855–60, at which latter date the manuscript was finished. It is not necessary to comment upon the narrative, for its interest is such that the mention of the title is enough to draw the attention of a wide circle of readers to the book.

The Church Psalter. One hundred and four Psalms arranged under subjects for responsive reading, by *Henry Van Dyke*, D.D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York. (New York: Charles E. Merrill & Co., 1891, 8vo, pp. xiv., 127.) It is scarcely possible to criticise this volume as a book, for in external form it is as nearly perfect as any book can well be. The type is large and clear, the paper excellent, and the impression as good as either. The responsive readings consist of entire verses instead of the frequent "mutilation or mosaic-work," which so often destroy both sense and beauty. The division under subjects is excellent, though it is not obtruded upon the eye unduly. "An Order of Common Worship" is prefixed, which is admirable. The entire book is worthy of the eminent good sense and good taste of the compiler.

The Symmetry of Life, an address to young men, by the Right Rev. *Phillips Brooks*, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts. (New York: Dutton & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 32, 25 cents.) A handsome little pamphlet containing a sermon on the text, Rev. xxi. 16. It is taken from the "Second Series" of sermons, and should be widely read. The symmetry presented is that of "length," self-development, and definiteness of aim; "breadth," sympathy, and help; "height," a Godward movement, and aspiration.

The Question of Silver, comprising a brief summary of legislation in the United States, together with a practical analysis of the present situation, and of the arguments of the advocates of unlimited silver coinage, by *Lewis R. Ehrich*, of Colorado. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892, 8vo, pp. 115, 75 cents.) While this book does not come under the head of religious literature, it does not belong entirely in the realm of politics or economics. There is in it a question of national as well as personal morality which every patriotic citizen ought to consider. It is on account of this moral element that it is considered incumbent upon the editor to do more than pass it by with mere mention. The author's style is plain, lucid, and pointed, and his conclusions are those which a strict morality indorses and inculcates.

BRIEF MENTION.

Preacher and Teacher, a sketch of the life of *Thomas Rambaut*, D.D., LL.D., by *Norman Fox*, D.D. (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1892, 12mo, pp. 107, $1.) A short but loving tribute to a man of great worth and energy in the causes of his denomination and of education.

Steps to Christ, by Mrs. *E. G. White.* (Chicago and New York: F. H. Revell Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 153, 75 cents.) Excellent; pious without being pietistical.

The Unseen Friend, by *Lucy Larcom.* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xi., 217, $1.) A delightful book, both externally and internally; full of tender expression and suggestive thought.

Jesus in the Vedas; or, the testimony of Hindu Scriptures in corroboration of the rudiments of Christian doctrine, by a native Indian missionary. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 61.) We confess our lack of sympathy with or appreciation of the thesis of this title, and an examination of the text has failed to restore either feeling.

One Hundred Theses on the Foundations of Human Knowledge, by *Merwin-Marie Snell.* (Washington, D. C.: published by the author, 1891, 8vo, pp. 42.) Philosophical fundamentals from the standpoint of a member of the Roman Church; bearing the *imprimatur* of Archbishop Gibbons.

"Substantialism." The philosophy of A. Wilford Hall examined, by *John A. Graves.* (Washington: Terry Bros., 1891, 8vo, pp. 75.)

School and Parish Hymnal. With tunes. Compiled and edited by the Rev. *J. F. Ohl.* (Philadelphia: G. W. Frederick, 1892, sq. 8vo, pp. 312.) Two hundred and eighty-eight hymns.

School and Parish Service Book, being the order

of matins and vespers of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. With music. Edited by the Rev. *J. F. Ohl.* (Philadelphia: G. W. Frederick, 1892, sq. 8vo, pp. 151.)

SYNOPSES OF LEADING ARTICLES FROM PERIODICALS.

The New World is the name of a new quarterly review of religion, ethics, and theology edited by Charles Carroll Everett, Crawford Howell Toy, Orello Cone, and Nicholas Paine Gilman, and published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. An introductory note by the editors indicates the scope and character of the review. All progressive and scientific thought in religion is welcome, irrespective of the particular denominational formula with which it may stand connected; the band of unity is its progressive and scientific character. Problems in philosophy, ethics, and politics will be discussed, though in their relation to religion rather than in their specifically metaphysical or ethical or political quality. One fourth of the two hundred pages will be occupied by reviews of current religious literature. Co-operation of foreign scholars has been secured. Of this very inviting plan the present first volume is a happy realization.

The opening article, by Lyman Abbott, "The Evolution of Christianity," is, it would seem from a foot-note on the first page, a kind of summary of a forthcoming volume on the same subject by the author, and that circumstance explains the structure of the article, which is just a trifle mechanical. The definitions of evolution and religion such as accepted by the author are placed over against each other, and the one is then applied to the other for the purpose of showing that the belief in the Christian religion as a Divine life is not inconsistent with the idea that it is an evolution. In the details of this application there are many striking points strikingly put. The dogma and the creed are not thrown to the wind, but their true character becomes visible in the light of evolution, for "the fundamental difficulty about all attempts to define truth in a creed is that truth is infinite and, therefore, transcends all definition. As soon as humanity understands the creed the creed ceases to be to humanity the whole truth, because there is truth yet beyond not confined within the creed." And "the fundamental difficulty in all attempts to reduce truth to dogma is that they are attempts to reveal truth without imparting life. But truth cannot be revealed except as life is imparted, for we can know only as we live." Nor are the claims of the Bible to be an inspired revelation from God in any way denied, but from a substitute for thought the Bible is made a spur to thinking. "It reveals truth not by making it so plain that men need not study, but by making it so fascinating that study they must."

In perfect harmony with this article by Lyman Abbott stands another by J. G. Schurman, "The Future of Liberal Religion in America." Perhaps the harmony is a little too intimate. There occur in the latter article, especially among the introductory remarks, now and then points which almost impress the reader as if they were repetitions from the former. As soon, however, as the author reaches his subject proper, the freshness and vivacity of his views are in full swing. After showing how religious life, as a process, passes from credulity to doubt, and from doubt to faith, and how religion, as a product, develops from cult to dogma, and from dogma to spirit, he characterizes the Roman Catholic Church as irrevocably committed to the religion of dogma, while Protestantism by its very principle is led on from that dogmatic apprehension of religion which it received from the Church of Rome to the religion of spirit. The general course of this development in America is indicated, and the author then concludes by noting some of the most prominent traits of this spiritual religion. It will maintain a social organization, for the Church is rooted in the nature of things, but it will not need the form of a unique or separate sect; on the contrary, it will make its home with any of the religious bodies which recognize it, and probably more and more become the condition and criterion of church-membership. It will not only be theistic, but Christian in the true sense of the word, but the function of the Bible and the Church will be merely educative, and the conception of authority in religion will be very much modified, if not altogether abandoned.

To these two articles corresponds a third one as their criticism, "The New Orthodoxy," by Edward H. Hall. It is not directed particularly against that form of modern theology which is represented by the two above articles and based on the idea of evolution, but against that theological movement *in toto* which strives to effect a reconciliation between the Christian dogmas and the results of modern science. Its standpoint is indicated by some lines found toward the close: "Meanwhile, let us welcome those half-way recognitions of the higher criticism as harbingers of the day when theology shall be placed frankly where it belongs, side by side with its sister sciences whose sole interest is the pursuit of truth," and its protests refer to the incompleteness or halfness which characterizes all the dealings of that movement. Higher criticism, it complains, is cordially recognized as the necessary method, but its results are accepted only with restrictions. Now, a Bible critic is good or bad according to the soundness of his scholarship and the honesty with which he uses it, not according to the results he reaches. Why, then, are the decisions of those critics with respect to the Old Testament frankly accepted, while their decisions with respect to the New Testament are flatly rejected or treated with the gravest distrust? Why are the creeds of modern times willingly set aside as something repulsive to modern consciousness, while the creeds of olden times, the œcumenical creeds, are zealously guarded as a thing inviolable? Why are the realities, as, for instance, inspiration, with all that it involves, given up, though the names are still retained? Nevertheless, the article is not altogether without an arrow pointed directly against the theology of the two above essays. "The doctrine of evolution," says Lyman Abbott, "makes no attempt whatever to explain the nature or origin of life. It is concerned not with the origin but with the phenomena of life. It sees the forces resident in the phenomena, but it throws light on the question how they came there." To this Edward H. Hall answers: "An evolution which confines itself to what happened after Jesus came into the world, and after the Christian religion was born, may be an edifying pulpit hypothesis, but it has no more to do with the scientific theory of evolution than with the Buddhist theory of Nirvana. However gingerly theologians may apply this doctrine for their own purposes, the intelligent believer in it will refuse to recognize it at all, if not in its full scope." It should be added, however, that though the article is written in a rather sarcastical style, it is of good spirit and well worth pondering.

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R.	Andover Review.
Bibl. Sacr.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. Q. R.	Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R.	Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q.	Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. P. R.	Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)
C. R.	Charities Review.
C. T.	Christian Thought.
Ex.	Expositor.
Ex T.	Expository Times.
G. W.	Good Words.
H. R.	Homiletic Review.
L. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H.	Missionary Herald.
Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
N. H. M.	Newbery House Magazine.
N. E. & Y. R.	New Englander and Yale Review.
N. W.	The New World.
O. D.	Our Day.
O. N. T. S.	Old and New Testament Student.
P. M.	Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch.	Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
S. A. H.	Sunday at Home.
S. M.	Sunday Magazine.
T. Th.	The Thinker.
T. Tr.	The Treasury.
Y. M.	The Young Man.

Abelard, The Temper of, Jesse B. Thomas, HR.
African in New England, The, R. F. Hurley, AfMER.
Afro-American Return to Africa, Will the? T. Thomas Fortune, AfMER.
Ahaz, The Sign Promised to, F. H. Woods, TTh.
Aiken, Charles Augustus, Benjamin B. Warfield, PRR.
Aleppo to Bagdad, Robert Francis Harper, ONTS.
Amsterdam, About, W. Outram Tristram, GW.
Anglo-Catholic Movement, The, J. A. Faulkner, RQR.
Amusements, Our Special Legislation on, G. P. Mains, MR.
Authority in Religion, The Fountains of, Frank R. Shipman, AR.
Bible, What Mistakes are there in the? J. J. Lias, TTh.
Bishop, A Thirteen Months', C. H. Mackridge, MissR.
Blind, The Education of the, Archdeacon Farrar, RCh.
Boston Monday Lectures, Joseph Cook, OD.
Brace, Charles Loring, Herbert B. Adams, CR.
Bushnell, Dr. Horace, Theodore L. Cuyler, TTr.
Calvin at Home, Philip Schaff, RQR.
Calvinism of Wesleyan Theology, Unconscious, William P. McCorkle, PQ.
Calvinistic System in the Light of Reason and the Scripture, The, Philip Schaff, AR.
Canonicity, Apostolicity the Ultimate Test of, W. M. McPheeters, PRR.
Cheyne, T. K., Reply to Mr. Gwilliam, Replies to Critics, TTh.
Cheyne's Bampton Lectures on the Psalter, Edward L. Curtis, ONTS.
Cheyniana, Crisis, G. H. Gwilliam, TTh.
Christ and His Rivals, J. D. Gold, CPR.
Christianity and Greek Philosophy, T. B. Kilpatrick, TTh.
Christ's Miracles in Relation to His Personality, E. V. Gerhart, RQR.
Christ Suffer in His Divine Nature, Did? Cornelius R. Lane, RQR.
Christ, The Historic and the Ideal, Charles Carroll Everett, NW.
Church and the World, The, J. E. Learned, MR.
Church, Government and Liturgy of the Early, J. D. Kirkpatrick, CPR.
Civil Rights, Our, Frank J. Webb, Jr., AfMER.
Clerical Authors, Theodore W. Hunt, HR.
Columbian Exposition, World's Congress Auxiliary of the, John Henry Barrows, OD.
Columbus, Christopher, Ethelbert D. Warfield, PRR.
Common, the Commonplace, and the Romantic, The, William Rounseville Alger, NW.
Criticism Scientific, Is the Higher? Francis Brown, HR.
Curriculum, Essentials of the, President B. P. Raymund, TTr.
Divorce, Wilful Desertion a Ground of, Samuel T. Lowrie, PRR
Dogmatic Thought in the Netherlands, Recent, Hermon Bavinck, PRR.
Driver on the Old Testament, Canon, T. A. Cooke, TTh.
Drummond's "Greatest Thing in the World," Mary Louisa Mossell, AfMER.
Eagle Nurture (Sermon), J. Westby Earnshaw, TTr.
Educational Work of the A. M. E. Church, The, William D. Johnson, AfMER.
Elliott, Robert Brown, Theophilus J. Minton, AfMER.
Emancipation Proclamation, The, Joshua A. Brockett, AfMER.
Episcopacy, Congregationalism *versus* Our, C. A. Crane, MR.
Episcopal Church to Modern Religious Life, The Contributions of the, Frederic Palmer, AR.
Every Precious Thing, Mark Guy Pearse, PM.
Evolution, Eternity of Matter and, T. G. Carpenter, CT.
Evolution of Buddhism, The Theistic, J. Estlin Carpenter, NW.
Evolution of Christianity, The, Lyman Abbott, NW.
Flood, The Negro and the, Bishop Tucker Tanner, AfMER.
Founding of the Christian Church, The, Clyde W. Votaw, ONTS
Fraser, Dr. Donald, Oswald Dykes, RCh.
God, The Ancient Name of, W. H. Lowe, TTh.
God's Purpose Concerning that "Certain Definite Number," E. P. Henderson, CPR.
God, The Fatherhood of, Alonzo Pearson, CPR.
Gore on the Incarnation, Mr., James Iverach, ExT.
Gospels, The, John H. Mitchell, CT.
Griffith, Alfred, J. A. McCauley, MR.
Haran in Very Early Times, Taylor Smith, ExT.
Hebrews, An Analysis of the Epistle to the, James E. Rodgers, CPR.
Hebrews, The Epistles to the, G. G. Findlay, PM.
He is Risen (Sermon), Gerard B. F. Hollock, TTr.
Hell, Bishop John P. Newman, MR.
Hindu Puritan Reform, F. L. Neeld MissR.
Homiletics, S. Oliver John Edwards, Arthur E. Gregory, A. Kingman Nott, W. Tyson, S. Pearson, J. M. Sherwood, Charles Bradley, PM.
Ideal Church, The Coming, A. A. Pfanstiehl, RQR.
Imago Dei, Robert Balgarnie, HR.
India, A Generation of Christian Progress in, James Johnston, MissR.
India Missionaries, The Quick Baptism of North, T. J. Scott, MissR.
India, Sunday-schools in, James L. Phillips, MissR.
India, The Great Pentecost in North, Henry Mansel, MissR.
Indika, Bishop Hurst's, H. A. Buttz, MR.
Inspirations of the Old Testament and the Higher Criticism, The, Principal Cave, W. T. Davison, F. R. Horton, RCh.
Inspiration and the Doctrine of Grace, Robert Watts, PQ.
Isaiah XL.-LXVI., Genuineness of, Henry Green, PRR.
Japan with America, Treaty Relations of, J. L. Atkinson, OD.
Japan, Signs of the Times in New, M. Ichihara, OD.
Jesus, The Perfection of, Charles H. Dickinson, AR.
Jewish Race, Characteristics of the, Thomas Pryde, ONTS.
Jury System, Studies in the Working of the, John Miller McKee, CPR.
Kindergartens for the Sightless, John Glenn, CR.
Kuenen, Abraham, Crawford Howell Toy, NW.
Liberal Religion in America, The Future of, J. G. Schurman, NW.
Living, The Cost of, Victor Rosewater, CR.
Logos, The Origin of the Doctrine of the, B. D. Hahn, BQR.
Lord, The Bloody Sweat of Our, W. W. Keen, BQR.
Martyn, Henry, John Rutherford, MissR.
Methodism, Statistics of, AfMER.
Mills of God, The, R. C. Cowell, PM.
Ministerial Blues, John Love, Jr., BQR.
Missionary in Palestine, An Uncanonical, J. K. Wilson, MissR.
Missions among the Heathens, Motives of, Henry E. Robins, MissR
Mission-Converts a Failure, Are? C. C. Starbuck, MissR.
Monism, BQR.
Moon, The, R. S. Ball, GW
Noah Porter, Ex-president, Gregory T. Bedell, CT.
Notes on Current Topics, William G. T. Shedd, PRR.
Old Testament, The Divine Library of the, A. B. Davidson, ExT.
Origin of Man, The Common, Edward M. Deems, CT.
Orthodoxy, The New, Edward H. Hall, NW.
Paradise Lost, Studies in, Mary A. Woods, ExT.
Pastor to Public Interests, The Relation of the, R. H. Stephens, CPR.
Paul's Epistles, Some Difficult Passages in St., Prof. Agar Beet, ExT.
Penny Provident Fund, The, M. M. McBryde, CR.
Philosophy of Thomas Hill Green, Theological Aspects of, Charles B. Upton, NW.
Placing Pastors be Improved, Can our Present Method of? A. E. Truxal, RQR.
Plagiarism, Royal Seizure, or the Ethics of, J. M. Driver, MR.
Prayer, Scientific Study of, G. D. Armstrong, PQ.
Preaching, Present-Day, Donald Fraser. PM
Prentiss, Rev. George Foster, W. E. Norton, TTr.
Presbytery and its Functions, The, I. G. Patton, W. T. Ferguson. CPR.
Progress of the Churches, The, Archdeacon Farrar, Dr. Mackenal, Dr. Clifford, Mr. Bunting, RCh.

Punishment of Criminals, Possible Progression in the, William W. McLane, AR.
Rank, On and Off the, A. R. Buckland, GW.
Reform, The Plain Path of, Washington Gladden, CR.
Relief in Work, Some Uses of, George B. Buzelle, CR.
Revision Committee, The Final Report of the, Benjamin B. Warfield, PRR.
Sanctuary, The Praise of the, William M. Taylor, HR.
Science and Faith, A. J. Du Bois, CT.
Sermon of the Eighth Century B.C., A. F. W. C. Meyer, ONTS.
Shakespeare and the Bible, I., George L. Goodspeed, ONTS.
Simon Bar-Jona, Mrs. T. C. Porter, RQR.
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Sowing and Reaping, S. R. Chadick, CPR.
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Success, The Lacking Quality of, Joseph Parker, TTr.
Testaments, Between the, Thomas R. Slicer, NW.
Theological Seminaries, The Study of Social Science in, W. F. Blackman, CT.
Theological Education, Methods of, T. D. Witherspoon, PQ.
Theological School a Practical Institution, The, David D. Demarest, CPR.
Trinity, The, B. F. Birckhead, CPR.
Trustee, Deacon *versus*, John Fox, PRR.
United Presbyterians of Scotland and the Service Book, The, William Frederick Faber, RQR.
Visible Church, The Origin of the, Samuel J. Baird, PQ.
Watchman, What of the Night? J. C. Provine, CPR.
White Robes (Sermon), George Foster Prentiss, TTr.
Wickliff, John, Ethelbert D. Warfield, PQ.
Woman's Exalted Station, James H. A. Johnson, AfMER.
Women of Mark, Some Afro-American, S. Elizabeth Frazier, AfMER.
Word, The Engrafted, J. Willcock, B. C. Coffin, TTh.

CONTENTS OF THE APRIL MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for May opens with the first chapters of a characteristic New England novel, "Jane Field," by Mary E. Wilkins. The frontispiece and other illustrations of the story are from drawings by W. T. Smedley. An important literary feature of the number is an article by Anne Thackeray Ritchie on "Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning," relating many interesting personal reminiscences of the two eminent poets. Portraits are given of Mr. and Mrs. Browning and of their friend Mr. Milsand, also a view of the tomb of Mrs. Browning in Florence. Lieutenant-Colonel Exner, an officer in the German service, contributes a timely article on "The German Army of To-Day," which is effectively illustrated by T. de Thulstrup. Julian Ralph, continuing his valuable series of papers on the great Northwest, gives a strikingly interesting description of "The Dakotas," their peculiarities of situation, soil, and climate, their inhabitants and resources, and their outlook for the future. The fourth of the deservedly popular series of Danube papers, "From the Black Forest to the Black Sea," is written by F. D. Millet, and beautifully illustrated by Alfred Parsons and Mr. Millet. Anna C. Brackett writes a trenchant and valuable article on "The Private School for Girls;" and Eugene Lawrence contributes a short historical paper on "Amerigo Vespucci." The fiction of the number embraces, besides Miss Wilkins's story, the third instalment of Mr. Howells's novel, "The World of Chance;" a humorous story, entitled "The Courtship of Jessekiah Brown," by Ruth McEnery Stuart, with an illustration by A. B. Frost; and another French-Canadian dialect story, "Malouin," by William McLennan, illustrated by C. S. Reinhart. There are poems by William Sharp, W. D. Howells, Charles G. D. Roberts, John B. Tabb, and W. P. Preble, Jr. The Editor's Easy Chair and Editor's Study are conducted as usual by George William Curtis and Charles Dudley Warner; and the Editor's Drawer is opened with an introductory story, "Little Mordica at the Bar," by Thomas Nelson Page.

THE contents of the CENTURY MAGAZINE for May are as follows: Portrait of Christopher Columbus, engraved by T. Johnson, frontispiece; "On a Portrait of Columbus," George E. Woodberry; "Thomas Couture," George P. A. Healy; "Because it is the Spring," Louise Chandler Moulton; "Coast and Inland Yachting," Frederick W. Pangborn; "A Gray Jacket," Thomas Nelson Page; "It so Chanced," Edith M. Thomas; "Love's Horizon," Maurice Thompson; "Characteristics," VI., S. Weir Mitchell, M.D.; "Ol' Pap's Flaxen" (conclusion), Hamlin Garland; "Luini" (Italian Old Masters), W. J. Stillman, note and engraving by T. Cole; "Homesteads of the Blue-Grass," James Lane Allen; "An After-Dinner Nap," painted by J. H. Dolph; "Captain, my Captain!" Wolcott Balestier; "Books and Seasons," Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "Architecture at the World's Columbian Exposition," Henry Van Brunt; "Hast Thou Heard the Nightingale?" Richard Watson Gilder; "The Flagellants," painted by Carl Marr; "Carl Marr, J. H. Dolph and Herbert Adams," W. Lewis Fraser; "Altar and Idol," Julian Hawthorne; "Poems" Herman Melville, with an introduction by Arthur Stedman; "The Chosen Valley," I. Mary Hallock Foote; "Three Sonnets," William Prescott Foster; "Portrait Bust," modelled by Herbert Adams; "Christopher Columbus, I.: The Age in which he Lived," Emilio Castelar; "A Sea Ghost," Frank Dempster Sherman; "The Naulahka: A Story of West and East," Rudyard Kipling and Wolcott Balestier; "The Nature and Elements of Poetry, III.: Creation and Self-Expression," Edmund Clarence Stedman.

THE contents of SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for May are: "Unter den Linden," frontispiece, drawn by F. Stahl, engraved by H. W. Peckwell; "The Children of the Poor," by Jacob A. Riis (the second article in the series on "The Poor in Great Cities"), drawings by V. Pérard and Irving R. Wiles, engraving by Pettit, Kruell, Del'Orme, Andrew and Chadwick: "The Reflections of a Married Man" (chapters vii.-viii.), by Robert Grant, to be concluded in the June number; "Rapid Transit in Cities: I., The Problem," by Thomas Curtis Clarke; (a second article, on the Solution of the Problem, in the June number), drawings by Childe Hassam, engraving by Witte; "Mirrored Music," by Charles Henry Lüders; "Unter den Linden," by Paul Lindau; (the fifth article in the series on "The Great Streets of the World"), drawings by F. Stahl, engraving by C. I. Butler, E. Clément, E. H. Del'Orme, and Schussler; "The Wrecker" (chapter xxii.), by Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne (begun in August, 1891—to be continued), with a full-page illustration by W. L. Metcalf; "Sea and Land," by N. S. Shaler, drawings by Harry Fenn and V. Pérard, engraving by Witte, C. I. Butler, Van Ness and George Del'Orme; "In Egypt," by Benjamin Paul Blood; "Paris Theatres and Concerts: IV., Theatre-Going Habits, the Café Chantant, Symphony Concerts and Criticism," by William F. Apthorp (concluding paper), drawing by J. Reich, engraving by Kruell; "France Adorée," by Ida M. Tarbell; "Historic Moments: The First News Message by Telegraph," by John W. Kirk.

MR. SCUDDER should be congratulated on his success in obtaining for THE ATLANTIC the brilliant correspondence of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Thoreau, which occupies the first place in the issue for the month of May. The letters are edited by Mr. F. B. Sanborn, of Concord, and they give characteristic glimpses of the life, physical, mental, and spiritual, of the two friends during "the 'Dial' period," as the editor calls it—in other words, 1843. A fit companion-piece to these letters is the Roman Journals of Severn, the friend of Keats, which give quite a thrilling picture of the events preceding the fall of Papal Rome. These papers are edited by William Sharp. Apropos of Rome, Harriet Waters Preston and Louise Dodge contribute the first of a series of articles on "Private Life in Ancient Rome," and Mr. Crawford continues his Italian serial, "Don Orsino." The short story of the number, with the odd title "A Cathedral Courtship," is furnished by Kate Douglas Wiggin. Two unsigned articles will attract attention for their cleverness, the first being "A Plea for Seriousness," the second "The Slaying of the Gerrymander," a keen thrust at this political monster. Two papers remain, which are more than usually valuable: Professor J. J. Greenough's article, "The Present Requirements for Admission to Harvard College," and David Dodge's semi-historical view of "Home Scenes at the Fall of the Confederacy." A few other papers, some poetry, and reviews, including of course the inevitable criticism of Mrs. Ward's "David Grieve," and Hardy's "Tess of the D'Ubervilles," complete a strong number of this standard magazine. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

THE contents of LIPPINCOTT'S for May are: "The Golden Fleece," Julian Hawthorne; "The Travelling Correspondent" (Journalist Series), W. J. C. Meighan; "My Persian Prayer-Rug" (a poem), Anne Reeve Aldrich; "An Intercepted Heiress" (illustrated), Frederic M. Bird; "Dovetail" (a poem), M. F. W.; "Personal Economics in Our Colleges," Floyd B. Wilson; "Wakening" (a poem), Charles Washington Coleman; "Bicycling" (Athletic Series), Thomas Stevens; "The Friends," Emma B. Kaufman; "In Extremis" (a poem) Louise Chandler Moulton; "Walt Whitman," William S. Walsh; "Walt Whitman," William H. Garrison; "Reflections," Alice Wellington Rollins; "The Violin for Ladies," J. Y. Taylor; "Sunflowers" (a poem), William H. Hayne; "James Mathew Barrie," Louise Chandler Moulton; "After-Dinner Botany," Philemon Hemsley; "As It Seems;" "With the Wits" (illustrated by leading artists).

CONTENTS of the COSMOPOLITAN for May: Frontispiece—James Russell Lowell; "The Nobler Lover," poem, illustrated, James Russell Lowell; "Sevillian Vignettes," illustrated, Marion Wilcox; "An Only Son," illustrated, Gertrude Smith; "Two Visits to the Lapps," illustrated, Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen: "When Through Feast-Litten Halls," poem, illustrated, John Hay; "King Henri Christophe," I., illustrated, Luther G. Billings; "In the Spring Fields," poem, William W. Campbell; "At the Brewery," illustrated, Hamlin Garland; "Wolcott Balestier," illustrated, Henry James; "School, College and Library," Thomas Wentworth Higginson; "Hope," poem, Edgar Fawcett; "Mechanical Flight," S. P. Langley, Secretary Smithsonian Institute; "Art," poem, Lilla Cabot Perry; "The Passing of Sister Barsett," illustrated, Sarah Orne Jewett; "The Merit System in Government Appointments," Theodore Roosevelt; "Simian Speech and Simian Thought," illustrated, Richard L. Garner; "Politics of the Russian Famine," Murat Halstead; "Falstaff's Song," poem, music by Dudley Buck, Edmund Clarence Stedman; "Certain American Essayists," Brander Matthews; "Asaph," illustrated, Frank R. Stockton; "Where Shall Polly go to School?" Edward Everett Hale; "Evening Dress," a farce, illustrated, W. D. Howells.

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S. ELIZABETH FRAZIER.
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The Contribution of the Episcopal Church to Modern Religious Life.
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Possible Progression in the Punishment of Criminals.
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JOHN GLENN.
The Cost of Living.
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Runciman, J. The Ethics of Drink, and other Social Questions ; or, joints in our social armor. London : Hodder, 1892. Pp. 340, p. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Ryle, Herbert Edward, D.D. The Canon of the Old Testament. An essay on the gradual growth and formation of the Hebrew canon of Scripture. London and New York : Macmillan, 1892. Pp. xx., 304, 12mo, 6s.; $1.75.

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Schwarzlose, Dr. Die Geschichte der römischen Christengemeinde im 1. Jahrhunderte. Oeffentlicher Vortrag. Erfurt : Villaret, 1892. Pp. 36, 8vo, 60 pf.

Scipio, K. Fanatismus, das Zerrbild der Religion. In geschichtliche Ueberblicke. Nach einem Vortrage. Bremen : Nössler, 1892. Pp. 39, 8vo, 50 pf.

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Smith, I. G. Christian Monasticism from the Fourth to the Ninth Centuries of the Christian Era. London: Innes, 1892. Pp. 354, p. 8vo, 14s.

Spencer, R. To Young Men Going Out into Life. London: Heywood, 1892. Pp. 220, 12mo, 1s.

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Villecrose, Julien. Le Christ et sa réforme sociale. Paris: Saviue, 1892. Pp. 318, 18mo.

Vincent, Elizabeth C. The Bible Story of Mary, the Mother of Jesus. New York: Whittaker, 1892. Pp. 29, 12mo, paper, 25 cts.

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Werner, J. Die ältesten Hymnensammlungen von Rheinau. Zürich, 1891. Pp. 143, 4to, 3.20 mk.

What then did Dr. Newman do? Being an inquiry into his share in the Church Revival, and a brief statement of the leading features of his religious teaching. Oxford: Blackwell, 1892. Pp. 30, 8vo, 1s.

White, Ely, Mrs. Steps to Christ. New York: Revell, 1892. Pp. 153, 12mo, 75 cts.

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Williams, Isaac, B.D., The Autobiography of. Edited by his brother-in-law, the Ven. Sir George Prevost. As throwing further light on the history of the Oxford movement. London and New York: Longmans, 1892. Pp. vi., 186, 12mo, $1.50.

Williamson, A. Aspects of Faith and Religion in the Seventeenth Century. London: Gardner, 1892. Pp. 156, 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Winckler, Hugo. Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. (Völker und Staaten des alten Orients, I.) Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1892. Pp. xii., 354, 8vo, 10 mk.

Winternitz, M., Dr. Das altindische Hochzeitsritual nach dem Apastambiya-Grihyasutra und einigen anderen verwandten Werken. Mit Vergleichung der Hochzeitsgebräuche bei den übrigen indogermanischen Völkern. Wien: Tempsky, 1892. Pp. 114, 4to, 6 mk.

Wirth, Albrecht. Dauae in christlichen Legenden. Prag: Tempsky, 1892. 1 p. vi, 160, 8vo, 5 mk.

Wolff, Th. Die Bauernkreuzzüge des Jahres 1096. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs. Tübingen: Fues, 1892. Pp. iv., 194, 8vo, 3 mk.

Wolkan, R. Das deutsche Kirchenlied der böhmischen Brüder im XVI Jahrhunderte. Prag: Haase, 1892. Pp. v., 178, 12mo, 3 mk.

Wood, Henry. God's Image in Man. Some intuitive perceptions of the truth. Boston: Lee, 1892. Pp. 258, 12mo, $1.00.

Woods, R. A. English Social Movements. London: Sonnenschein, 1892. Pp. 280, p., 8vo, 4s. 6d. [Lectures delivered in America on the Labor Movement, Socialism, Social Work of the Church, Charity, Education, etc.]

Ziegler, T. Social Ethics: outlines of a doctrine of morals, translated from the German. London: Williams, 1892. Pp. 148, p. 8vo, 3s.

CHRONICLE.

(*Closes on the 20th of each month.*)

Mar. 15–16. First Meeting of the City Evangelization Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, at Pittsburgh. Organization was effected under the name, "The City Evangelization Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

Mar. 22–*Apr.* 12. Delivery of the Morse Lectures on the Relations of the Bible to the Sciences, in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, by the Rev. Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., of Mansfield College, Oxford. The subject was, "The Place of Christ in Modern Theology."

Mar. 27. Consecration of the Rev. Sebastian Gebhardt, D.D. (Roman Catholic), Bishop of Green Bay, Wis.

Mar. 28. Second Annual Meeting of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity, in New York.

Missionary rally at the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, Brooklyn. The Speakers were Dr. Wm. M. Taylor, of New York, the Revs. C. C. Tracy and W. N. Chambers, of Turkey, E. S. Hume, of Turkey, Dr. A. H. Bradford, of Montclair, N. J., Miss Leitch, of Ceylon, Dr. Bridgman, just starting for Natal, and Dr. R. S. Storrs.

Apr. 4–6 and 11–13. Graves Lectures on Missions before the Reformed Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, by the Rev. A. J. Gordon, on "The Holy Spirit in Missions."

Apr. 6–11. Sixty-Second Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons), at Salt Lake City.

Apr. 12–14. Annual Meeting of the Woman's Baptist Foreign Mission Society of the West, at Racine, Wis.

Apr. 13–14. Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, in New York City.

Apr. 14. Reception tendered by the Presbyterian Union of New York City to the Western Section of the Alliance of Reformed Churches, at the Metropolitan Opera House.

Apr. 18. Annual Meeting of the Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, in Boston.

Annual Meeting of the Congregational Sunday-School and Publication Society at Pilgrim Hall, Boston.

Apr. 20–21. Annual Meeting of the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, in Boston, at the Warren Avenue Church.

The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Methodist Episcopal Church desires the recognition of the General Conference, and wishes to be a department of the Church, with a Bishop devoted especially to its supervision and interests. The Philadelphia Conference has passed resolutions recommending this step.

The Russo-Greek Church in America has a new bishop in the person of Nicholas, the former bishop of Tiflis, who has just arrived.

The Rt. Rev. Herbert Vaughan (Roman Catholic), Bishop of Salford, has been appointed Archbishop of Westminster, in place of the late Cardinal Manning. He, however, wishes to remain in his present see.

The Rev. T. J. Welland, D.D. (Church of Ireland), has been elected Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore. At present he is incumbent of St. Thomas', Belfast, where he has been since 1870.

There is some expectation that the Rev. Dr. William M. Taylor, of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, will be invited to take the Principalship of the United Presbyterian College in Edinburgh, vacated by Dr. Cairns just before his death.

Rochester Theological Seminary sustains a loss in the removal of the Rev. William Cleaner Wilkinson, Professor of Homiletics, to the Chair of Rhetoric in the University of Chicago.

The Rev. Thomas Smith has resigned the Chair of Evangelistic Theology in the College of the Free Church of Scotland.

Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court has handed down a decision to the effect that clergymen do not come under the provisions of the Alien Contract Labor law.

OBITUARY.

Allon, Rev. Henry (Congregationalist), D.D., (Yale College, 1871, St. Andrews, Edinburgh, 1885), in London, April 16, aged 74. Since 1844 he has been minister at Union Chapel, Islington, and since 1852 sole pastor; became editor of the *British Quarterly Review*, 1865; compiled the "Congregational Psalmist," the hymn book of his denomination in England; edited "Thomas Binney's Sermons," and wrote a 'Life of the Rev. James Sherman," which passed through three editions in one year. He was the leader of his denomination.

Benton, Rev. J. A. (Congregationalist), D.D. (Yale College, 1870), in Oakland, Cal., aged 73. He was graduated from Yale Theological Seminary, 1846; went to California in 1849, and was pastor of Congregational churches in Sacramento, 1849–63, and in San Francisco, 1863–69; became editor of *The Pacific*, 1867; Professor in the Pacific Theological Seminary, 1869. He was the author of "The California Pilgrim."

Bruce, Rev. John Collinwood (Church of England), in England, April 5, aged 87. He was well known as an antiquarian and historian, having produced "A Handbook of English History," "History of the Roman Wall," "Bayeux Tapestry Illustrated," "Wallet Book of the Roman Wall," and other works.

Cairns, Rev. John (United Presbyterian), D.D. (Edinburgh, 1858), LL.D. (Edinburgh, 1884), at Edinburgh, March 14, aged 73. He studied at Edinburgh and Berlin; became pastor at Berwick-on-Tweed, 1845; professor of apologetics in United Presbyterian Hall, Edinburgh, 1867; also of systematic theology, 1876; in 1879 became principal. He has written "Life of John Brown," "Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century," and has contributed to "Present Day Tracts," besides numerous articles for encyclopædias, etc., and sermons.

Farley, Frederick A. (Unitarian), D.D., at Brooklyn, March 23, aged 92. He was the oldest surviving graduate of Harvard College, having graduated in 1818. He was ordained 1828: pastor at Providence, R. I., 1828–41; pastor of the First Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, 1841–63, pastor emeritus since that time. He has published "Unitarianism in the United States" and "Unitarianism Defined," and other works of less note.

Sproull, Rev. Thomas (Reformed Presbyterian), D.D. (Westminster College, Pa., 1857), LL.D. (Western University of Pa.), in Pittsburg, Pa., March 21, aged 79. He was graduated at the Western University of Pa., 1839; pastor at Allegheny and Pittsburg, 1834–68; professor in Reformed Presbyterian Western Theological Seminary, 1838–40; in Eastern and Western Seminaries united, 1840–45; also since 1856, retiring as professor emeritus 1875. He was Moderator of the General Synod in 1847, and edited *The Reformed Presbyterian*, 1855–62 and *The Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter*, 1862–74. He was also author of "Prelections on Theology," also of sermons collected.

CALENDAR.

May 1. Beginning of the sessions of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Omaha, Neb. Among the questions likely to come up are the abolition of the presiding elderships and the admission of women as delegates.

May 6. Thirty-seventh session of the Southern Convention of Baptists at Atlanta, Ga.

May 9–14. Annual meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

May 18. Annual meeting of the United Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions at Allegheny, Pa.

May 19–31. Presbyterian General Assembly meets at Portland, Ore. General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church South meets at Hot Springs, Ark.

May 20–28. National Anniversaries of the Baptist Churches in Philadelphia at the First Baptist Church and the Grace Baptist Church. Some of the principal events are as follows: 24–26. Annual meeting of the American Baptist Missionary Union in connection with a special commemoration of the Centennial of Modern Missions; 27–28. Annual meeting of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society.

May 25. Beginning of the sessions of the United Presbyterian General Assembly at Allegheny, Pa.

May 28. Annual Convention of the Scotch Universalist Churches, Glasgow.

June 7–9. Meeting of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, at Saratoga, N. Y.

June 7–18. Meeting of the English Primitive Methodist Conference at Norwich.

June 8–15. Meeting of the International Congregational Missionary Union at Clifton Springs.

June 23–30. Nineteenth Annual Conference of Society of Charities and Corrections at Denver, Col. Alexander Johnson, Esq., of Indianapolis, is secretary, and will give any desired information.

June 29–*July* 28. Reunion conference at Grindelwald, Switzerland, with the view of finding a means of evangelical interdenominational comity and united aggressive Christian work. Only evening meetings will be held, except on July 12, when there will be three sessions. Among those announced to take part are the Bishop of Ripon, Canon Body, Professor Stokes, Revs. Hay Aitken, Hugh Price Hughes, Dr. Clifford, Dr. Mackennal (who is to read a paper on "The Meaning of the Reformation from a Congregational Point of View"), Mr. R. F. Horton (who will treat of "Inspiration"), Mr. W. T. Stead and Mr. Percy Bunting.

THE

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THE PROBLEM OF LUTHERAN UNION.

BY PROFESSOR H. E. JACOBS, D.D., LL.D., THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I.

THE rapid growth of the Lutheran Church in America has naturally excited some interest in its history, present condition, and future outlook, even among those beyond its own limits. A striking proof of this is given by a pamphlet of fifty-one closely printed pages (Bulletin 152) of statistics published by the Census Bureau. Another proof is found in the fact that this magazine not only opened its pages in the April number to a long article concerning "The Grounds of Lutheran Dissension in this Country," but has also requested that the same subject be treated from a different standpoint from that of the author of that article.

From 1880–90 the ratio of increase in Lutheran communicants was 65 per cent, or over 20 per cent in excess of the denomination ranking next in growth. Every fourteen or fifteen years the Lutheran Church, with considerable regularity, has been doubling itself. It has been very common to regard it a purely foreign Church which could hold its people only as long as they continued to worship in the language of their fathers. Some of her own sons have thought that it was possible to secure a permanent abode for this communion only by surrendering some of the distinctive features of the Lutheran Church as historically known. The student familiar with the Lutheran Church in Europe was apt to be confused when he came to examine its American descendant, as modified and colored by surrounding influences. In the nature of the case, it could not attain any wide and enduring influence, or even command respect as long as it was content to be ashamed of its own individuality and a servile imitator of others. What might have been the result if the plant introduced in colonial days had been left by itself we cannot divine. But the connection with the mother churches was not so readily broken. Wave after wave of emigration brought more and more humble but devout German and Scandinavian Lutherans to these shores. They came well drilled in the Bible and Luther's Catechism, able to give an answer to those who asked a reason for their faith, and to discriminate between those who were faithful and who were unfaithful to the Lutheran Confession. With little ostentation they assembled in congregations, at first bringing their own pastors or importing them from Europe, and at length gradually providing for the perpetuation of a ministry from their own midst. They founded colleges and flourishing theological schools. Homes for the orphans and aged, hospitals and deaconess's institutions sprang up. They grew from distinct centres, isolated not only from other churches, but, in great measure, from one another until, as they began to change their languages and nationalities, the proportions of this communion, whose unity rests entirely in oneness of faith, became apparent. When the many sources whence the Lutheran Church in America has originated are kept in mind, the fact that her synods have gathered about only three or four centres, instead of many more, is a proof of the firmness of that bond of unity which holds together all her true members. When the various Lutheran countries in Europe that have furnished contributions to this large communion are recalled, and the fact receives its due weight, that, from the beginning of the Reformation, every small state or free city had its own Church Constitution, and in a number of cases its own peculiar Confession, the lack of as thorough and complete organization as characterizes the Presbyterian and Episcopal bodies should not be

the ground either of discouragement or reproach. Besides, Lutheranism from the very outstart laid emphasis upon the principle that oneness of church organization was altogether a secondary consideration. As the necessary consequence of her fundamental doctrine of justification by faith alone, she identifies the Church, in the true sense of the term, with "the communion of saints" or "congregation of believers," which extends above and beyond and beneath all the limitations of any external society. An external organization is to be esteemed and used only in so far as it promotes greater efficiency in the advancement of this communion of saints. Any thoroughly organized ecclesiastical government, with gradations of offices, culminating in one grand central Head, the Lutheran Reformation taught was to be recognized and obeyed only in so far as it promoted pureness of teaching, and was unhesitatingly to be abandoned whenever found inexpedient for such purpose. Diversity of organization was not regarded as interfering with the unity of the Church, which was "the fellowship of the Holy Spirit in hearts,"* and, so far as possible, was made visible, not by like ceremonies, traditions, rules, and regulations, but by "agreement concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments."† In Dakota and Manitoba there exists one of our most recently formed synods, that stands thus far in entire independence of other Lutheran bodies. It is composed of over seven thousand Icelanders. For the present they have a peculiar work to perform; and for them it would be inexpedient, without a thorough knowledge of the historical relations of the several general bodies, to unite with any of them. But this in nowise breaks or interferes with unity of the faith, or makes their isolation a silent protest against their brethren. Ministers in the United Synod of the South, in the Joint Synod of Ohio, in the Norwegian Conference, and in the General Council having the same faith and uniting in the same Confession are not arrayed against each other because the time and occasion have not yet arrived when, for expediency's sake, a closer bond of outward union may be practicable. The General Synod is almost entirely English in language, the Synodical Conference almost entirely German, while the General Council almost equally includes German, English, and Swedish-speaking elements. In the nature of the case, a diversity of such nature may render the existence of distinct lines of development, adapted to the varied experiences and necessities, desirable long after a diversity in the faith has disappeared. The Synodical Conference, with many thousands outside of it, represents Lutheran emigrants almost entirely of the last fifty years. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Pittsburgh and English Ohio Synods of the General Council, together with the General Synod and the United Synod of the South, represent in large measure the descendants of those who emigrated during the last century. Those who have only recently entered this field cannot be expected to be immediately intelligent and efficient co-laborers with those who have been toiling within it for many generations; nor would it imply any want of charity or any denial of fraternal regard if the one should insist that sufficient time must be given for the other to learn the lessons for which such a heavy price has been paid before there can be a complete transfer to an equal share in all privileges and responsibilities. Unity in the faith, and complete unity, even in the confession of the faith, do not inevitably tend to an immediate union "in one grand body."

Nor should it be forgotten that, in this respect, the Lutheran Church in America has only followed in the footsteps of the Apostolic Church. The New Testament records may be searched in vain for any trace of any "one grand body" in which the scattered congregations were united, except the spiritual body of Christ, consisting of all believers, without relation to external connections (1 Cor. xii. 12). The community of interests was maintained by the possession of "like precious faith," and the indwelling and effectual working of the same Holy Spirit. Peculiar emergencies called forth combined efforts and united counsels to meet common dangers and provide for common wants. There was an interchange of fraternal offices as their members moved from place to place, or as local necessities could be relieved from a distance. The origination of the constitution of the Church as a confederacy of local congregations belonged to post-apostolic times—*i.e.*, the form of government was an accident, determined by peculiar relations, and not barring from the communion of the Church congregations that, under dissimilar circumstances, were not included in the same organization.

II.

While union in one general organization is, therefore, a matter of secondary importance, there can be no question as to the

* *Apology of Augsburg Confession*, chap. iv., § 5.
† *Augsburg Confession*, art. vii.

great desirability that all Lutherans in America should come to a common understanding, and co-operate, so far as possible, in all forms of church work. If the great cause which all represent can be served better by several independent bodies than by a single body, in which misunderstandings would constantly arise that would hamper the Church in aggressive work, every occasion should be taken to prevent any clashing of interests between these several bodies. Men may learn to know and esteem each other, and render to each other important offices without necessarily belonging to the same ecclesiastical body. Such understanding is certainly not promoted by any other means than by the most open and candid examination of the real points of difference and the endeavor to judge them in all fairness and charity. At the basis of every church organization there lies a confession of faith. The confession is a contract or article of agreement between the parties comprehended in the union, defining their understanding of the faith of God's Word on certain points that have been involved in controversy. It is a solemn pledge and guarantee of the terms upon which they have united, and of the conditions upon whose mutual fulfilment in all fidelity the contract is binding. Like all other contracts, the terms employed must be unambiguous, or the design of the contract is frustrated. Parties cannot agree to allow the same contract to be interpreted in several senses without invalidating the contract. Where differences may occur in understanding and interpreting the contract there must be some provision admitted for a restatement and definition of its true meaning. To accept the Augsburg Confession alone as the only possible mode of correctly formulating the faith of the Lutheran Church in a confessional statement, to hold that such Confession may be interpreted at pleasure in different senses to suit the faith or fancy of the person who subscribes it, and to attack every effort made to define its faith so as to avoid misunderstandings among those who, while differing in faith, alike profess to hold to it, is to elevate the form of the Confession above its contents. It is union—not upon the Augsburg Confession, but upon the *doctrines* of the Augsburg Confession—that determines the Lutheran character of any church. If it could so happen that the faith of the Augsburg Confession could be received without the Confession having been ever seen or subscribed, this would be enough to determine the Lutheranism of a man or church. The Augsburg Confession, in its historical sense, is simply a true witness to the Lutheran faith, and that is all. It does not make the Lutheran faith; that faith has made the Confession. Because it is such a true witness with respect to the questions involved in controversy when the Reformation opened, it has become the fundamental and universal confession of the Lutheran faith. But it is not the only faithful witness to the Lutheran faith. This faith can just as readily, when the circumstances call for it, express itself in other words. There is no stagnation in the Christian life. Faith cannot be forced into iron-clad moulds so rigid as to prevent its continued expansion. Changed circumstances constantly require the restatement of old and approved dogmas. The substance of the faith does not change, but its form must constantly find new adaptations. New issues arise, starting questions which cannot be answered simply by a quotation from an excellent venerable formulary. The Church of every generation and every land has to answer with all clearness and explicitness the ever-shifting attacks of unbelief if it aim to be a true witness to God's Word. If need be, it will rejoice in reproducing the testimony of the old witnesses; but if the circumstances be such that another expression of the old faith be needed for a new emergency, the Church can find in Holy Scripture abundant material that has not been embodied in a doctrinal formulary. Let it never be forgotten that in Europe the Lutheran Church was a State Church, and that subscription to the Augsburg Confession was enforced by the civil authorities, even the Reformed, according to the provisions of the Peace of Augsburg of 1555,* confirmed by the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, enjoying freedom of worship solely upon the ground of their relation to the Augsburg Confession. When political emergencies rendered it expedient, the Augsburg Confession was freely signed by Reformed theologians and princes.† The motives were strong to justify any subscription whatever that could be given with the most liberal interpretation of its meaning. The Confession thus lost its place as a badge of the distinctive doctrines, which it had been supposed to be, unless it were supplemented by other documents, declaring its true meaning, as contrasted with

* After guaranteeing a free choice between the Roman Catholic religion and the Augsburg Confession, the treaty continues: "All others, not belonging to the two religions above mentioned, are not included in this Peace, but entirely excluded therefrom." See the long extract of the treaty in foot-note, Gieseler's *Church History*, English translation, iv., 207 sq.

† Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, i., 235, 236.

such ambiguities. New controversies also arose that demanded settlement. The Augsburg Confession is the answer of the Lutheran Church concerning two classes of errors: first, those which had become prevalent in the mediæval Church, and which Rome was defending; and, secondly, those of the Anabaptists, Zwinglians, and others, which the Lutheran Church was falsely charged by the Roman doctors as maintaining. It makes no effort to set forth a system of doctrine. It enters into no discussion of questions that were not involved, either directly or indirectly, in the controversy with Rome. Most important topics were passed over, because upon them all the three Church parties that were represented at Augsburg were in entire agreement. If it had not been for Dr. John Eck's malignant "Four Hundred and Four Theses," which Melanchthon found in circulation at Augsburg, it is very doubtful whether the doctrinal articles would have ever been formulated. The same faith which could draw replies from Holy Scripture to errors which it was then deemed best to meet, was just as able, when subsequently other errors arose among those who professed the Augsburg Confession, to again give forth its testimony. Why should the Lutheran Church of a later generation be forbidden to make a declaration concerning the subject of "Inspiration," or to demand a guarantee on that question from her professors of theology simply upon the plea that it had never been considered at Augsburg? Or why, when Agricola's Antinomian heresy—that the law was not to be preached to the regenerate—was revived, and taught by some who professed to be faithful Lutherans and subscribers to the Augsburg Confession, should the Lutheran Church have been hampered in declaring, before God and man, that such is not her doctrine, and in requiring every public teacher who asked for her endorsement to give the assurance that such should not be his teaching? Why, if a prominent champion of the Reformation in its earliest period, like Andrew Osiander, persisted, after repeated protests, in teaching a doctrine of justification which either practically led very far Romeward, or virtually denied the efficacy of the sufferings and death of Christ, was the Lutheran Church to be silent because of his close relations to the Augsburg Confession? Who can doubt if, at the time of its composition, Flacius, and Agricola, and Osiander, and Major, and Strigel, etc., had been already active in diffusing the opinions which they afterward propagated, but that the Confession would have clearly declared that "the churches among us" do not so teach, and would have relieved our churches of the responsibility for such serious errors? The real issue here is a very simple one. It is this: "Is the Lutheran Church, from the year 1530 to the end of time, to be absolutely without any expression of opinion concerning any teacher who, either with or without qualifications, in some way or other manages to reconcile his conscience to a subscription to the Augsburg Confession, according to the most liberal sense in which he feels at liberty to interpret it?" Is any or every manifest errorist to be free to shield himself from condemnation upon the plea that he has subscribed the Augsburg Confession? Was the study of the Holy Scriptures and the Confession of its results to cease with the life of Melanchthon? To maintain the necessity, under such emergencies, of still more explicit and ampler confessions, is not to discredit the Augsburg Confession, but only to be faithful to its own promise: "If anything be lacking in this Confession, we are prepared, God willing, to present ampler information."* If such "ampler information" add anything to the Augsburg Confession, it does so only as the Augsburg Confession itself adds something to the Bible—*i.e.*, by applying its clear teachings to new relations. If, to secure political privileges, men would subscribe to the Augsburg Confession, while at the same time publicly protesting against some of its doctrines and freely attacking them, no one, surely, could blame those who were the consistent confessors of these doctrines if they proposed tests of real fidelity to the Confession that could be more accurately read than those of a mere general subscription. If "generic Lutheranism" be that which tolerates the antinomianism of Agricola, and the doctrine of justification by infused righteousness of Osiander, then certainly there was need of some means of guarding the true adherents and sincere subscribers to the Augsburg Confession from those whose subscription caused all other subscriptions to fall into discredit.

III.

The ampler confessions of the Lutheran Church have borne an important part in the development of the doctrine of the Lutheran Church. The scientific expression of the contents of the Lutheran faith had not become fixed at the time of the Diet of Augsburg. Its Apology, *e.g.*, shows that the

* Conclusion of Augsburg Confession, § 7.

definition of a sacrament was not what it subsequently became, or what is recognized as the definition of the Lutheran Church, while regeneration and renovation were used synonymously. No writer on Symbolics restricts his material of Lutheran confessional statements to the Augsburg Confession, or ignores the more scientifically exact development in the Formula of Concord. No great Lutheran theologian is the advocate of the hypothesis that subscription to the Formula of Concord is a slur upon the Augsburg Confession. The renowned masterpieces of Lutheran theology were written by such subscribers of the Formula of Concord as Chemnitz and Gerhard, Hunnius and Hutter, Quenstedt and Calovius, Baier and Hollazius, Buddeus and Walch. Every Lutheran writer who has ever vigorously defended the Augsburg Confession against its assailants and critics has been a faithful student and supporter of the Formula of Concord. If such men were greatly mistaken in their position, their convictions and teachings certainly deserve to be treated with respect. The names in the later history of the Lutheran Church that are most highly prized for the depth of their spirituality and their earnest efforts to promote practical Christianity are those of men who not only were willing to subscribe the Formula of Concord, but also insisted upon the importance of demanding such subscription of others :

John Arndt, in the Preface to the first book of his immortal devotional work, *True Christianity,* declares : "I affirm that this book is not to be understood in any other manner than in accordance with the symbolical books of the churches of the Augsburg Confession—namely, the first unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, the catechisms of Luther, and the Formula of Concord." At the close of the second book of the same work he says : "I have had no other object in view than in connection with our pure religion and Confession of Faith as set forth in the Church of the Augsburg Confession, and repeated in the Formula of Concord (which I publicly and sincerely adopt, and in accordance with which I desire these writings of mine to be understood), purity and holiness of life might be promoted." In his preface to Book VI. he speaks of the evangelical doctrine having been cleansed of many errors "by means of two glorious and praiseworthy confessions of faith—namely, the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord," and afterward, "I call on the great God, the Searcher of hearts, as my witness, that it was not in my mind, in anything which I have written, to depart from the true religion of the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord."

Philip Jacob Spener, the best representative of Lutheran pietism, published an especial treatise in defence of the Formula of Concord.* He maintains that its preparation and obligatory subscription were highly important : "1. Because of the adversaries of our Church, who did not know what was the real meaning of the Augsburg Confession. 2. To declare the teaching of the Lutheran Church on questions in reference to which there was controversy concerning the meaning of the Augsburg Confession." He shows at length : "1. The great distinction between the respect to be accorded Symbolical Books and that to be rendered the Holy Scriptures. 2. Symbolical Books are no rule of faith, but only a rule of doctrine. My faith is not determined by any Symbolical Book, but only by the clear testimony of Scripture ; but the Symbolical Books contain the interpretation of Holy Scripture which those who have called me to the position of a public teacher understand me to hold, and upon this guarantee have pledged me to teach.† 3. They are not infallible ; nor do all their statements have the perfection that is to be desired. They are the composition of men who could not foresee the future ; and hence their words refer only to controversial aspects of doctrine then in view. If the godly men who composed them had foreseen the future, they sometimes would have modified the form of expression. Nevertheless, in all articles of faith *per se,* and in explicit decisions concerning controverted points, they are without error. 4. It was not the purpose of our theologians to write a perfect system of theology, but only, at a particular time, to explain the sound doctrine concerning controverted points. On this account the symbolical books are not intended to prevent all further growth in the knowledge and confession of Divine truth. 5. Our theologians should always be ready to argue from Holy Scripture with any honest doubter of the correctness of the statements of Holy Scripture, provided such doubt be expressed in a modest and inoffensive manner."

The Halle Faculty, including August Hermann Francke, through Dr. Joachim Lange, in the heat of the pietistic controversy, referring to the charges against Spener and his adherents of not holding to

* Found in his *Theologische Bedenken,* i., 341-94.
† This is sometimes otherwise expressed : *Scripturæ Sanctæ docent credenda ; Libri Symbolici docent credita.*

the Symbolical Books, say: "In their replies they showed in the most thorough manner that they held with absolute firmness to them,"* and declare concerning their own position: "The Symbolical Books are held in high honor; and it would be difficult to find a university where they are more diligently read, referred to, quoted, and recommended to the students than here in Halle." †

These citations are made in order to show that among those who are regarded the representatives and leaders of the most liberal wing of sound Lutheranism, there was no difference concerning the authority of the Formula of Concord and the other Lutheran symbols that were supplementary to the Augsburg Confession. In the pietistic controversy the "orthodoxists," as they are sometimes called, claimed that Spener and his adherents were untrue to the Symbolical Books, but the latter indignantly resented the charge, pledging anew their fealty to them, and powerfully and discriminatingly arguing for their necessity.

"The symbolical authority of the Formula of Concord to the Lutheran Church as such," says Köllner,‡ "cannot, indeed, be doubted. It was received as the symbol of by far the greater number of those who regard themselves as belonging thereto. And, as the Elector Augustus says, since there is no pope among us, can there be any other means than a majority to sanction a symbol? Besides, it must be kept prominently in mind that the greater part of those who did not accept it were not actuated by dogmatical considerations, but partly by political considerations, either freely or compulsorily, partly by faithful dependence upon Melanchthon, partly by wounded ambition, because they were not invited sufficiently early to participate in its formulation, partly also because in one country while those who had most influence inclined to Calvinistic doctrine, the majority of the teachers were in doctrinal harmony with the Formula. Nothing whatever can be inferred from this failure to endorse the Formula as to a departure from its dogmas."

IV.

The foundations of the Lutheran Church in America were laid by those who were pledged to the entire Book of Concord. If an exception be urged in the case of the Swedes, we find that the Swedish Church adopted it in 1647, very shortly after the first Swedish emigrants came to this country, and made it binding by the ecclesiastical law of 1686. The founders of the Lutheran Church in the South, the exiled Salzburgers in Georgia, who had proved their faith in the fires of persecution, began their first congregational constitution: "In the name of God. The fundamental constitution, articles and rules, upon which a German Evangelical Lutheran congregation was formally established upon the basis of the Holy Bible, our Augsburg Confession (and the other Symbolical Books) since the year 1733." * They provided for a regular procedure against any preacher or teacher who should disseminate "doctrines conflicting with the basis of the apostles and prophets in the Word of God, contained in the Old and New Testaments, and opposed to our Augsburg Confession (and other Symbolical Books)." † Muhlenberg had subscribed to the entire Book of Concord at his ordination, and faithfully embodied the recognition of all the Symbolical Books in various important acts. On the day that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was organized (1748), St. Michael's Church was consecrated by him in the presence of the synod as a place where the Evangelical Lutheran doctrine should be taught "according to the unaltered Augsburg Confession and all the other Symbolical Books."‡ Rev. J. Nicholas Kurtz was ordained the same day, and pledged to "our Confessions."§ In the ordination certificate of Rev. J. C. Leps, signed by Muhlenberg as President of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, July 20th, 1774, it is stated that as a condition of his ordination Mr. Leps had solemnly promised that he would teach according to the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the catechisms of Luther, "and the other Symbolical Books."‖ In a statement made before the Synod on a very critical occasion, Muhlenberg declared: "I defy Satan and all the lying spirits who serve him to prove against me anything in conflict with the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, and of our Symbolical Books. I have often and again said and written that I have found in our evangelical doctrine, founded on the apostles and prophets, and set forth in our Symbolical Books, neither error, fault, nor anything wanting." ¶

The question, therefore, which Lutherans of to-day are called upon to decide is,

* *Apologetische Erläuterung der Neuesten Historie, bey der Evangelischen Kirche von* 1689 *bis* 1719. Halle, 1719, p. 65.
† *Ib.*, pp. 447 sq.
‡ *Symbolik*, i., 581.

* Strobel's *History of the Salzburgers*, p. 94.
† *Ib.*, p. 170.
‡ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, p. 285.
§ Dr. Munn's *Life of Muhlenberg*, p. 210.
‖ *Lutheran Church Review*, x., 166.
¶ *Ib.*, vi., 209.

Whether the confessional basis of Arndt, and Spener, and Francke, and Muhlenberg be too narrow, or should it be broadened to meet the demands of a more liberal age? Did Muhlenberg err in the doctrinal basis which he laid down for those over whom Providence had placed him? Is it impossible or not to unite the Lutheran Church in America upon its original foundation? When an era of relative indifference had overlooked the necessity of any confessional basis whatever, was the endorsement of the Augsburg Confession as a doctrinal standard sufficient without recurring to the entire platform prescribed by the fathers of the Church from Halle, and adopted by the large majority of Lutherans in Europe before the entrance of rationalism? In other words, could the Lutheran Church in America ever so isolate itself from the Lutheran Church in Europe as to ignore all its history after the Diet of Augsburg? Could it remain unaffected by the questions which had been settled in the controversies decided by the Formula of Concord? Or, if it could remain isolated, would not history inevitably repeat itself, and when subscription of some form or other to the Augsburg Confession failed to indicate that teachers actually received its doctrines, would not new tests of adherence to the Augsburg Confession become necessary, or the entire development of the Church be thrown into confusion? What better tests could, then, be found than those which the Lutheran Church had already provided? Besides, what is separatistic or sectarian Lutheranism but that which deserts the historical development of the Lutheran faith? Where do the greater hopes of union lie—upon a basis not only approved by the largest number of Lutherans in the purest period of the Church, and, at present, formally acknowledged by five sixths of Lutherans in America, or, upon one which openly proclaims itself antagonistic to the former? The subscription to the Augsburg Confession might be sufficient where its doctrines were cordially embraced, and the ampler confessions which have done such heroic service in the defence and maintenance of the Augsburg Confession were not attacked and decried. But the circumstances which determined the preparation of the ampler confessions have reappeared in America; and, even though we should attempt to prevent the more specific definitions, the demands of the life and faith of our Church at this advanced period would force us to this course, even against our will.

V.

This brings us to some charges against the Formula of Concord which have been recently made in an article in the April number of this magazine. Chemnitz and Gerhard, Arndt and Spener, Francke and Muhlenberg, with many thousands of other faithful students and adherents of the Augsburg Confession, in their simplicity regarded the Formula of Concord as a true interpretation and defence of its doctrines. Dr. J. W. Richard has discovered and tries to prove their great error. He says that the Formula "introduces several articles which have no place in the Augsburg Confession." He instances:

1. "The Third Use of the Law, which is Connected with the Antinomian Controversy." The facts are that Agricola was a subscriber to the Augsburg Confession, and yet obstinately maintained that the regenerate were under no obligation to obey God's law, and that those who taught the contrary had not the faith of the Gospel. What inconsistency with the Augsburg Confession to declare that such a teacher had no right to claim to stand upon its doctrine! Cannot Dr. Richard see that where the eternal authority of God's law is undermined, the Augsburg Confession and all Holy Scripture are overthrown?

2. "Christ's Descent into Hell" (not "Hades"). This article is only a statement that the descent belonged to the victory of Christ, and that there should be no further controversy concerning a subject on which so little is revealed. The sermon of Luther at Torgau is not made confessional, as Dr. Richard asserts, but is referred to only as teaching that this belonged to Christ's victory. The only confessional element here expresses merely what can be clearly inferred from the construction of the sentence concerning the "Descent" in Article III. of the Augsburg Confession.

3. The article on "Church Usages and Ceremonies" Dr. Richard endorses, but says that it is embodied fundamentally in the Augsburg Confession. He is correct; but why should this be cited as a proof that "it has no place in the Augsburg Confession"? If it is "embodied fundamentally," it certainly "has place" there. The significance of the article lies in the fact that men who subscribed Article XV. of the Confession were inconsistent with their profession, and their inconsistency necessitated this ampler statement.

4. "Foreknowledge and Election." This

article was intended, not to introduce, but to guard against, controversies on the subject, explicitly stating that there was no serious dispute on the subject in our churches. The Lutheran Church owes the framers of the Formula of Concord eternal thanks for this able, profound, clear, devout, and moderate statement which has so effectually promoted the peace of the Church on this question. That there have been controversies since is not due to this article, but to the fact that men want to penetrate the Divine mysteries, and to speculate upon what God has not revealed.

Dr. Richard cites also several articles which he objects to, because they are too scholastic and particularistic, and give confessional character to the views of individuals, etc. On the subject of "Oral Manducation" he misunderstands both the Formula of Concord and Dr. Krauth. In all fairness he should have stated what the Formula means by "Oral Manducation," and how explicitly it guards the doctrine against grossly carnal conceptions. Hear it: "We hereby utterly condemn the Capernaitic manducation of the body of Christ, which the Sacramentarians, against the testimony of their conscience, after all our frequent protests, wilfully force upon us, and, in this way, make our doctrine odious to their hearers, as though His flesh were rent with the teeth and digested as other food." * He ends his quotation from the *Conservative Reformation* before reaching the important statement that "when the Formula of Concord and our theologians speak of a reception by the mouth, they speak, as we may, of the reception of the Holy Spirit in, with, and under the preached Word by the ear." † While the term "with the mouth" is not found in the Augsburg Confession, its meaning certainly is not that the body of Christ can be received in the Lord's Supper otherwise than by the mouth, even though this is carefully defined as occurring, not in a natural, but a supernatural manner. That the body of Christ is received by faith is certainly not the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession; for it is not to those who believe, but "to those who eat in the Lord's Supper" (*vescentibus in cœna Domini*), to whom, the Confession says, the body and blood of Christ are distributed. Does Dr. Richard, as a Lutheran professor, teach his students that in the Lord's Supper nothing is received with the mouth but bread and wine? If the Formula makes use of severe terms in condemning its opponents on this article, the other side of the controversy should be read in order to see the opprobrious epithets applied by some writers to the Lutheran doctrine. Men like Andrea and Chemnitz would not in any way meet with harsh denunciation sincere and honest doubters, who refrained from perverting and deriding what the Lutheran Church regarded as a holy and Divine mystery. In the Preface to the Book of Concord the Lutheran theologians call God to witness that it is not their purpose to condemn entire churches, but only such persons as are "blasphemous against the truth of the heavenly doctrine," "only obstinate and blasphemous teachers." The Formula has in view such designations of the Lutheran doctrine used, we may hope, inconsiderately, by some vigorous combatants, as "*duos pilos caudæ equinæ*," "*commentum vel ipsum Satanam pudeat*," "*excrementum Satanæ, quo diabolus sibi ipsi et hominibus illudat.*" * Certainly it is no violation of charity to term those who apply such designations to what the Lutheran Church regards Divine truth "fanatics!"

With the most dogmatical positiveness Dr. Richard says that "it is historically certain that the doctrine of oral manducation could not have found place in the Augsburg Confession, since some of those who helped to compose the Confession did not hold to the oral partaking of the body and blood of Christ, nor the partaking of the same by unbelievers, as witness the *Swabian Syngramma*, which even Luther endorsed with two laudatory prefaces." If our readers will procure Vol. XX.† of the St. Louis reprint of Luther's works (published 1890), they will find the German translation of this work, composed by John Brentz in 1525, with Luther's Prefaces. They may search in vain for any such statements, however sentences separated from their connection might at first sight so appear. It is an answer, in the most calm and irenical spirit, by Brentz to a brochure of his intimate friend Œcolampadius. He plants himself, for argument's sake, upon the concessions of Œcolampadius, and shows how a consistent carrying out to their conclusion of the premises of what we now know, as the Calvinistic view, must lead to the conviction that in the Lord's Supper the true body and blood of Christ are really and not merely significatively present. With great art Brentz

* *Formula of Concord Epitome*, vii., 42.
† *Conservative Reformation*, p. 462.

* Formula of Concord, *Solida Declaratio*, vii., 67.
† Pp. 521-74.

takes his friend by the hand and leads him, step by step, toward his position :

"As faith has God present, when it believes in God, so when it eats" [namely, according to what Œcolampadius holds] "the body and drinks the blood—*i.e.*, when it believes, must it have the body and blood present." * The next stage in the argument is : "If the Word offers us the body and blood as present, what hinders that same Word from bringing to the bread what it contains in itself?" † "The bread, inasmuch as it has the Word, is the Lord's body." ‡ "As the Word of God makes the gifts of God present, so by the Word 'This is My body,' the body of Christ is present and administered." § "We are certain that the bread in the Holy Supper is not merely a sign, but in fact the true bodily body of Christ (*wahre, leibliche Leib Christi*)." ‖ "As the Word sanctifies believers, so does the body ; and as the Word profanes and defiles the godless, so the body of Christ defiles the godless who eat." ¶

So much for Dr. Richard's historical certainty. With far more plausibility he might say that it is historically certain that a condemnation of transubstantiation in the Augsburg Confession would have been impossible, because some of these expressions of the *Syngramma* are not as accurately guarded as became afterward necessary in the controversy with Rome, and, to any one not understanding the connection and relations, might actually seem to teach transubstantiation. Where there is no difference in the doctrine taught, its expression varies according to its adversaries, and, in the formative period of the Reformation, qualifications and limitations afterward found necessary to maintain against misunderstanding what the Reformers taught were not immediately introduced. The doctrine of the addition of the various exclusive particles to justification by faith will supply an apt illustration.

One who thoroughly accepts the declaration of our Catechism, "I believe that I cannot, by my own reason or strength, believe in Jesus Christ my Lord, or come to Him," or the stanza of the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* so prominently cited and endorsed at the close of Art. XX. of the Augsburg Confession,

"Sine tuo numine,
Nihil est in homine,
Nihil est innoxium,"

should have no difficulty with the Formula's declaration that man can as little begin the work of grace in his heart as a block can move or a dead body arouse itself to life. The Augsburg Confession cites as the scriptural proof John xv. 5.

Another charge made against the Formula of Concord is that it teaches "the absolute ubiquity of the human nature of Christ, thus predicating an infinite attribute of a finite nature." This is one of the very errors that the Formula of Concord explicitly rejects and condemns (Epitome, Chapter VIII., § 27, 28, 29). Especially § 29 condemns "that the human nature is locally extended in all places of heaven and earth, which should not be ascribed even to the divine nature." If the *Conservative Reformation* * had been consulted by the writer on this subject with as much interest as on some others, he would not have fallen into this error.

The manner in which Dr. Richard reached the conclusion that Melanchthon rejected the *Communicatio Idomatum—i.e.*, the doctrine that the human nature of Christ shared in the power, majesty and glory of the Divine, is not difficult to explain. He has come to it by a precipitate conclusion from the distinction which, after Luther's death, Melanchthon made between a dialectic and a physical communication. It was charged against Melanchthon that this was a virtual rejection of the doctrine ; but he did not so understand it. The text of his *Loci*, on which Chemnitz comments, will prove a sufficient refutation, although he amply treats of it elsewhere, as in his explanation of the Nicene Creed. It is worthy of note, however, that Dr. Richard states that the fact that the Formula of Concord affirms the doctrine is one of the reasons why this Confession is not received by the General Synod. We hope not. Dr. Richard says that the Formula of Concord "ends by virtually deifying the human nature of Christ." The Formula of Concord, however, could not be clearer in its condemnation of any such doctrine. "We reject and condemn," it says, "as contrary to God's Word and our Christian faith the errors . . . that the human nature has become equal to and like the Divine nature in its substance and essence, or in its essential properties" (Epitome, VIII., 28). Nor is he more fortunate in his charge that the Formula gives symbolical authority to the Kryptism of Brentz. The crowning charge against it, however, is that it is not consistent with "a philosophy more fully imbued with the spirit of Protestantism," a philosophy having "a broader vision and clearer insight into the nature of man and *being of God*," "in harmony with the facts of *consciousness and* the teachings of revelation." If the Church's faith and Confession are to be determined according to the standards of varying systems of philosophy, or by Dorner's "Chris-

* § 34. † § 35. ‡ § 42. § § 26. ‖ § 12. ¶ § 61.

* P. 131.

tian consciousness," we might as well cease forever to argue with Professor Richard. In matters of faith philosophy is ruled out. He may have his philosophy; we will abide by our Confessions, *Philosophia quærit veritatem; theologia invenit.* Professor Richard will find it more difficult to unite the Lutherans of America upon his advanced philosophical standpoint and his hypothesis of Christian consciousness than upon even the Formula of Concord.

Before leaving this portion of the subject, reference should be made to the numerous citations by which the article is adorned. We will be content with a single example. Dr. Luthardt, of Leipsic, is quoted against the Formula of Concord's statement of the doctrine concerning the person of Christ. We put Dr. Luthardt's remark and Professor Richard's use of it side by side:

Luthardt.	*Richard.*
The christology of the Lutheran Church attempts to carry out its correct fundamental view of the complete communion of the two natures in the one divinely human person by means of the doctrine of the *Communicatio Idiomatum*, which in the form of an abstract construction asserts an essential truth, and only, by not sufficiently extending the humiliation to the mode of being of the divine nature of Christ, is not completely in accordance with the historical reality of the earthly human life of Jesus Christ.	Luthardt declares that it has "the form of an abstract construction," and that such a method of treatment does not sufficiently recognize the historical reality of the earthly human life of Jesus Christ.

The quotation, it will be noticed, suppresses the statement that the *Communicatio Idiomatum* asserts "an essential truth," and that it fails only, not in what it asserts, but in what the learned German theologian thinks it should have further defined.

Dr. Richard has not brought a single charge against the Formula of Concord worthy of any consideration; but he has afforded a candid statement of his own theological position: 1. Consciousness is a standard of theological truth; philosophy must be regarded in constructing and subscribing confessions of faith. 2. The human nature of Christ did not receive from the personal union any impartation of the power, glory and majesty of the Divine Nature; for this is involved in the denial of the *Communicatio Idiomatum.* 3. Human nature has the power, before the approach of the Holy Spirit, to begin the work of its return to God. It is not utterly dead in spiritual things. 4. The body of Christ in the Lord's Supper is received only by faith; the mouth receiving nothing but bread and wine. All these positions are contained in his charges. We regret that in attacking the Formula of Concord, "that grandest monument of Lutheran symbolism," as Dr. A. A. Hodge has called it,* Dr. Richard has wandered so far from the Augsburg Confession.

VI.

But it is objected that even subscription to the full body of the Lutheran Confessions does not assure harmony. Lutheran bodies that agree in the recognition of them all, we are told, have not succeeded in entering into a union. Long and bitter controversies have arisen and continue to exist even among those who agree in receiving the Formula of Concord. Some, we are reminded, accept everything contained in the confessions as of symbolical authority, while others regard only those statements of doctrine which were involved in dispute, and for which the particular symbol brought a declaration concerning the controversy.

We ask, however, has there been any more harmony among those who profess to accept only the Augsburg Confession, and who are occupied with such questions as to whether only the doctrinal articles or the articles on abuses also are confessional; whether the Augsburg Confession simply *contains* the fundamental doctrines of God's word; or whether its doctrinal statements are the fundamental doctrines; whether by defining them as "fundamental" it be meant that they are fundamental to the existence or to the integrity of Christianity; whether its statements are to be received by what is known as a *quia* subscription—*i.e.*, because they teach God's Word, or by a *quatenus* subscription—*i.e.*, in so far as they teach God's Word; absolutely and *per se*, or only in so far as the Augsburg Confession represents the *consensus* of Protestant churches, or the "philosophy" with the "broader vision" and "clearer insight" "into the being of God"? In spite of the fact that Professor Richard's own body subscribes only to the Augsburg Confession, it certainly is as full of dissensions as any of the Lutheran bodies in

* "The result was the triumph of the stricter party, who left to posterity that grandest monument of Lutheran symbolism, the *Formula Concordiæ* (1580). The system here presented agrees in all its deeper positions with Calvinism as presented in this paper. It differs from it (*a*) by making the sacrament of baptism the efficient means by which ordinarily regeneration is effected; (*b*) by making the difference between the saved and the lost to be ultimately determined by the 'non-resistance' to grace of the former, in contrast with the resistance of the latter. In all other respects, as to the guilt, pollution and helplessness of the condition in which all children are born, as to justification and the necessity and the efficacy of regenerating and sanctifying grace, it is one with Calvinism" (Dr. A. A. Hodge, in *Johnson's Cyclopedia*, article "Calvinism"). We cite this not in approval of the entire statement, but to show how the Formula commended itself to such a learned and unprejudiced scholar as the late distinguished Princeton Professor.

this country, and these dissensions are by no means allayed in the various institutions where he has taught. Union of all Lutherans in America on the basis of the General Synod would by no means insure the peace of that body. The argument is the same as Bossuet has urged with so much force and plausibility in his renowned work on "*The Variations of Protestantism*," as a sufficient proof of the validity of the claims of the Roman Church. It is the same that scepticism is always urging against Christianity, because of the divisions among Christian people. Christianity unites only by separating. Christ came to bring permanent peace, only, according to His own clear words, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword." The Augsburg Confession was intended not only to unite, but to separate. It was to separate those who held what its subscribers regarded the teachings of the Divine Word from those who taught otherwise. When the Augsburg Confession is so subscribed as to fail to make the separation for which it was intended, then other means of union through separation become necessary. The entire progress of the doctrinal development of the entire Christian Church has occurred in this way. Even the Formula of Concord may be subscribed in the same manner that some subscribe the Augsburg Confession. There is no formulary possible, however clear and specific its statements, which will not be evaded when other interests than supreme devotion to the doctrine there taught may enter. But this by no means relieves the Church of the duty of letting her testimony be known, or justifies her in rejecting the testimony, of whose truth she is convinced, which a preceding age has borne.

What if it do occasion controversy? So did Christianity. There are worse things in the world than controversy. A state of the Church in which there is no agitation concerning doctrine is either one of a very low degree of spiritual earnestness or of prevailing mental inactivity. We do not admire the utter fossilization of the Greek Church. We cannot look back with pride to what Professor Richard is pleased to term the "rationalistic" period of our Church in this country, when it laid far less emphasis on confessional limitations than the General Synod does to-day, or even a half century ago. The leaders of our Church of those days were not rationalists, but they were only thoroughly pervaded by that doctrinal indifferentism our friend regards so desirable. The peace of the Church, they thought, could be best insured by being silent even concerning the Augsburg Confession. There were those among them who would have spoken of "the divisive influence of the Augsburg Confession" as he does of "the divisive influence of the Formula of Concord."

Nor was it the aim of the Formula of Concord to stifle all further discussion. They have not read Lutheran theology aright who imagine that there are no open questions, or that, within certain clearly defined limits, differences of opinion are unallowable. That there have been some literalists, who have interpreted the Formula from a legalistic standpoint, has been the result of a very natural reaction among those who have seen clearly whither indifferentism leads. That there have been many who have viewed the Formula externally, and have claimed for it such rigidity, is due to their desire to overthrow it entirely as a confession. The office of the Formula, however, as a rule, as Spener says, not of the faith, but of the doctrine of our preachers and teachers, is simply to state what the Church has fixed, to define the limits within which discussions are permissible, and to relegate the rest to the sphere of the mere private opinions of teachers. The doctrines of our faith are suprarational. As doctrine is compared with doctrine, nothing is easier than to draw logical inferences concerning what belongs to a supra-logical sphere. Theologians both correct in their premises, starting from one or the other side of a mutually recognized dogma, may very readily be entangled in antagonistic results, as they fail to stop short in their conclusions of what God has revealed. The Formula of Concord affords a firm basis of what is firmly established, and dare not be questioned by one who accepts a ministerial office in the Lutheran Church; and then, on this clear understanding, allows enough liberty for ample discussions. Dr. Richard's own article will furnish ample illustrations of this moderation of the Formula that all his assertions to the contrary do not disprove. This assuredly is no defect of the Formula. It simply answers the question in the opening sentence of his article: "Why are not all the Lutherans in this country united in one grand body, with generous concessions for individual differences of opinion, and with suitable provision for the use of various languages," by indicating that that is precisely what may be accomplished if all will only stand upon the basis which Muhlenberg brought with him from Halle, and upon

which Arndt and Spener stood and fought against opponents from both sides.

But a Church without dissensions we do not expect until the Church Militant passes over entirely to the Church Triumphant. There will be no Confession so clear and precise, nor organization so admirable that will prevent any communion from constantly finding the experience of the church at Ephesus (Acts xx. 30) repeated in its history: "Of your own selves shall men arise speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." "The church of God which is at Corinth, the called saints" (1 Cor. i. 2), rent by factions and stained by gross sins against which a stricter discipline should have guarded, is an image of the Church of God of all times until the complete fruition of its redemption, when it at last will be without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, a glorious Church (Eph. v. 27). Clear and distinct as must be our testimony, faithful our warning against error, earnest and aggressive our constant effort to maintain purity of doctrine and holiness of life, we must be content to struggle on beneath the cross, the constant subjects of misrepresentation from within and misunderstanding from without. If such were not our lot, we might well doubt the truth of our Christian profession. The remedy for our divisions is not to lower the standards of our faith in order to adapt them to the spirit of the times or the clamors of a worldly Christianity, but to maintain them at all hazards. Nor can anything be gained by any attempt to combine into one body those who can work separately with far more freedom, with less interference with each other's efforts, and far less friction, than if, without entire harmony of spirit, they should be forced into the same organization. Nevertheless, something could be accomplished toward a common understanding. There is entire agreement that the acceptance of all the *doctrines* of the Augsburg Confession is a sufficient standard of Lutheran character. Why, without regard even to synodical relations, could there not be frequent conferences among those who claim to stand on this common platform? Why should we not come together, not to indulge in acrimonious discussions, but, *sine ira et studio*, to state what we understand each other as teaching, and the grounds of our differences, to accept all sufficient explanations, and to reach a *modus vivendi* which, even though it may long defer organic union, may foster mutual respect and promote mutual efficiency in saving souls and edifying believers? Let us not avoid in social intercourse controverted points as forbidden themes, but with a high regard for those from whom we are separated seek, according to the scriptural method (Matt. xviii. 15, 16), to learn to know what is really involved. Why could not the various theological faculties have occasional meetings in which their members would look into each other's eyes, as they discussed the several articles of the Augsburg Confession or other questions closely connected with them, instead of maintaining a warfare at long range, and before those not especially interested in the subjects of contention, except as they may serve to throw the entire communion into disrepute?

"For that unity we entertain heartfelt pleasure and love; and this, on our part, we are sincerely anxious to advance according to our utmost power, by which his glory remains to God uninjured. nothing of the Divine truth of the Gospel is surrendered, no place is admitted for the least error, poor sinners are brought to true, genuine repentance, encouraged by faith, confirmed in new obedience, and thus justified and eternally saved alone through the sole merits of Christ." *

"May Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant the grace of his Holy Spirit, that we all may be one in him, and constantly abide in this Christian unity which is well pleasing to him. Amen." †

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

BY PROFESSOR W. SANDAY, D.D.

From *The Expositor* (London), April, 1892.

V. The Author (*continued*).

My contention is that the author of the Fourth Gospel not only shows his Jewish origin by his knowledge of Palestinian topography, by the cast of his style, by his interpretation of Jewish names (a topic on which I have not enlarged, but which will be found excellently treated by Bishop Lightfoot),‡ by the frequency of his quotations from the Old Testament, and by the probability that in some of them he has been influenced by his acquaintance either with the original text or with the current Aramaic paraphrases,—but that more than this, his mind is really steeped in the Old

* *Formula of Concord*, *Sol. Decl.*, xi., 96.
† *Ib.*, *Epitome*, xi., 23.
‡ *Expositor*, 1890, i. 17–19.

Testament, and that his leading ideas stand as much in a direct line with the Old Testament as those of St. Paul and St. Peter.

Here I am aware that I come to some extent into collision with Dr. Schürer, though he is clearly conscious of another side to the question besides that to which he seems himself to give the preference. He strikes a balance between the opposing arguments thus :—

"It cannot be questioned that the author of the Fourth Gospel has imbibed Greek culture (ein Mann von griechischer Bildung war). And we may add that this culture was that of Hellenistic Judaism in the form in which it is specially represented by Philo. Can we assume this for the Apostle John? The opponents of the genuineness lay great stress on this head, pointing more particularly to the marked coincidences between the sphere of thought in our Gospel and the Philonian, *e.g.* in regard to the doctrine of the Logos. The Evangelist, they think, was trained in the Alexandrian philosophy, which could not be expected of the Apostle. The defenders begin by seeking to reduce the measure of Hellenic culture in our Evangelist as much as possible. Many deny broadly that our Evangelist was influenced by specifically Philonian ideas at all. Such a degree of Greek culture as the Evangelist really exhibits, they think that the Apostle John might have acquired in his later life among his Greek surroundings at Ephesus. The question therefore stands under this head pretty much as it does in regard to his anti-Jewish standpoint. Is it probable that the Apostle John in his later years should have undergone such a change? It is harder to answer this question in the affirmative in proportion to the degree of Hellenic culture which one is compelled to attribute to the Evangelist." *

My own position is one which Dr. Schürer would think a rather extreme one ; it also marks what will be from his point of view a distinct retrogression. When I wrote on St. John twenty years ago, I went with the stream in conceding a decided influence of Philonian or at least Alexandrian philosophy. My present tendency is, if not absolutely to deny such influence, at least to reduce it within very narrow limits ; to regard it as in any case extremely remote and indirect, and not comparable for a moment with the influence of the Old Testament.

I know that in forming this opinion some will think me actuated by an apologetic motive. I can only reply, that if that is so, I am not conscious of it ; but that I have rather tried to exercise a certain watchfulness over myself ; and that I have moved rather more slowly than I might otherwise have done. Since I wrote much of course has been published on this subject. Dr. Westcott's great commentary and the many solid works by Dr. B. Weiss (6th edition of Meyer's Commentary, 1880 ; *Biblische Theologie*, 4th edition, 1884 ; *Einleitung*, 1886), who has always consistently rejected the Philonian theory, as well as Franke's *Das alte Testament bei Johannes*, have not been without their effect upon me. I will not however appeal to these, but will take one or two writers on Dr. Schürer's own side of the question to show that there is at least a rather strong set of the tide in the direction I have taken.

It has not been my fortune so far to speak with very great respect of Herr Thoma. The main body of his book I consider to be very wide of the mark. On the subject of topography, with which we were last dealing, he has notions which seem to me of a very airy texture indeed, and they come out in close juxtaposition to the passage I am going to quote : but that passage is so admirable, not merely for my present purpose, but as a real expression of the facts, that I have a peculiar pleasure in quoting it. It touches on some other points both before and behind that with which we are now dealing.

"This friendliness towards the Gentiles which the Evangelist shares with the Apostle [of the Gentiles] serves as little as his dislike of the Jews to prove his Gentile origin. On the contrary, his whole culture, the circle of ideas in which he is at home, the language which is familiar to him, point to a Jewish or Jewish-Christian origin.

"True, the Samaritan Justin has also a very good knowledge of Scripture. But the way in which he applies it shows that this knowledge has been acquired for learned and literary use in polemics and apologetics ; it is rather an importation from without of foreign material which he has built into his walls. With the Evangelist, on the other hand, one sees that he has sucked in a Jewish way of thinking with his mother's milk, that from a child he has been fed upon the living bread of the Word of God, that from his youth up he has read the Holy Scriptures and steeped himself in their ideas, figures of speech, and words of expression, so that the reminiscences of them come out as if they were something of his own, rather an unconscious and spontaneous manner of thinking and speaking than as quotation and interpretation.

"Along with this he is acquainted with Jewish customs and usages, and that such as are not to be got from the Old Testament, or such as might impress themselves vividly and familiarly upon a spectator from observing the religious ceremonies of an alien society. He alludes impartially and with no great effort to such Jewish traditions and ideas as would only be possible to one who had himself been accustomed to move amongst Jews ; indeed this perhaps is the reason which makes him forget here and there to put in explanations which, to a non-Jewish reader, would be quite indispensable to make him understand what was said.* On the other hand his explanatory notes on the manners and customs of the Jews may be accounted for by reference to Gentile readers on whom the author had to reckon, and probably did immediately reckon.

"But what tells more especially for Jewish ori-

* *Vortrag*, p. 69f.

* vii. 37f., 22f., xviii. 32, xix. 31 ; contrasted with xix. 41.

gin is the knowledge of Hebrew which the author displays. This knowledge is considerably greater than Justin's, who undertakes to give the meaning of a name here and there, badly enough; it is better than Philo's, who may perhaps have taken his interpretations from an *Onomasticon*.* Because from the current version, to which both the Jewish and the Christian philosopher keep as a rule, there are found in the Gospel considerable divergences which appear to rest not upon a special improved translation of the Old Testament Scriptures, but upon a knowledge of the Hebrew text. What most directly points to a knowledge of Hebrew is the fact that the author not only is able to give a meaning and interpretation to names which he finds to his hand, or else (as in the case of Nathaniel) to express them by synonyms, but he even forms Aramaic words of his own like Bethesda." †

All this, except the last clause, seems to me first-rate in perception and appreciation; and I invite Dr. Schürer and those who agree with him to ask themselves if it is not strictly and emphatically true.

There is however another name which I have to quote, and to which I know that Dr. Schürer would listen with respect—that of his former colleague, Dr. Harnack. After saying that the origin of the Johannean writings is from the point of view of literature and doctrine the strangest enigma which the earliest history of Christianity has to offer, Dr. Harnack goes on :—

"To refer to Philo and Hellenism is by no means enough, inasmuch as they do not satisfactorily explain one external side of the problem. It is not Greek *theologoumena* which have been at work in the Johannean theology—even the Logos has in common with Philo's little more than the name—but from the ancient faith of Prophets and Psalmists, under the impression made by the Person of Jesus, a new faith has arisen. For this very reason the author must undoubtedly and in spite of his emphatic anti-Judaism, be held to be a born Jew, and his theology Christiano-Palestinian." ‡

This is from the first edition of the *Dogmengeschichte:* there are some significant alterations in the second edition in the direction of a greater agreement with Schürer. The most important is in the last sentence but one, which now reads, "out of the ancient faith of Prophets and Psalmists *the testimony of the Apostles to Christ created* a new faith *in one who lived among Greeks with disciples of Jesus.*" In other words, it is no longer the direct impression of the Person of Jesus, but the same impression conveyed mediately through the apostolic preaching. Otherwise the points most directly bearing upon our subject—the dismissal of Greek *theologoumena*, the Philonian Logos like only in name, and the "ancient faith of Prophets and Psalmists" —remain intact, except that the Christiano-Palestinian theology has dropped out. An instructive passage, if one was attempting to analyze the position of this extremely able and energetic writer, in whose mind however I cannot help thinking that a number of disparate propositions lie collected, which his many occupations have not left him time thoroughly to correlate and harmonize. As a final opinion then upon the whole question, I confess that I do not think it important, but as reflecting the impression made upon a candid and highly competent critic, its value is considerable.

Schürer has expressed his views on the relation of the Gospel to the Old Testament and Alexandrianism more fully in a review of Franke's work on the *Old Testament in St. John*.* The article breathes all his usual moderation and care in judging. He rejects, I must needs think rightly, certain exaggerations into which Franke has been led.

"What Franke has proved, he says, is only this, that the Fourth Evangelist has held more firmly than Philo to the religious conceptions of the Old Testament; that he is far less influenced by Greek philosophy. But what reasonable person will deny this? For Franke's thesis, which denies all Alexandrianism straight away, nothing is gained."

To this I assent. But then Schürer goes on to show that his own contention in favour of Alexandrian influence is practically concentrated upon the doctrine of the Logos. He criticises, again I think rightly, Franke's attempt to depreciate the points of contact between Philo and the Gospel, by reducing them to a single point, the tendency "to conceive of the creative Word hypostatically." I quite agree that that is a large matter and not a small one. But then I certainly think that in what follows Schürer in his turn has not done justice to the evidence which goes to show that this tendency to insert a personal or quasi-personal Being between God and the world was by no means confined to Philo or to Alexandria. We ought to allow in thought more than I suspect we do for the difference between the real distribution of facts and their apparent distribution on such evidence as happens to have come down to us. The writings of Philo are voluminous, and they have been preserved, possibly with some that are not his; and we do not know how much has been lost, especially in the fifty years which separate him from the Fourth Gospel, which might have suggested to the Evangelist similar ideas. Schürer, I feel convinced, is wrong in making light of the

* *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.*, xxxii. 305ff.; Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 143f.
† *Die Genesis d. Johannes-Evangeliums*, pp. 786-788.
‡ *Dogmengeschichte*, p. 66 (1st ed., 1886; p. 85, 2d ed., 1888).

* *Theol. Literatur-Zeitung*, 1886, col. i. ff.

Targums. It may have been proved or rendered probable that the oldest extant Targum, the Targum (so called) of Onkelos, is not as we have it older than the third century. But within that there are I believe traces of an older substratum ; and behind the written tradition there was an oral tradition which, from what we know of the Jews at this date, must have been conservative in its character. But apart altogether from the Targums we know that the tendency to which they gave expression by the introduction of the "Memra," was at work long before them. Traces of it are found in the oldest parts of the Septuagint. But it was no monopoly of Alexandria, but extended more or less all over the East. For the proof that St. John might have arrived at his conception of the Logos without any save the remotest influence from Philo, we need not go outside the New Testament. Harnack says that the Philonian Logos and the Johannean have nothing in common but the name. We may go a step farther and add that St. Paul's doctrine and St. John's have everything in common but the name. If St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Colossians, as I truly believe he did,* then St. John had a doctrine of the Logos ready made to his hand, and wanting only the name to make it complete. The Epistle to the Hebrews is another strong link in the chain. The substantial elements of the conception were all there. And we can well understand how almost any stray wind might blow in the direction of the Apostle, the one luminous word for which we may suppose him seeking.

The literary questions connected with the Apocalypse are of extreme difficulty, and in their present wholly unsettled state afford no argument either one way or the other bearing upon the genuineness of the Gospel. But in any case it is certain that the two works had their origin near each other ; and the impressive revelation of the Word of God in Apoc. xix. 13 shows that the author of the Gospel must have had the conception very close to his hand.

It is difficult to believe that the Evangelist, whoever he was, had read a line of Philo. The difference between them is too fundamental. Philo is essentially a philosopher. His dominant interest is intellectual. It is true that he works in with this intellectual interest something of a moral and religious interest as well ; but we can see that his attention is engaged chiefly by the processes of thought, and his tendency is to express facts which might naturally have received a moral or religious interpretation in terms derived from those processes. His style and mode of treatment is florid and diffuse. All this is as different as possible from the Fourth Gospel. Here there is one absorbing interest, but its object is personal. It is the record of the Life of Jesus professedly (and does not the statement of the case almost constrain us to say, really ?) by the disciple "whom Jesus loved." That fact is the centre round which all revolves. It carries with it no doubt far-reaching consequences — consequences for every individual who calls upon the same beloved name ; consequences for the society which those individuals combine to form. And besides the external facts of the biography, there is a sense of something deeply mysterious in the Person of Him with whom it is concerned. The way in which He had spoken of Himself and of His Mission had linked both inseparably with the "ancient faith of Prophets and of Psalmists," and with their highest aspirations. When these were considered, when the new force which had been brought into society and the revolution it was effecting were considered, there seemed to emerge something not merely of local but of cosmical significance. An expression had to be found for that significance, and the Evangelist St. John, as we believe, hit upon the pregnant term Logos. It was already in the air ; stray spores were flying about, and one of them was blown, as it were, across his path. It gave him just what he wanted. The keystone was dropped into the arch. There arose a system of thought, grandiose yet severely simple in its outlines. It would hardly be right to call it a philosophy. "These things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God ; and that believing ye may have life in His name." That is not philosophical language.

Philo used, and used first, the same expression Logos, but its content was wholly different. With him the leading idea was Reason. The Logos of God was the active, creative Reason or Thought of God. With St. John the leading idea is Character and Will. The Logos of God is that agency through which, or the agent through whom, the Will of God expressed itself in the act of creation and in the conservation and energizing of things created. It is the agency by which, or the agent by whom, He has made known His will and character

* It is interesting to note that in the recently published *Hand-Commentar* (Freiburg i. B, 1891) von Soden, who had previously maintained the existence of some not lengthy but rather important interpolations in the Epistle to the Colossians, now accepts the whole as genuine.

to men both in previous ages and conspicuously in the coming of the Messiah.

When once the idea was grasped that Jesus of Nazareth was the Word or personal manifestation of the Godhead, it was natural that round this central idea other subordinate ideas should group themselves, especially those connected with manifestations of Divine energy in contact with men. Such foundation texts as these were taken: "With Thee is the fountain of life: in Thy light we shall see light" (Ps. xxxvi. 9); "O send out Thy light and Thy truth; let them lead me" (Ps. xliii. 3); in both of which there is an idea of emission or procession which when a personal organ had been found for the revelation readily attached them to it. Such I believe to be the Old Testament roots of the conception, "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men;" "grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." Parallels are found in Philo;* but the metaphors are too obvious and elementary for any stress to be laid upon them. In any case, I do not think there can be any doubt as to the origin in the Old Testament and in essentially Jewish soil of a number of other leading Johannean conceptions: the "tabernacling" of the Logos among men; the Divine glory or Shekinah; the Divine Name in its significant Jewish sense which occurs so often; the idea of "witness;" the idea of "signs;" the "water of life;" and, we may add, "the bread of life," with all that profound symbolism associated with it in chapter vi. The more closely the Gospel is studied, verse by verse from beginning to end, the more I feel sure will the reader rise up with the conviction that the base on which it primarily rests is the Old Testament. Many connections will come out on a closer study which do not lie upon the surface. One was pointed out to me lately † which I do not think I should have noticed, but which is very attractive when attention is called to it. It is well known what a leading idea with St. John is that of "lifting up" (*ὑψωθῆναι*) in connection with the Passion. The great mine of Christian thought in reference to the Passion is Isaiah liii.; but how is that passage introduced? "Behold My Servant . . . shall be exalted and extolled and be very high. As many were astonied at Thee," etc. (Isa. lii. 13 ff.). This "exalting" of the suffering Servant I believe to have given the hint to the stress which is laid on the exaltation of the crucified Saviour in the Gospel.

Just one passage might give us pause in disclaiming a dependence of the Fourth Gospel on Philo, the strongest in my opinion of all those that are adduced to prove the point. Not only do we find in Philo the term Logos, but also another leading term with St. John, Paraclete. The word occurs in a curious passage, *Vit Mos.*, iii. 14. The high priest's dress is symbolical of the *cosmos*, his breastplate (*λογιον*) naturally symbolical of the Logos; it was necessary that he should take this with him as a "paraclete" into the holy place. There is no real affinity between this and St. John xiv., xvi., but the coincidence in the word is at first sight striking. The word "paraclete" was however far more common than we might suppose. It is a legal term apparently dating back to the Greek period. With its counterpart *κατήγορος* it is naturalized in the Talmud, and found even in the earliest treatise, the *Pirke Aboth:* the form *κατήγωρ* comes back from Hebrew to Greek in the corrected text of Revelation xii. 10.* There was therefore clearly no need to travel to Alexandria in order to have this word suggested.

With this the last mainstay of the Alexandrianizing theory seems to go, and the crowd of arguments † from geography, style, manners and customs, relation to the Old Testament modes of thought, is left in all its full force, proving that the author of the Gospel was a Jew of Palestine, no mere "bird of passage," but one who was there born and bred, and who drew in from Palestine his habits of thought and speech as from his native soil.

But is it so clear that the author was a contemporary and eye-witness? No doubt this is a point which involves more delicate argumentation. Schürer does not deal directly with this; he seems to think that enough is said when it is shown that the Evangelist had access to a good tradition. Mr. Cross comes to close quarters, and he disputes at each step the validity of the inference.

Let us first consider what the argument is.

There was one moment in the history of the Church which when once it had passed did not return—the moment when the new faith was in the act of forming and bursting through the husk of the old. John the

* For instance, this is quoted from *Leg. Alleg.*, iii. 59, *τι γὰρ ἂν εἴη λαμπρότερον ἢ τηλαυγέστερον θειου λόγου, οὗ κατὰ μετουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὴν ἀχλὺς καὶ τὸν ζόφον ἀπελαύνει, φωτὸς κοινωνῆσαι ψυχικοῦ γλιχομενα* (Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 318).

† By Dr. C. A. Briggs, of New York.

* See especially the excellent *Excursus* on the word "Paraclete," by Archdeacon Watkins, in Bishop Ellicott's *Commentary for English Readers.*

† I do not repeat these arguments, which will be found in abundance in Westcott, Salmon, Watkins, Reynolds, Plummer, or any other commentary.

Baptist was a prophet like those of the old dispensation; he was looked upon askance by the ruling authorities of Jewish religion; they did not encourage his preaching; they suspected danger to themselves in the movement to which he gave the impulse; but there was nothing tangible which they could take hold of either to lay an interdict upon it or to threaten his person. The Prophet of Nazareth began in the same manner as His forerunner. He too preached repentance and the approach of the kingdom of heaven. Again there is evidence that from an early period the Pharisaic and hierarchical party had their suspicions aroused. But again there was nothing tangible for them to take hold of, and they were obliged to let the preaching take its course. Only by degrees did they attempt to check the freedom shown in the interpretation of the Law and in the treatment of Jewish institutions. Only by degrees did they become conscious that this new Teacher was not merely a liberal-minded candidate for the office and consideration of a Rabbi, but that He claimed to possess an authority different in kind from their own. Long before St. Peter's great confession there were floating about whispers and rumours that the Galilean Prophet was something more than a Prophet. He had reminded them of what had been said to them of old time, and then like a second Moses He had taken upon Him to pronounce, "But I say unto you," etc. He had had the presumption to declare the forgiveness of sins. On one occasion, contrasting the behaviour of previous generations with that of His own generation, He had said, "A greater than Solomon, a greater than Jonah, is here." In the meantime there were reports of wonderful works wrought by Him, not so much as signs of extraordinary power,—for when He was challenged to show such signs He repeatedly refused,—but as acts of mercy to the weak and suffering. All this generated a feeling of eager, if baffled, interest and expectation. Men were going about saying that the Messiah was among them. When they said "the Messiah," of course they meant what the Jews of that day understood by the Messiah, a leader armed with preternatural power, who would expel the Roman oppressor and inaugurate an age of supreme prosperity and glory for Israel. Starting with such ideas, we can imagine that there would be almost as much to disappoint their hopes as to rouse them. Many signs had pointed to the immediate coming of the Messiah; men said that Jesus of Nazareth was this Messiah; and yet there was something so strangely pacific, quiet and unobtrusive about His whole character and mode of working, that it was hard to believe that He could be the Messiah indeed. The atmosphere was highly charged and sensitive; a single spark would set the combustible materials all around in flame. Constantly that spark seemed to be on the point of falling, and still it was in some mysterious way held back. On one occasion in particular it was very near. Something strange had happened on the waste land to the east of the Sea of Galilee. Great crowds had collected, and their wants had been wonderfully supplied. A sudden enthusiasm seized them, and they tried to take their benefactor by force and make Him king.

From which of the Gospels is it that we get this trait so exactly true to the situation—a trait so true to the situation then, but by no means true permanently and at all times? It was not at once that even the disciples were weaned of their expectation of temporal sovereignty. Yet they were weaned of it. The decisive and final lesson was taught by the fall of Jerusalem. From that time onwards we cannot but feel not only that such temporal expectations were impossible, but that it must very soon have come to be forgotten that they had ever existed. By that time the Christian idea of the Messiah was, if not wholly, yet so largely purged and clarified that the very memory of a state of things in which all the dross of the Jewish expectation still clung to it must have perished. We ask what Gospel it is which has so caught the flying moment, and we find that it is the Fourth.

But a touch like this is very far from standing alone. Let me recall a few more scenes from the same Gospel.

A deputation from the priestly members of the Sanhedrin, or rather—as we are expressly and precisely told—from the Pharisaic party in that body, comes down to John the Baptist at Bethany beyond Jordan to make a formal report upon his baptism for the guidance of their colleagues. They ask, Who is he?

> "And he confessed, I am not the Christ. And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elijah? And he saith, I am not. Art thou the prophet? (cf. Deut. xviii.) And he answered, No. They said therefore unto him, Who art thou, that we may give an answer to them that sent us? . . . And they asked him, and said unto him, Why then baptizest thou, if thou art not the Christ, neither Elijah, neither the prophet?" *

The Jews well understood that this bap-

* St. John i. 20-22, 25.

tism of John's was no mere form, but that it symbolized a thorough moral reformation such as they connected with certain prophetic figures who were associated in their minds with the Messianic time. But how long can we suppose that this vivid recollection of John's baptism, and of the attitude of leaders and people towards it would remain after the generation to which it had been preached had perished?

A more advanced stage in the public ministry of Christ has been reached. There is a mingled state of almost feverish uncertainty and expectation about Him. It is the feast of tabernacles.

"The Jews therefore sought him at the feast, and said, Where is he?* And there was much murmuring among the multitudes concerning him: some said, He is a good man; others said, Not so, but he leadeth the multitudes astray. Howbeit no man spake openly of him for fear of the Jews. But when it was now the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple and taught. The Jews therefore marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" †

The threatening temper of the Sanhedrin is known, so that people speak under their breath. Is this really an impostor or not? Does He satisfy the conditions laid down for the Messiah? It is wonderful that He should have such insight, having never passed through any of the regular Rabbinical schools.

"Some of the multitude therefore, when they heard these words, said, This is of a truth the prophet. Others said, This is the Christ. But some said, What, doth the Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said that the Christ cometh of the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village where David was? So there arose division in the multitude because of him. And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him. The officers therefore came to the chief priests and Pharisees, and they said unto them, Why do ye not bring him? The officers answered, Never man so spake. The Pharisees therefore answered them, Are ye also led astray? Hath any of the rulers believed on him, or of the Pharisees? But this multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed. Nicodemus saith unto them, Doth our law judge a man except it first hear from himself and know what he doeth? They answered and said unto him, Art thou also of Galilee? Search and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet." ‡

Not only Judaism, but Palestinian Judaism, not only Palestinian Judaism, but contemporary Palestinian Judaism—not the shattered and broken school of Jamnia, but the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem in all its pride and power—is here.

Just one picture of another kind.

"Is this your son, who ye say was born blind? how then doth he now see? His parents answered and said, We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind; but how he now seeth we know not, or who opened his eyes we know not: ask him; he is of age; he shall speak for himself. These things said his parents because they feared the Jews; for the Jews had agreed already that if any man should confess him to be Christ he should be put out of the synagogue. Therefore said his parents, He is of age; ask him. So they called a second time the man that was blind, and said unto him, Give glory to God: we know that this man is a sinner." *

The whole of this narrative is redolent of Jewish ideas: at the outset the notion that the man's blindness must be a punishment for sin, his own or his parents; the interpretation given to the name Siloam (which really means "sending forth," "jet," or "discharge" of waters); and then the whole controversy, the idea that only wise and good men could work wonders (on which see the Talmudic parallels in Wünsche),† excommunication and the final advice, "Give glory to God: we know that this man is a sinner."

But what is to be observed is not only that the ideas are Jewish, but that they relate to, and fit in exactly with, a particular state of things. It is exactly the sort of controversy which would inevitably arise when such works as Jesus did and such claims as Jesus made came into collision with the fixed ideas of the Pharisees.

But one more example of a page taken straight from the life.

"Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews, but departed thence into the country near to the wilderness into a city called Ephraim; and there he tarried with his disciples. Now the passover of the Jews was at hand, and many went up to Jerusalem out of the country before the passover to purify themselves. They sought therefore for Jesus, and spake one with another as they stood in the temple, What think ye? That he will not come to the feast? Now the chief priests and the Pharisees had given commandment that if any man knew where he was, he should show it that they might take him." ‡

Be it remembered that with the Fall of Jerusalem the Jewish ritual system came to an end. There seems to have survived a practice of going up at festival times to the Rabbinical centre at Jamnia and consulting the doctors there.§ But this can only have been the merest shadow of the former pil-

* I hope it will not be thought a want of reverence if I print this not in such a way as to express Christian feelings now, but in such a way as to show that it is really history reflecting the feelings actually entertained at the period to which it refers.

† vii. 11–15.

‡ vii. 40–52. On the small esteem in which Galilee was held at Jerusalem see Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 75 f.; *Stud. Bibl.*, i. 51.

* ix. 19–24.

† *Erläuterungen d. Evangelien* (Göttingen, 1878) *ad loc.*

‡ xi. 54–57.

§ See Renan, *Les Évangiles*, p. 21, and authorities there quoted.

grimages to the feasts at Jerusalem. What experience of these could suggest to a writer of the second century that graphic picture of the stream beginning to flow toward the city (not from the Dispersion but) from the surrounding country, with a detail which would never have occurred but to one with special knowledge, "to purify themselves" for the passover?

But then, argues Mr. Cross, there are parallels to some of the allusions in the controversy with the Jews in Justin. True, there are such parallels: the instance is aptly chosen because Justin is, I think, the only, or almost the only, writer in which parallels with any point in them could be found. We may perhaps let pass the appellation "Gentile Christian," which Mr. Cross gives to Justin,* because though he calls himself a Samaritan, and though he was born at Neapolis (Sichem) in the heart of the Holy Land, he was brought up as a heathen. Still with him the controversy of the Jews was a real controversy: he had been engaged in it much and often: and the *Dialogue with Trypho* contains the literary harvest of actual living experience.† In this it differs from most subsequent treatises against the Jews which are as a rule artificial and rhetorical, in which the writers do not aim so much at the conversion of the Jews as at commending the argument from prophecy to their own co-religionists.‡

But Justin deals with the Jewish controversy in one manner, the author of the Fourth Gospel deals with it in another. We have seen how consistently, how pointedly, with how many minute side-touches of subsidiary detail, the latter always places himself at the true standpoint of the situation with which he is dealing. If I am asked whether it was impossible for a writer well acquainted with his subject to throw himself imaginatively into these positions and describe them as the Evangelist does, I would not say that it is absolutely impossible. I may have used the word before this, but in deference to Mr. Cross's arguments I withdraw it and modify the opinion to that extent. But if I am asked whether it is probable, and the solution thus suggested of the phenomena of the Gospel a satisfactory solution, I should answer unhesitatingly in the negative.

What has just been said may be taken to cover the further question as to whether the author of the Gospel was an eye-witness. If he was a contemporary, he was in all probability an eye-witness as well. I will concede a little more to Mr. Cross under this head. The narrative is studded with features which receive a natural explanation if it is the work of an eye-witness; but it would be too much to say that, taken by themselves, they *prove* it to be the work of an eye-witness. Conceivably they may be a "counterfeit presentment" drawn from the imagination and not from life. Mr. Cross has made something of a point when he maintains that it is not probable that St. John was present at all the scenes which he relates with such graphic detail. It would be rather too much to assume that he was not: he may have been present at Jacob's well, or in the chamber during the visit of Nicodemus, and on several other occasions to which Mr. Cross takes exception, still the chances are against his having been present at all of them. I am quite satisfied with the way in which Mr. Cross states the case for me, viz., "that the writer, having witnessed most of the scenes which he describes, naturally carries into other scenes which did not come within his own observation the habit of presenting the well-known figures as if he was still looking at them with his bodily eyes."* I will not say that the proof is stringent, that it is the kind of proof on which we should hang a man; but I do say that taken along with the other considerations already stated it is the best account of the facts within our reach.†

If we frankly accept the Johannean authorship of the Gospel, then it seems to me that all the characteristics of it which we have noted fall easily and duly into their places. Even those which are adverse to its complete historical accuracy seem to me to find a better explanation on this hypothesis than on any other. A second-century romance-writer, even supposing that he had the learning and the imagination, would not have had the weight and depth and force and sublimity to produce a Gospel such as this. It is equally difficult to believe that one possessed of these commanding qualities, in near proximity to an age of great literary productiveness, should have passed away entirely without a name. On

* *Crit. Rev*, Feb., 1891, p. 157 n.

† Trypho says that ἐκ πολλῆς προστρίψεως τῆς πρὸς πολλούς, he had an answer ready for every objection (c. 50).

‡ Harnack in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, i. 2, 63 ff.

* *Westminster Review*, Aug., 1890, p. 173.

† Of the detailed criticisms which Mr. Cross directs against my youthful essay (*W. R.*, pp. 177–181) I will only say that the majority of them relate rather to what might be called "picturesque accessories" than arguments. I set no great store by the order in the expulsion from the Temple (St. Mark is relatively the most graphic of the Synoptics and comes I should say next to St. John); I have no wish to press ἀναπεσών, or "and it was night," if my view of them is questioned; but I still hold stoutly to μετὰ γυναικὸς, and I think that most Greek scholars will agree with me; in this instance I do not think the argument unimportant.

the other hand, if the discourses in particular have been unconsciously shaped and moulded by the writer, it is just because he had too powerful and creative a mind for them to come out of it exactly as they were taken in. A mind like St. John's was not a sheet of white paper, on which impressions once made remained just as they were ; it must needs impart to them some infusion of its own substance ; and if there is something of masterfulness in the process, who had a better right, or who was more likely to exercise this freedom, than the last surviving Apostle, who had himself lain upon the bosom of the Lord ?

THE NEW ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

BY REV. HENRY T. SMART.

From *The Review of the Churches* (London), April, 1892.

I HAD the pleasure to make the acquaintance of Dr. Vaughan three or four years ago. The circumstances were as follows : Working in the midst of a dense population in Salford, I was impressed by the unsanitary condition of the people's dwellings, the overcrowding that prevailed in the so called homes of the poor, and the excessive death-rate of the district, which was about double that of the better parts of the borough, and I therefore resolved to make an effort to promote a better state of things by calling the attention of the authorities and of the community to the evils that needed to be redressed. After I had held two or three meetings with working men to discuss the question, it occurred to me that it would be well if some of the leading citizens of Manchester and Salford could be got together to hear from reliable witnesses how the poor are housed in our large towns. I was especially anxious to associate the Churches with this movement, partly because of the value of the co-operation of Christian men, and partly because I desired to roll away the reproach that is sometimes brought against the Churches by extreme outsiders, that they are culpably inactive in promoting social reform. I therefore ventured in my own name to invite the Bishop of Manchester, the late Dean of Manchester, the Bishop of Salford, and many other ministers of religion, to join me in this movement.

For reasons known to himself, it pleased Bishop Moorhouse neither to come to my meetings nor to acknowledge my communication, and consequently I troubled his lordship no more, until, at the close of a disastrous strike, I, as secretary of a relief committee, sent Dr. Moorhouse an appeal for help for the stricken strikers, which he acknowledged by forwarding to the chairman of the relief committee a donation of twenty pounds. Dean Oakley was of another spirit (for one star differs from another star), and cordially responded to my invitation. Both on the platform and in committee he helped us nobly until the close of his life. Bishop Vaughan did the same. His secretary replied to my first letter, and informed me that his lordship would be happy to attend the conference to which I had invited him. The meeting was held on Wesleyan Methodist premises, and was presided over by a Wesleyan minister, but this appeared not to affect the Roman Catholic prelate, and he threw himself heart and soul into the movement. When, as the outcome of these conferences, a permanent organisation was established to promote the wholesome housing of the poor, and I wrote Dr. Vaughan to ask if he would allow me to submit his name to a meeting about to be held for the election of officers, he gave me permission to make any use of him which the interests of the society demanded. The consequence was that he was chosen as one of the vice-presidents of the association, and as I had the honor to be elected president, I was brought into contact with him from time to time.

Dr. Vaughan took the deepest interest in the question of the suitable housing of the people. He visited some of the worst houses in the borough, and saw with his own eyes what "coffin dwellings" are like ; and the result was that he made a series of speeches on behalf of our movement which attracted the attention of the whole town, and did much to create a public opinion, which at length forced the Corporation to take action.

Several times he sat by my side and listened to working men whilst they described in their own vernacular the grievances which needed to be removed. Sometimes on these occasions he, like myself, was addressed with great freedom, but as our working-men friends always displayed good temper, he on his part was uniformly courteous to them. I once explained to him that after he had paid the men the compliment of listening to them for an hour or an hour and a half, they were all the more willing to listen to him with respect. With this view he agreed, and he promised to stand by me as often as his official duties would permit. This promise he kept.

As Archbishop of Westminster he will have ample opportunities for promoting the better housing of the people, and as he is an enthusiast in this matter he will probably render great service to a movement which is needed as much in London as in Salford. I regret that Salford should lose the advantage of Bishop Vaughan's earnestness before her slums are destroyed, but since he must leave that town, it is well that London should have the benefit of his zeal and knowledge.

The new Archbishop is also anxious to purify the amusements of the people. He supported me in a conference which I held with working men on the subject of their recreations, and he had the opportunity of hearing on that occasion how the people spend their leisure, and what pastimes they love the most. Neither he nor I approved of all that was said, but it is always well to know what people think, and this end was answered by the meeting to which I refer. Dr. Vaughan expressed at this conference his own views on public amusements. He desired to see the people supplied by the Corporation with winter gardens, to which men may take their wives and children, and where they may find wholesome recreation gratuitously provided for them, and light refreshments at the lowest remunerative prices. When I left the town he was elected as my successor to the office of President of the Salford Working Men's Sanitary Association, and in that capacity he has recently waited upon the Town Council to urge upon them the desirability of buying an old militia barracks and converting it into a winter garden for the people. He argues that our climate really involves a winter of nine months' duration, and that as municipal bodies provide the community with parks and bands of music and swimming baths in the summer, they should provide the people with lectures, entertainments (given, say, by School Board children and their teachers), reading and smoking-rooms, and gymnasia for the long winter months. In this way he thinks it will be possible for the public-house to be effectually combated. He would empty the gin-palace by filling the gymnasium.

Dr. Vaughan is not likely ever to join the Social Federation League, but he is in favour of extending that limited socialism of which our free libraries and parks and Board Schools are examples, and thereby providing the people with wholesome dwelling-houses and rational recreation. But though he would move in this direction, he is not advanced in his views. He is of a conservative cast of mind, and can only be said to be a Socialist in the sense in which strictly, and not jestingly, speaking, "we are all Socialists now."

The new Archbishop may fittingly be welcomed to London as a temperance reformer. The friends of temperance are divided by some temperance societies into two classes—Class A and Class B. The former class is composed of total abstainers, the latter of moderate (supposed to be *very* moderate) drinkers. Dr. Vaughan has described himself as belonging to Class B, but, as often happens, it appears that the doctors are to blame for this, they having insisted upon the Bishop using stimulants to a small extent. One would have thought that in this case, at all events, such advice was entirely unnecessary, for Dr. Vaughan is a man of splendid physique, and always seems to be in perfect health. However, he is enthusiastic in his efforts to abate intemperance, and regards the public-houses as worse than leeches, because, while leeches draw away *bad* blood, the public-houses thrive on the life-blood of the people. They are therefore, in his opinion, public curses, which ought to be suppressed, and all who are seeking to promote this end will find in him a valuable ally.

Dr. Vaughan takes much interest in outcast children; indeed, I have thought sometimes that he takes too much interest in them. That dreadful blot on our civilisation, the gutter child, is a familiar sight in the streets of Manchester, notwithstanding that there are in that fine city many noble institutions for waifs and strays. Many of the Manchester gutter children—perhaps it would be fair to say nearly all—are by birth Roman Catholics. The uninitiated may suppose that it would be regarded as a good work to rescue these unhappy little creatures, but the truth is that if one of them should be reclaimed by a Protestant society, Dr. Vaughan would think that he was doing God service by moving heaven and earth to deliver the child out of the hands of heretics. Hence he has, I believe, deemed it his duty to break a lance with the President of the Wesleyan Conference, who, as the Principal of the Children's Home, has sought to show the kindness of God to some child or children whom Dr. Vaughan claims for his own Church. No doubt this is melancholy, but it is Dr. Vaughan's creed and not his heart that is at fault. I have known Anglican clergymen who have given me the impression that in their judgment it is better that

the lapsed masses should remain in vice, than that they should be reclaimed by Dissenters, and Dr. Vaughan is so much like them, that he appears to prefer that outcast Roman Catholic children should remain homeless and semi-starved rather than be despoiled of their faith, as he would say, by being brought up in such admirable institutions as Mr. Leonard K. Shaw's Boys' Refuge, or Mr. Alsop's Home for Destitute Lads, or Dr. Stephenson's Children's Home. It is, however, only fair to add that he exerts himself to the utmost to provide for these city arabs. In Bury, Blackburn, Rochdale, and, of course, Manchester and Salford, there are Roman Catholic homes for this class of children, and, no doubt, if Dr. Vaughan had more means at his disposal, he would increase the provision which his Church has made for them.

The new Archbishop is a Director of St. Joseph's Missionary Society of the Sacred Heart, which has for its object the training and sending out of missionaries to labour amongst peoples other than European. There are colleges in connection with this Society in the Tyrol and in Holland, and consequently Dr. Vaughan is often abroad on this business. I have at times marvelled when I have read reports of Dr. Vaughan's sermons. For a while he has discoursed eloquently and powerfully, and then, when you would expect that he was about to grapple with the conscience and denounce sin, and insist upon repentance towards God and faith towards the Lord Jesus Christ, he has given a dissertation on the duty of devotion to the Sacred Heart.

Dr. Vaughan's study in his Salford home is much like the study of a minister belonging to my own communion, except that on the table there is an image of Our Lady. The shelves are stocked with books, not exactly the sort which Spurgeon would have selected, but suitable for their owner's purpose.

Dr. Vaughan is a handsome man. He is of more than average stature, aristocratic in deportment, the pink of urbanity, and a man of many accomplishments. In some respects he differs from the late Cardinal Manning as much as the moon differs from the sun. Mr. Stead has asked the saints to protect us from having Dr. Vaughan appointed in Manning's place, but his petition, like all prayers addressed to saints, has been unheard, and Bishop Vaughan is now appointed by the Pope to the vacant archbishopric. I can, however, understand the motive of Mr. Stead's ejaculation. Dr. Vaughan is not a man of the world. He is by no means a reader of newspapers. From what he once said to me, I imagine that, like Mr. Balfour, he scarcely ever reads a daily paper. Mr. Balfour says that he usually hears all that is worth knowing of the affairs of the world, and therefore has no need to waste his time in reading the papers. This will not be Dr. Vaughan's reason. He lives in a world of his own, and does not concern himself much with public affairs, priding himself upon never having given a vote at a parliamentary election. When he has been sitting at my side in public meetings, I have gathered from his questions that he has known nothing of local occurrences of which the Manchester papers were full. I was also surprised to find how little he knew of some of the leading citizens of Manchester. Not only did he not know these by face ; they were unknown to him even by name. Occasionally I introduced to him local clergymen who resided almost under the shadow of "Bishop's House," but to whom he had never spoken. Once when Mr. H. B. Harrison, who is perhaps the best-known man in Salford, having lived there for forty years, and been a member of the School Board from the establishment of that body (with the exception of a very short break), spoke in the Bishop's presence, he inquired of me whether Mr. Harrison was a clergyman.

However, he knew the late Bishop Fraser, who has left on record his impressions of him, written in the following terms : "I much like him, and all our personal relations are friendly. . . . He is an able and accomplished man, and when we meet on neutral ground, we always meet as friends, and I can get on with him much better than I can with some of our narrow-minded Protestants."

To myself Bishop Vaughan was always courteous and considerate. When I left Salford he sent one of his clergy to represent him at my farewell meeting, and he signed an address which was presented to me on that occasion, in which generous words are used to describe certain work which I had the privilege of doing in Salford, and in which kind wishes are expressed for my health and happiness. It should seem, therefore, that since the new Archbishop has been associated with Nonconformist ministers in efforts of social amelioration in Salford, he is not likely to be intolerant and exclusive in the high position to which he has been called not only by the Pope, but also by public opinion.

THE MAMMON OF UNRIGHTEOUSNESS.

BY W. TAYLOR SMITH, B.A.

From *The Thinker* (London), May, 1892.

Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when it shall fail they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles.—LUKE xvi. 9.

IN the whole recorded teaching of Jesus there is perhaps no saying which has so completely baffled the efforts of expositors, none which makes us long more for a report of the actual words uttered by our Lord. Attempt after attempt has been made by scholars whose learning and piety command universal respect, and still the reader turns away unsatisfied. Under these circumstances it would be rash in the extreme to propound an explanation with unhesitating confidence ; but a few cautious suggestions may, without presumption, be submitted to the notice of the student.

I. The first point to be considered, and on which we venture to think too great stress cannot be laid, is the absolute necessity for the right understanding of such a saying as this, of as thorough an acquaintance as possible with the thoughts, feelings, and expressions of those to whom the words were in the first instance addressed. We must endeavour to place ourselves in the position of those to whom Jesus thus spoke. What would these words mean for them? What notions were current among them on the subject with which Jesus was dealing? This method, which ought to be applied, and probably will be applied in the next generation to a greater extent than has hitherto been done to the whole of the Lord's teaching, is especially appropriate in the treatment of a saying like this, which undoubtedly has its roots in Jewish ideas and habits. Many of our Lord's precepts are couched in language which can be understood everywhere. Others—and this is one of them—are saturated with Jewish influence, are flavoured, so to speak, by the soil in which they grow, and can only be correctly interpreted by those who are familiar with that soil. Let us, then, in dealing with the passage before us try, in the first place, to realize what were the thoughts entertained by the Jews of our Lord's day on the question to which it undoubtedly refers —the wise use of material possessions. Whatever the practice of the Pharisees may have been, it is certain that in their teaching they laid great stress on the value of benevolence as a specially effectual means of securing the favour of Heaven. The text in Proverbs x. 2, "Treasures of wickedness profit nothing, but righteousness delivereth from death," had probably acquired, as early as the time of Christ, the contracted application of its latter half, which we so often find in Rabbinical literature, "*Almsgiving* delivereth from death." In other words, the term צְדָקָה, or "righteousness," and its Aramaic equivalent had begun to be used in a narrower sense than that which it had in the times of the prophets. A part was put by many in place of the whole. If a native of Jerusalem or Galilee spoke of צִדְקְתָא, he probably often, if not generally, meant not correspondence with the Divine will in all departments of life, but one phase of it, namely, kindness to the poor expressed in gifts of money and property, or, as he termed it, "mammon." Mammon so used, he was taught, might be a great blessing. Earthly life might be prolonged for years, and the benefit might extend even beyond the grave. Charitable actions were advocates, so to speak, who pleaded powerfully with God (Tosefta Peah iv. ; Baba bathra 10b). The death from which almsgiving delivered was thought of in some instances at least as not merely the death of the body, but the darker death which lay beyond—the judgment of hell (Baba bathra 10b). When a scoffing heathen asked Rabbi Akiba, who was a contemporary of the Apostle John, why the God of the Jews, if He loved the poor, did not take care of them, the Rabbi is reported to have replied : "In order that we might be delivered by them (by having them as the objects of charity) from the judgment of hell" (Baba bathra 10b). So it seems to have been believed by some of the early Rabbis that benevolence purchased, for the man who practised it, exemption from the torments of hell. According to another anecdote, professing to date from the first century, he who spent his mammon on the poor, instead of laying up treasures below and in this world, laid up treasures above, in the world to come (Baba bathra 11b). "Almsgiving," it was also said, "and benevolence" (by which they meant kind actions not confined to the giving of alms) "are equal in value to all the precepts of the Law" (Tosefta Peah iv.). It was to persons familiar with such teaching as this that the saying under consideration was addressed. So for them it must have meant something like this : "Give freely to the poor of your material possessions, and you will find, when the latter have slipped for ever from your grasp, that you still have friends, friends who can do far

more for you than was possible for the highest earthly friendship."

II. From these general illustrations of the passage we pass now to some of the expressions which it contains. The opening words, *make to yourselves friends*, are quite in the manner of the rabbis. "Make to thyself a master," said a Rabbi who flourished before the commencement of the Christian era, "and get to thyself an associate" (Pirke Aboth. I. vi.). In the clause *that they may receive you*, the plural admits of two explanations. It may either be regarded as referring to angels, an idea quite in harmony with Jewish notions about angelic ministry (see Baba bathra 11b), where angels are represented as pleading in behalf of a charitable man, and Cethuboth 104b, where it is said angels meet the soul of the righteous man), or it may be taken as an instance of the indefinite plural so common in Rabbinic literature. If the latter interpretation is adopted the clause might be rendered in English by a passive "that you may be received;" in French by a clause beginning with "on;" and in German by one commencing with "man." *Eternal tabernacles* would probably in the original form of the saying be "tabernacles of the world to come."

III. Most difficult, in fact the crux of the passage, is the expression, *mammon of unrighteousness*. The highest authorities, Lightfoot, Wetstein, and Wuensche, are all unable to furnish a fully satisfactory explanation, although they give some valuable hints which all later students must gratefully use. 1. Let us at the outset get all the information which can be extracted from the context. In v. 11 we find a slight variation of the expression: instead of ὁ μαμωνᾶς τῆς ἀδικίας, we have ὁ ἄδικος μαμωνᾶς, and the opposite of this τὸ ἀληθινόν. "The mammon of unrighteousness" then is the reverse of what is genuine. It is not what it seems to be; in other words, it is characterized by unreality, by deceitfulness. It is to all intents and purposes a sham. 2. What would the expression mean for the listeners? Was it wholly new? Or was it something with which they were more or less familiar? Had they ever heard of "the mammon of truth," or "the mammon of unrighteousness," or "the mammon of deceit," or any similar phrase? The word "mammon" at any rate, as has been already hinted, was in constant use if we can rest an inference on its frequent occurrence in the Hebrew and Aramaic sayings of the Rabbis. It was the common designation of a man's possessions as contrasted with his person. One phrase of which it formed part is found in several passages in the Targums. Now although these relics of the ancient synagogue were not put into their present form until long after the commencement of the Christian era, there is little reason for doubting the great antiquity of much of their contents and the substantial identity of much of their teaching, both as to substance and form, with that which was current in the days of our Lord. It is therefore highly probable, if not almost certain, that the phrase in question מָמוֹן דְּשֶׁקֶר "mammon of deceit, or "mammon of falsehood," was often heard in the synagogues of Palestine during the ministry. Those to whom Jesus spoke had been taught, we may assume, that the sons of Samuel had turned aside "after the mammon of falsehood" (1 Sam. viii. 3); that the man who heaps to himself "mammon of falsehood" destroys his own house (Prov. xv. 27), and that the princes of Jerusalem in the last days of the kingdom of Judah did not shrink from murder in their eagerness to gain "the mammon of falsehood" (Ezek. xxii. 27, see also the Targumic renderings of Isa. v. 23; xxxiii. 15; and Hosea v. 11). They may have been assured from the platform of the synagogue that one of the sins of the Sodomites was misuse of mammon; "they were evil," says the Targum, "in their (the use of) mammon towards one another" (Gen. xiii. 13). So when Jesus spoke of the mammon of unrighteousness, whether he used the very phrase מָמוֹן דְּשֶׁקֶר, or not, his hearers would at once think of that, and of any similar expression which they had been accustomed to hear in the synagogue. The phrase מָמוֹן דְּשֶׁקֶר seems to have meant mammon which was either got by deceit or used in deceit. As some may have begun even then (note the reference above to Baba batra 11b) to contrast earthly and heavenly treasures, it is at least possible that the expression מָמוֹן דְּשֶׁקֶר, or מָמוֹן דִּרְשָׁע * may have been intended to mean, and have been understood to mean, earthly possessions which are so closely associated with evil, and at their best are deceitful, as opposed to spiritual blessings, which are real and everlasting.

To sum up, when Jesus said, "Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when it fails they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles," He sought to impress on those who

* My friend, Prof. Marshall, has called attention to the occurrence of this expression in the Targum on Hab. ii. 9, "Woe to him who seizeth *the mammon of unrighteousness* to his house, in order to set his habitation on high, to save himself from the power of evil."

heard Him the real nature of earthly possessions—that if not stained by their origin, or the motive which led to their accumulation, they are disappointing and transient—and to point out the best way of using them; and He did this in language which sanctioned what was good in current Jewish teaching on the subject without endorsing what was exaggerated or erroneous.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD IN PREDESTINATION AS CONTAINED IN THE SYSTEM OF STRICT CALVINISM.

BY REV. G. W. NORTHRUP, D.D., LL.D.

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IV.

In an article published in THE STANDARD, March 10, we endeavored to prove that the doctrine of God's sovereignty in predestination, as contained in the system of strict Calvinism, *necessarily* implies that the eternal perdition of a part of mankind —the non-elect—is not only certain, but *inevitable,* do what they can to obtain salvation, even in the way appointed in the gospel. In demonstrating this proposition it was shown that strict Calvinism involves the following positions: 1. That in virtue of the natural or representative relation of Adam to his posterity, his fall was, in the divine judgment, really or virtually their fall. 2. That consequently mankind are, at birth, under condemnation, "subject to death with all miseries spiritual, temporal and eternal." 3. That eternal life is dependent upon repentance and faith. 4. That the inborn inability of man to repent and believe is real and absolute, "as complete as the inability of the blind to see, or of the dead to restore themselves to life." 5. That regeneration of which repentance and faith are the fruits is a work of God in which man is "*altogether passive.*" 6. That God's action in regenerating a part of mankind and in leaving the rest in unregeneracy is the certain and necessary result of the decrees of election and preterition. 7. That these decrees are, in the logical order, antecedent to and independent of all personal action as foreseen. 8. That these decrees are eternal and immutable, and the number included in each "is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished."

If these propositions are true it is demonstrably evident that the eternal perdition of a part of mankind, all the non-elect, is not only certain, but *inevitable,* do what they can to obtain salvation, even in the way appointed in the gospel.

Our chief aim in this article is to demonstrate that the same doctrinal system necessarily implies that God is not moved by love and compassion for the non-elect in his offers of salvation, entreaties, expostulations, etc., and is not, therefore, dealing with them in good faith.

NOT MOVED BY LOVE AND COMPASSION.

I. There are differences of view among Calvinists as to God's method of dealing with the non-elect.

1. According to one view it is by the power of the truth—apart from the direct action of the Holy Spirit—that he deals with the non-elect, enlightens their minds, convicts them of sin, and presses upon them the duty of accepting Jesus Christ as offered in the gospel. It is urged that "it is highly improbable that God, who does nothing in vain, should operate on men's minds to produce effects which confessedly come to nothing, which are not so continued as to *end* in salvation," and that the word of God which is declared to be "quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword, piercing to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart," is sufficient, under God's general providential agency, to produce all the results of a moral and religious character which are known to exist in those who are never renewed.

2. Another opinion is that the Holy Spirit, not as a general rule, but in special cases, does, by his direct operation upon the non-elect, render the truth more effective in their illumination, and in convicting them of sin and leading them to avoid many sins and to practice many social and civil virtues.

Calvin B. III., Chap. XXIV. 8—"For there is a universal call by which God, in the external preaching of the word, invites all, indiscriminately, to come to him, even those for whom he intends it as a savor of death, and an occasion of heavier condemnation. There is also a special call with which he, for the most part, favors only believers, when, by the inward illumination of his Spirit, he causes the word preached to sink into their hearts. Yet sometimes he also communicates it to those whom he only enlightens for a season, and afterwards forsakes on account of their ingratitude, and strikes with greater blindness."

Westminster Assembly's Larger Catechism, Q. 68—"All the elect and they only are effectually called, although others may be and often are outwardly called by the ministry of the word, and *have some common operations of the Spirit.*"

2. The doctrine most commonly held by Calvinists is that the Holy Spirit operates upon the minds of *all* men—at least of all who hear the gospel—heightening the natural power of the truth. Hodge Syst. Theol. II. 667—"The Bible teaches that the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of truth, of holiness and of life in all its forms, is present with every human soul, enforcing truth, restraining from evil, exciting to good and imparting wisdom or strength, when, where, and in what measure seemeth to him good. In this sphere also he divides to every man severally as he will. This is what in theology is called common grace."

Shedd, Dogmatic Theol. I. 432.—"Every human being experiences some degree of the ordinary influences of the Spirit of God. St. Paul teaches that God strives with man universally. He convicts him of sin and urges him to repent of it and to forsake it."

Among the additions which the Revision committee recommended to the General Assembly at its last session is the following statement: "The gospel declares the love of God for the world and his desire for the salvation of all men. It sets forth clearly and fully the only way of salvation which is through Christ alone; commands, exhorts and invites all to embrace offered mercy, and urges every motive to induce men to accept its gracious invitations. This free and universal offer of the gospel is accompanied by the Holy Spirit, striving with and entreating men to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. And they who continue to disobey the gospel perish by their own fault, and are wholly without excuse, because they have resisted the Holy Spirit and rejected God's gracious offer of eternal life."

Difficulties.

As regards the object which we have chiefly in view in this paper,—which is to prove that, according to the theory of strict Calvinism, in inviting and urging the non-elect to accept eternal life as offered in the gospel, God cannot be regarded as moved by compassion for them, and therefore that he is not dealing with them in good faith,—it is not a matter of essential importance to determine which one of the views indicated above should be accepted; whether in dealing with this class God employs the truth alone, under the laws of his ordinary providential action, or whether the Holy Spirit operates occasionally or universally in connection with the truth, heightening its natural effect upon the understanding, conscience and heart. The supposition that it is solely by his providential action that God renders the truth effective in illuminating, convicting and persuading the non-elect, involves all the difficulties which would arise from supposing that the Holy Spirit operates also, occasionally, in furtherance of the same end; and the supposition that the Holy Spirit operates occasionally, involves all the difficulties which would arise from supposing that he operates universally.

1. It is universally conceded that God, by his providential efficiency, does use the natural light of reason and conscience, and the truth revealed in the gospel, in convicting the non-elect of sin and in pressing upon them the duty of accepting the mercy offered in Jesus Christ. The question with which we are concerned at this point is not what the non-elect do under the influence of truth,—whether they ever strive to gain the favor of God in the way of his appointing, or whether their whole attitude is one of resistance to his will and defiance of his authority,—but why he deals with them in this way, having determined by an irreversible decree antecedent to and irrespective of their personal action as foreseen not to renew them, and knowing that, since their inborn inability to repent and believe, or to renew themselves, is a "bondage as terrible and remorseless as any imprisonment behind iron bars," their perdition is *inevitable*, do what they can, and knowing, also, that every act on his part, in pressing upon them the claims, invitations and encouragements of the gospel, cannot but enhance their guilt and damnation? Is it not certain that such a mode of procedure as this cannot be due to "divine mercy and love for their souls?" Is it not an inexcusable abuse of language to call anything bestowed upon sinners "grace," an "expression of compassion," the possession of which cannot but enhance their guilt and punishment, do what they can to use it aright? The fact that the inability of mankind is culpable—rendering them liable "to the wrath of God and the curse of the law"—does not affect the question before us, whether the bestowment of "common grace," or "the means of common grace," is, or is not, "an expression of God's infinite mercy" for the non-elect. It is not the *character* of the sinner's inability, whether innocent or guilty, but its *reality* and *absoluteness* which it concerns us here

to keep in mind. Would it be "an expression of love" on the part of a superintendent of an asylum for the blind, to those under his care, to take them to a picture gallery with the intention of exhorting and commanding them to open their eyes and to look with admiration on the masterpieces of the great artists, and of punishing them in case they should fail to obey him? Would it be an act of "mercy" on the part of a prince to spread a table with all manner of delicacies, in sight of a prisoner behind iron bars, with the design of inviting and commanding him to come forth from his imprisonment and to partake of the bounty provided for him, and of adding to the severity of his punishment in case he refused to do so? It is self-evident that, whatever might be the motive of the superintendent or of the prince, in the cases supposed, the feeling of love and mercy could not have been one of them. And so, if the theory of strict Calvinism is true in its teaching relative to (1) the absoluteness of the sinner's inability to save himself, (2) the decree of preterition as prior to and irrespective of the foresight of the personal action of those included in it, and (3) the notion of common grace as enhancing the guilt of those who receive it, though insufficient to enable them to repent and believe, it is self-evident that God cannot be moved in his dealing with the non-elect by mercy and love for their souls. If the facts of their case are such as this theory supposes them to be, would not the least degree of compassion, if unrestrained, determine him to send them to hell on the day of their birth, or to appoint them to be born idiotic, or, at least, to live and die in the densest darkness of paganism? Let us see if it is not logically necessary to answer this question in the affirmative.

(1) All that *strict justice* can require in the case of the non-elect is that they be appointed to die in infancy and to be punished forever for original sin. "Every sin, both *original* and actual . . . doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and the curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all its miseries spiritual, temporal and *eternal*" (West. Con.)

(2) In case the non elect are appointed to live to the age of responsible action, their guilt *must increase* with the increase of the years of their earthly existence. For their inability to cease to sin, even for a moment, is as real and complete as their inability to cease to exist, which inability God decreed without consideration of their personal action as foreseen, not to remove.

(3) Every sin, even the smallest, "deserves damnation." (West. Con. Chap. XV. 4.)

(4) God will render to all men according to their works, adjusting in the case of every one, penalty to ill-desert with infallible accuracy.

(5) The total penalty to which the sinner is obnoxious at the hour of death will be, therefore, greater or less according to the light possessed or attainable.

Now we affirm that these positions, if true (and we do not here call in question the truth of any one of them), logically compel us to deny that God is moved by love and mercy for the non-elect in appointing them to live to the age of moral accountability and in bestowing upon them common grace, or the means of common grace. If *justice* would be completely satisfied in the assignment of the non-elect to hell in infancy, what shall we call that principle in God which determined him, having decreed in the exercise of his sovereignty not to renew and pardon them, to appoint them to live to the years of adult life, thereby rendering their subjection to an infinitely enhanced damnation *inevitable?* Is it not the height of absurdity to say that such a mode of procedure as this is "an expression of God's mercy and love for the non-elect?"

(2) But still more impressive proof of the proposition which we set out to establish is involved in the view most commonly held by strict Calvinists on the ground of the teaching of the Bible and of the facts of experience and observation, viz.: that the Holy Spirit operates occasionally, or universally, with the truth, rendering it more effective even in the case of those who are never regenerated.

We challenge any man to suggest any valid reasons for the belief that God deals with the elect as a class, prior to his act regenerating them, in a manner *in any respect different* as regards the kind, or energy, or duration of the agencies employed, from that in which he deals with the non-elect as a class. We believe there is no warrant for the commonly received notion of "*special grace*" as distinguished in kind from "common grace" and from "regenerating grace." The simple facts of the case are these: Here are two classes of persons: in the one class, the elect,—there certain so-called immediate antecedents of regeneration, being due to the action of God by his providence,

truth, and Spirit upon their minds, and their action in response to his providential and gracious agency as determined by the purpose of election. These "antecedents" are simply the volitions, feelings, etc., divinely appointed as a fitting preparation or condition of the bestowment of regenerating grace; they may be few or many, continued for an hour or for years, involving little or great distress of mind. As we stated in a former article, at times the Holy Spirit flashes the illuminating and burning rays of divine truth into the soul, dispelling its darkness, starting into intense action the dormant principles of sin, setting the conscience on fire, awakening regret, shame, fear, remorse; appealing to the higher and nobler aspirations of the soul, which sin has not utterly destroyed, and which point the soul to the height whence it fell. Yet these manifold activities are not the new life, nor do they have any tendency to spiritual renovation. But in the midst of these various activities of reason, conscience, sensibility and will, beneath them all—below conscience itself—at the center of the soul—there is a divine touch, restoring the dead to life, opening the blind eyes, emancipating the enslaved will, and calling into exercise faith, repentance, hope, love, and every other spiritual principle of our being. In like manner, with the exception of the life-giving touch, the Holy Spirit, it cannot be doubted, often operates upon those whom the strict Calvinistic theory regards as the non-elect, and with far greater energy in the case of some of them than in the case of many whom he calls from death to life.

God's Reasons in His Dealing with the Non-Elect.

What now, we inquire, are the reasons determining God to deal in this way with the non-elect? Is it that he designs (1) "to restrain them from much that is evil and to lead them to exercise many civil and social virtues," (2) "to aid in promoting the salvation of the elect," (3) to make manifest the greatness of their depravity and the righteousness of their punishment? But granting that God has these and other ends in view, we would inquire, Is he moved by "infinite love and mercy," seeking to persuade them to shun destruction, to accept of the salvation offered in the gospel, or is he tantalizing them with the offer of an infinite but impossible good? If the view already considered, that it is only through his providential action that the truth is made effective in the work of illuminating, convicting and persuading the non-elect, is absolutely irreconcilable with the supposition that he is moved by a compassionate regard for them, what shall we say of his action in bestowing upon them the powerful influences of his Spirit, whereby their guilt and damnation cannot but be immeasurably enhanced? In what respect, we would again ask, would his procedure in their case be different, if it were determined by pure, unrestrained, infinite wrath? It is safe to say that there is not a man in the world who would not unhesitatingly prefer to be sent to hell the very hour in which he should be infallibly assured that he belonged to the class of the non-elect according to the theory of strict Calvinism.

The only view which can possibly be held consistently with this theory is that of Augustine, Calvin, Turretin and his school, and of the earlier Calvinists generally, viz.: *That God has no love for the non-elect* in the sense of a desire to save them. Augustine taught that by Adam's sin the whole human race became a mass of corruption—an object of God's infinite abhorrence and that he determined, antecedent to their personal action, to leave the great majority of them in the state of deserved abhorrence in which they are born.

Calvin denies unhesitatingly and explicitly that God loves the non-elect in the sense of desiring to save them. Inst. B. III. XXIV. 7, 12—"God through the external preaching of the word, invites all men alike, even those for whom he *designs the call to be a savor of death and a ground of severer condemnation.*" "Those whom *he has created for dishonor during life and destruction at death,* that they may be vessels of wrath and examples of severity, in *bringing them to their doom,* he at one time deprives them of the means of hearing the word, at another by the preaching of it blinds and stupefies them the more."

The late Dr. Van Dyke, Dr. Shedd's successor in Union Theological Seminary, declares (Variations of Calvinism, 44, 45) "that Calvin denies that there is any mercy whatever for the non-elect, holding that God has *excluded them from all access* to salvation . . . that according to his theory, the great majority of the human race are predestinated by an eternal *election* to destruction—they are *created* for this very purpose—and the only reason why the gospel is preached to any of these reprobates, is not any real desire or willingness on God's part for their salvation, but his active design is to harden and fit them for the destruction to which they are doomed."

Dr. Dabney remarks (Princeton Rev.,

July 1878, p. 351), "It is significant that the Reformed divines of Turretin's school seem usually to conduct this debate on the assumption (sometimes tacit, sometimes expressed) that as God had no *volition* towards the salvation of the non-elect, so he could not have any propension or affection at all towards it."

In an article published in the *Herald and Presbyter*, September 25, 1889, Dr. Van Dyke uses the following language: "Now, I affirm, and challenge proof to the contrary, that our Confession does not contain one declaration of the infinite love of God for all men as it is revealed in the gospel, or one declaration of the infinite fullness of the gospel salvation as suitable, and offered to all sinners, or one declaration which comprehends, or even alludes to the teaching of Scripture on these points."

And the explanation of the failure of the Westminster Confession and of the other early Reformed creeds, to teach explicitly, or by implication, God's love for all men, is found in the fact that their authors were compelled by the logic of the strict Calvinistic theory to deny his love for the non-elect.

It is of the very essence of this theory as expounded by Augustine, Calvin, and its advocates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that God loves the elect and them alone, that the provisions of mercy as revealed in the gospel were designed for them and for them only, and that these provisions are offered to mankind indiscriminately because such a method is best for securing the salvation of those for whom they were made. And no skill in statement, and no subtlety of logic can harmonize with this scheme the current Calvinistic representations, based on the plainest declarations of the Bible, that God loves all men in the sense of having an infinite desire for the salvation of each and every one of them. "To escape the irresistible force of these declarations" (John 3 : 16 ; 1 Tim. 2 : 4 ; 2 Pet. 3 : 9 ; 1 John 3 : 2 ; Rom. 11 : 32), says Dr. Schaff, "Calvinists have resorted to the distinction between the *revealed* will of God which would save all men, and the *secret* will which would save a few. But that would put an intolerable dualism into the being of God and charge him—*sit venia verbo*—with falsehood and deceit. This is logic with a vengeance, and it is irresistible from Augustinian premises."

3. Thus far in our discussion we have proceeded on the assumption that those whom this theory designates as non-elect, though the recipients of the same grace which is bestowed upon the elect prior to the act which regenerates them, never seek to gain the favor of God in the way appointed in the gospel, never strive to exercise the repentance and faith which the Bible requires. "It will be time enough," says Dr. Hodge, "for any man to complain when he fails to experience Christ's healing power, after having sought it as long, as earnestly, and as submissively to the directions of God's word, as its importance demands ; or, even with the assiduity and zeal with which men seek the perishing things of this life," Syst. Theol. II. 709, 710.

But we challenge any man to suggest any valid reasons for the belief that those whom this theory recognizes as the elect, ever perform, under the influence of the grace bestowed upon them while unregenerate, any moral or religious acts which, as regards the matter or spirit of them, are not performed by those whom the theory designates as the non-elect ; or any valid reasons for denying, or doubting that multitudes of the latter class (the non-elect) do seek salvation in the way of God's appointing with far greater earnestness and perseverance than do multitudes of the former class (the elect) whom God meets with his renewing and pardoning grace. It is important to see clearly the ground of the position here taken.

Specific Grounds Stated.

(1) The decrees of election and preterition are, in the logical order, antecedent to and independent of the personal action of men as foreseen.

(2) There is *no evidence*, Scriptural or rational, that there is any difference in the influence of the truth, or in the operation of the Holy Spirit on the minds of the members of these two classes—the non-elect, and the elect while unregenerate.

(3) Hence there can be no ground for believing that the action of the elect as a class differs in any respect from that of the non-elect as a class, under the influence of the truth and the ordinary operation of the Holy Spirit.

(4) If, then, those who are included in the purpose of preterition never seek eternal life in the way of the gospel, in response to the influence of common grace, we must believe that those included in the purpose of election never struggle and agonize to gain eternal life in response to the same influences and agencies.

(5) But that the elect do earnestly and perseveringly seek to escape destruction, do strive to come into right relations to God through repentance and faith, moved by the

commands and invitations of the gospel and the action of the Holy Spirit, is abundantly evident from the statements of Scripture and from the testimony of the regenerate. Bunyan is surpassed by no uninspired writer in setting forth vividly and truthfully the influence of divine truth upon men, both the regenerate and the unregenerate, and their action under these influences. And he tells us that "the man put his fingers in his ears and ran crying, Life! life! eternal life! So he looked not behind him, but fled toward the middle of the plain;" and that when he tumbled into the slough of despond he "endeavored to struggle to the side of the slough that was furthest from his own house and nearest to the wicket gate," and when he came to the gate and saw that over it was written, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you," "he knocked more than once or twice, saying,

> "May I now enter here? Will he within
> Open to sorry me, though I have been
> An undeserving rebel? Then shall I
> Not fail to sing his lasting praise on high."

Are not the words of Newton true to the experience of multitudes of the people of God?

> "Once a sinner near despair
> Sought thy mercy-seat in prayer;
> Mercy heard and set him free,
> Lord, that mercy came to me."

President Davies: "It is only in the use of the means of grace that you can expect divine grace to work faith in you: never yet was it produced in one soul while lying supine, lazy, inactive."

Edwards: "Though God has not bound himself to anything that a person does while destitute of faith, and out of Christ, there is great probability that in the way of hearkening to this counsel you will live, and that by pressing onward and persevering you will at last, as it were by violence, take the kingdom of heaven. Those of you who have not only heard the directions given, but shall through God's merciful assistance practice according to them, are those who will probably overcome."

Shedd: "Salvation is in the highest degree probable for any person who earnestly and diligently uses common grace and the means of common grace. . . . There is the highest encouragement in the Bible to pray for the regenerating grace of God. . . . To a person who inquires: How am I to obtain the new truth and what particular thing am I to do respecting it, the answer is: Find out that you need it, and that your self-enslaved will cannot originate it. And when you have found this out cry unto God, the Holy Spirit, Create in me a clean heart, and renew within me a right spirit, and this prayer must not cease till the answer comes."

This is most admirable and scriptural advice; but query: How long would *one of the non-elect* have to pray before receiving the blessing of the new birth? It is, however, needless to multiply these testimonies.

Four Legitimate Motives.

There are four legitimate motives or principles of action to which the Holy Spirit appeals, in the use of the truth, in persuading sinners to seek the salvation of their souls: self-interest, the feeling of obligation, the natural principle of gratitude, and the aspiration for something higher and better than the world can give.

(1) Self-interest, due regard for one's highest well-being, is a legitimate and divinely implanted principle of action, and to be determined by it, in due measure, is an essential characteristic of rational beings in their unfallen state. It is as proper and right for a sinner to seek to shun eternal destruction as it is for him to seek to escape from a burning building. "That this natural self-interest is not in itself sinful, God himself shows when he addresses the warnings and invitations of his word both to men's hopes and to men's fears." It is impossible that there should be a more powerful appeal to the legitimate principle of self-regard than the Scriptures make in their offer of infinite good and in their threatening of infinite evil.

(2) Many are powerfully moved to strive to obey God by the feeling of obligation. Their conscience, quickened by the operation of the Holy Spirit, responds to the claims of divine law; they see and feel that to repent of their sins, to obey, and trust, and love God, is a most sacred duty, having its ground in his character and relations to them. Conscience, when enlightened, is a high and powerful principle of action, and to strive to obey its behests is not to act selfishly, or to act in defiance of the authority of God.

(3) The natural principle of gratitude often prompts the awakened sinner to respond to the gracious invitations of the gospel. The goodness of God leads, its tendency and design is to lead, men to repentance. The sight of the incarnate Son of God, uttering from the cross the cry of expiring love, has an immeasurable power of appeal to the heart when under the illu-

minating and quickening influence of the Holy Spirit.

"I saw One hanging on a tree
In agonies and blood;
He fixed his languid eyes on me,
As near his cross I stood.
O, never till my latest breath,
Shall I forget that look;
It seemed to charge me with his death,
Though not a word he spoke."

(4) Some are moved Godward by an aspiration for something higher and better than the world can give. Profoundly conscious of the emptiness and vanity of all finite things, bewildered by the mysteries and tragedies of life, the heart is moved by the gracious words coming down from the height of heaven, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest." Shedd, Sermons to the Natural Man, 216,—"Through the common influences of the Spirit of grace, and the ordinary workings of a rational nature not yet reprobated, man is at times the subject of internal stirrings and aspirations that indicate the greatness and glory of the heights whence he fell. Under the power of an awakened conscience, and the feeling of the emptiness of the world, and the aching void within him, man wishes for something better than he has, or than he is. . . . The immortal, heaven-descended spirit, feeling the kindling touch of truth and of the Holy Ghost, thrills under it and essays to soar."

It is these principles, one or all, to which the Holy Spirit appeals through the instrumentality of the truth in the work of persuading men to seek the salvation of their souls, to accept of Jesus Christ as offered in the gospel. And we affirm our conviction that no substantial reasons can be adduced for believing that the action as a class, of those whom the theory of strict Calvinism regards as non-elect, under the influence of the commands and gracious appeals of the gospel and the operation of the Holy Spirit, is *in any respect different* from the action of the elect as a class, while in a state of unregeneracy; and that no substantial reason can be adduced for doubting or denying that multitudes of the former class seek God with far more earnestness and perseverance than do multitudes of the latter class, the immediate antecedents of whose regeneration are determined by the decree of election. They may use the means of grace, read the Scriptures daily, consult Christian friends and follow their counsel, strive to exercise repentance and faith, supplicate the Divine mercy with strong crying and tears for the grace necessary to render their striving successful, thus using all their natural powers to the utmost in seeking salvation in the way appointed in the gospel; yet all these efforts—due to the agency of the Holy Spirit—are infallibly and necessarily vain. For, since they cannot renew themselves, the eternal and irreversible decree not to renew them being, in the logical order, prior to and irrespective of their personal action as foreseen, renders their eternal perdition as certain and unavoidable as it would be if it were brought about by a direct divine efficiency. And still further, these efforts are not only necessarily vain, they infinitely enhance the guilt and condemnation of the non-elect; and this infinitely enhanced damnation is the certain and *inevitable* result of God's *compassionate and merciful* action in granting the non-elect continuance of life and the illuminating and quickening influences of the gospel and of the Holy Spirit!

It needs to be carefully noted that in speaking of the elect and the non-elect we have exclusively in mind those classes as determined by the purposes of God formed irrespective of the personal action of those included in them. If it were held that in forming these purposes God has respect to the action of men in the use of common grace and the means of common grace as foreseen, then of course it would not be true as stated above, that there are no valid reasons for believing that the action of the non-elect as a class differs, in any respect, from that of the elect as a class prior to their regeneration. But the theory under consideration denies such a relation of foreknowledge to decrees as this conception implies.

Not in Good Faith.

II. This theory in denying virtually, if not explicitly, the love of God for the non-elect, necessarily impugns his sincerity and good faith in dealing with them.

God commands, urges and entreats all men to shun destruction and to accept of offered mercy, expresses the deepest compassion for them, promises them eternal life if they will comply with his requirements, and by the direct operation of his Spirit on their minds greatly heightens the power of appeal which these commands, entreaties, promises, etc., possess, in their own nature, to every rational and right principle of action. Now the good faith of God, in dealing with men in this way, self-evidently implies two things:

1. The existence in him of such a love for them, of such a desire for their salva-

tion, as the expostulations, entreaties, promises, etc., naturally and necessarily imply.

2. The possibility of compliance with the terms of salvation on the ground (1) either of the purpose of election involving their regeneration, (2) or of their ability to renew themselves under the influence of common grace, (3) or of their ability so to use common grace and the means of common grace, as to render the bestowment of regenerating grace, if not certain or highly probable, at least *possible*. But we have shown that the logic of the theory under consideration, according to the exposition of its ablest defenders, denies the existence in God of love for the non-elect in the sense of a desire to save them.

The logic of this theory denies, also, the possibility of the salvation of the non-elect. Since then God has no compassion for them and since, also, their salvation is impossible in every sense of the term—naturally and morally impossible—impossible to them and impossible to God himself—for he cannot reverse his irreversible decrees—for him to invite them to come to him in Jesus Christ, and to promise to receive them graciously *if they will come*, is as manifestly irreconcilable with his sincerity as any course of action which the human mind can conceive of. To speak with the greatest moderation, he cannot but be regarded as tantalizing them with the offer of an infinite but impossible good. What should we say of the sincerity of the captain of a vessel who, seeing some men in the water in mid-ocean, should entreat them to avoid death by drowning, and to come on board his vessel, while having an inflexible purpose, formed irrespective of any request or action on their part, to withhold the aid absolutely necessary to render compliance with his invitation possible? What should we think of the good faith of a physician who, seeing a man faint, and well-nigh helpless from loss of blood from a severed artery, should urge him to avoid death by bleeding, and let the flow of blood be stopped, while having fully determined without consideration of what the sufferer would do, or would refuse to do, to let him bleed to death?

Wherein does the conduct of the captain and the physician, in the cases supposed, fail to represent the action of God, according to the strict Calvinistic theory, in dealing with the non-elect, commanding and entreating them to flee from the wrath to come, and promising that "if they repent he will forgive them, if they believe he will save them," knowing that without a certain kind of assistance—the bestowment of efficacious grace—they are as impotent to repent and believe as "a dead man to sit up in his coffin,"—which assistance he determined by an immutable decree not to grant, regardless of what it was foreknown they would do or would refuse to do in relation to his proposals of mercy? Whatever might be said of the *justice* of such a procedure in the case of those involved in sin and guilt, it certainly could not be regarded as *sincere and honest*. God does not deal even with the lost spirits in hell in this way, urging them to become reconciled to him and thus to avoid his everlasting displeasure, for he knows that they cannot avoid his displeasure by any method of their own devising, and that he does not intend to provide for them a way of deliverance. And yet the salvation of the impenitent dead, and of the non-elect among the living, are equally impossible and impossible on the same grounds —the immutable decree of God not to save them, and their utter inability to save themselves.

To conclude the discussion of this point. According to the logic of the strict Calvinistic theory this is the condition of those of the non-elect who are appointed to reach the period of responsible action: 1. They begin their existence under condemnation, "subject to death with all its miseries spiritual, temporal and *eternal*." 2. Involved in a moral bondage as "terrible and remorseless as any imprisonment behind iron bars." 3. Abandoned in the decree of God to the state of guilt and depravity in which they are born. 4. As impotent to cease to sin as to cease to exist. 5. Yet illuminated and convicted of sin by the truth providentially enforced. 6. Their illumination and consequent culpability being immeasurably increased by the direct action of the Holy Spirit. 7. Every sin which they commit, even the smallest, rendering them "worthy of damnation." 8. Even their efforts to escape perdition, however earnest and sincere they may be, being not only vain, but sinful and greatly aggravating their doom. 9. Their inevitable and final damnation being, therefore, infinitely more dreadful than it would have been if they had been sent to hell in infancy. We ask again, in what respect would God treat them differently if he were moved by pure, unrestrained, infinite wrath?

But it is urged frequently and with great confidence that the doctrine of reprobation is no more inconsistent with the sincerity of God in his indiscriminate offers of mercy than is that of his infallible foreknowledge. We deny, however, that the

difficulty of reconciling the good faith of God in his indiscriminate proposals of mercy, arising from his foreknowledge of the final perdition of some of those to whom the proposals are made, is of the same order as that with which we are confronted on the strict Calvinistic theory of reprobation. God put holy angels on trial, knowing that its issue would be disastrous in the case of some of them; but his foreknowledge of this issue is not even apparently inconsistent with his sincerity in the use of means to prevent their fall; for they possessed plenary ability to stand firm in their integrity and were moved to do so by the most powerful influences which could be wisely brought to bear upon them. God was obliged by his absolute ethical perfection to deal with holy angels according to the most perfect method of moral trial, and if he could not prevent the apostasy of some of them, acting according to this method, then, their fall, and consequently his foreknowledge of it, are clearly consistent with his good faith in dealing with them. But if their fall were unavoidable, if Adam's inability to remain holy were as real and absolute as the inability of "the dead to restore themselves to life," then it would be self-evidently impossible to believe in the good faith of God in commanding perfect obedience and in enforcing the command by fearful sanctions.

If, then, God offers pardon and life to men and secures to them through the truth and the operation of the Holy Spirit, full ability to accept the offer or so to strive to accept it that they may be certain or may confidently expect that their striving will be blessed of him with the blessing of renewing and pardoning grace, the fact of his foreknowledge that some would reject the proffered mercy, thus rendering their final condemnation morally necessary, can involve no question of his sincerity in his dealings with them.

CHURCH FOLK-LORE.

BY J. EDWARD VAUX.

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IV.

Marriage Customs.

It can be readily believed that a great variety of local customs have clustered round such an interesting event as Marriage. Some of these I purpose describing in the present paper.

Most people are aware that according to the old English Church rule, there were certain seasons during which marriage was prohibited. According to the Sarum rite, these seasons were: "From Advent Sunday to the morrow of the Octave of the Epiphany; from Septuagesima to the morrow of the Octave of Easter; and from Rogation Monday to the morrow of Trinity Sunday." A Latin notice to this effect appears in the register-book of Dymchurch in Kent, and a rhyming English one in the Church of St. Mary's, Beverley, dated Nov. 25, 1641. Similar notices will be found in the registers of Wimbush, Essex, and Hornby, Yorkshire. In his charge in 1750, Archbishop Sharp mentions these prohibited times, and they are set down as matters of general information in some of the almanacs of the last century. Bishops and archdeacons were in the habit of inquiring at their visitations whether any, without lawful license, have married during the prohibited seasons. Reference may be made to Bp. Andrewes' Articles, Winchester, 1619 and 1625; to Bp. Cosins in the East Riding, 1627; and to Bp. Montague's at Norwich in 1638.

On the fly-leaf of the register at Everton, Notts, the following doggerel appears:

> "Advent marriage doth deny,
> But Hilary gives thee liberty.
> Septuagesima says thee nay,
> Eight days from Easter says you may.
> Rogation bids thee to contain,
> But Trinity sets thee free again."

In East Anglia there exists an old saying:

> "Marry in Lent,
> And you'll live to repent."

The publication of Banns is a very ancient Church custom, and three publications in the Church of England were enjoined by the Canons of Westminster in 1200. At the present day the English Church law is most strict in this matter. It is laid down in Can. 62 that: "No minister, upon pain of suspension *per triennium ipso facto*, shall celebrate matrimony between any persons without a faculty or licence granted by some of the persons in these our Constitutions expressed, except the Banns of Matrimony have been first published three several Sundays or Holy days in the time of Divine Service in the Parish Churches or Chapels where the said parties dwell, according to the Book of Common Prayer."

Of course the publication of Banns in church was intended to prevent clandestine marriages, but Dean Comber, as was his wont, gives a more religious reason—to wit,

that those about to marry may have the prayers of their neighbours, who, as he tells us, were accustomed in Yorkshire to respond : " God speed them well."

This congratulatory exclamation was by no means uncommon. Thus at Cromhall, in Gloucestershire, the words were said only after the publication of the Banns for the last time. The custom prevailed at Thornton Steward, in the North Riding of Yorkshire up to 1871, and at Patrick Brompton in the same riding up to 1866.

It was mostly the use for the clerk to pronounce these words, but a friend tells me that when he was at Eyam in Derbyshire, some thirty years ago, the oldest man in the congregation, and not the clerk, was accustomed to pronounce this formula.

Sometimes the words were spoken by the clerk in the course of the Marriage Service, and was called " blessing the couple." Indeed, the custom of pronouncing these words, " God speed 'em well," was very common in olden time, but the occasion on which they were used varied considerably.

There was a curious usage at Norham in the Diocese of Durham, which probably still exists. If the Banns are thrice published, and the marriage does not take place, the refusing party, whether the man or woman, pays forty shillings to the Vicar as a penalty for " scorning the Church."

Let us now consider the customs which are more immediately connected with the Marriage ceremony.

In Wales it was, and I believe still is, the practice to " make a bidding," or to send " bidding letters" on the occasion of a wedding. In towns the custom is confined to servants and mechanics, but in the country, farmers of the humbler sort make biddings. Of late years, tea-parties have, in Carmarthen, been substituted for biddings, but persons attending pay for what they get, and so incur no obligation. When a bidding is made it is usual for a large procession to accompany the young couple to Church, and thence to the house where the bidding is held. This is considered a special compliment. The writer from whom I have gathered the above information states that he has seen (perhaps) six hundred persons in a wedding procession. The men walk together, and the women together, to Church, and in returning, they walk in pairs, or often in threes, one man between two women. In the country they ride, and there is generally a desperate race home to the " bidding." A comely lass with Welsh hat on head, and ordinary dress, often takes the lead of fifty or a hundred smart fellows over rough roads that would shake your Astley riders out of their seats and propriety.

Here is a form of a bidding letter :

" Carmarthen, *October*, 1850.

" As we intend to enter the matrimonial state on Tuesday, October 22 instant, we are encouraged by our friends to make a bidding on the occasion, the same day at the New Market House, near the Market Place, when and where the favour of your good and agreeable company is respectfully solicited, and whatever donation you may be pleased to confer upon us then will be thankfully received, warmly acknowledged, and cheerfully repaid whenever called for on a similar occasion, by

Your most obedient servants,
Henry Jones (Shoemaker),
Eliza Davies.

" The young man, his father (John Jones, shoemaker), his sister (Mary Jones), his grandmother (Nurse Jones), his uncle and aunt (George Jones, painter, and Mary his wife), and his aunt (Elizabeth Rees) desire that all gifts due to them be returned to the young man on the above day, and will be thankful for all additional favours.

" The young woman, her father and mother (Evan Davies, pig drover, and Mary his wife), and her brother and sisters (John, Hannah, Jane and Annie Davies) desire that all gifts of the above nature due to them be returned to the young woman on the above day, and will be thankful for all additional favours conferred."

We now come to consider the question as to the proper place in the church where the earlier part of the Marriage Service should be conducted. Some people have thought that to have it in the nave was a mere " Ritualistic" fad, albeit plainly ordered by the Prayer Book Rubric. The Vicar of Kirby Lonsdale has told me that at the reparation of his church, about 1868, he told the old clerk, born in 1788, that he could now take the earlier part of the Marriage Service in the body of the church, and the clerk replied : " That is how it used to be when I was a boy."

At Witham, Essex, it is, or was, the custom to perform the first part of the Marriage Service at the font. When the Rev. A. Snell was appointed to the benefice, in 1873, he spoke to a bridegroom about this usage, and the man particularly requested that he might be married at the font, as he " liked old customs."

As an illustration of the way in which old Church usages die out, I may mention a fact told me by a clerical friend. He was informed by his mother that the custom of reading the first part of the Marriage Service in the body of the church was first broken through at Kelvedon, Essex, by her mother's desire, at the marriage of her eldest sister. The Bishop of London was

the officiant, and acquiesced. I am sorry to say that in days gone by there have been few more unscrupulous violaters of Church order than the bishops.

The pre-Reformation rule was to begin the Marriage Service at the door of the church. In his "Wife of Bath," Chaucer refers to this custom, when he makes her say :—

"Housbondes atte Chirch dore I have had fyve."

This old usage was abandoned by authority in Edward VI.'s time, yet I have reason to think that it was not entirely given up. There is a poem of Robert Herrick's, written about 1640, which is entitled : "The Entertainment, or Porch Verse, at the Marriage of Mr. Henry Northley." Herrick was a Devonshire vicar, and in that county many ancient customs were long retained.

The late Canon Humble has told me that in the North of England he has seen the bridegroom place on the Book a purse containing "all his worldly goods," together with the ring, to show that he gives all to his wife as equally at her disposal.

He mentioned, also, another old usage, viz., that the clergyman was expected to kiss the bride after the register was signed, as an accompaniment to wishing her health and happiness. The late Dr. Raine has recorded how a peculiarly modest priest, who was a stranger, once marrying a couple in a rural parish, was surprised at the wedding party still tarrying in the vestry, and on asking if anything more was wanted, was told by the bridegroom, "You have na kissed Betty ;" and he had to do it, though sorely against the grain. Another person had also that privilege, viz., the person who first reached the house after the marriage. In the Border parishes, the horses of the attendants were all tethered outside the churchyard, and as soon as the register was signed all rushed out of the vestry, and a race began, each going across country in hope of winning the coveted prize.

Mr. Henderson tells us that throughout Cleveland he who gives away the bride claims the first kiss in right of his temporary paternity. Referring to the custom mentioned above, of a kiss from the clergyman being expected by the bride, he adds that only a few years before he wrote "a fair lady from the County of Durham, who was married in the South of England, so undoubtedly reckoned upon the clerical salute that, after waiting for it in vain, she boldly took the initiative, and bestowed a kiss upon the much-amazed south country vicar."

In connection with what was said above about the bridegroom placing a purse on the book, as well as the ring, another curious custom was formerly, and still may be, usual in the North of England. A clergyman describing the first wedding which he celebrated in a northern parish, says that in the vestry, after the service, the bridegroom put half-a-sovereign into his hand, a sum much in excess of the fee, and asked for the change. "I gave it to him (says my informant) according to his request, but as I did so, I plainly observed a shade of displeasure pass over the open countenance of the bride, which was evidently shared by the whole wedding party. I felt conscious of having unwittingly given offence, nor had I long to wait for an explanation. The old clerk, on his return from accompanying the newly-married couple to the church porch, said at once, 'Oh, sir ! you should have put the siller into the bride's hand ; the money was gi'en you that you might do so.'"

As to another North Country usage, Canon Humble says that he has himself been stopped on the road, and compelled to drink the health of the bride and bridegroom by a posse of young men riding in advance of the party on their way from church. The "best man" undertakes this office, and, it is said, supplies the liquor.

This custom extends also to Scotland. "A dry-lipped" wedding is supposed to be certainly unfortunate.

Money, too, is very frequently in those parts scattered amongst the people gathered round the church. Nothing less than silver was so scattered, and the scramble for it may be imagined.

A Kentish vicar tells me that it is the custom in his parish, when a newly-married couple leave the church, to strew the pathway with the emblems of the bridegroom's calling ; so the carpenters walk on shavings, gardeners on flowers, shoemakers on leather parings, etc. He adds :—"I lately officiated at a butcher's wedding here. On leaving the church not only were sheep skins laid down for the married couple to walk on to the church gates, but two men, each with a lamb in his arms, decked with wedding favours, gravely placed themselves at the head of the procession."

I fancy that this custom may be confined to Kent, for the only other instance that I have heard of was told me by the widow of the late Rector of Harrietsham, in that county. This lady remembers a carpenter being married in winter, and the people strewed the church path with shavings for the bride and bridegroom to walk over when they left the church.

In Cumberland, as I understand, it is quite against the rule for the fathers or mothers of the parties to attend a marriage. The Rev. A. G. Loftie, of Beckermet, tells me that he has had but one father doing so in nine years, and only two in twelve years. An old farmer who lived on the borders of Scotland, gave as a reason for this that the idea is still in force that the bridegroom runs away with the bride without the parents' consent. The old custom was for him to take her up behind him on his horse, and to gallop away with her.

In the village of Whitbourn, near Sunderland, a singular local custom still exists. It appears that it is usual there to send what are called "hot-pots" to the church, to meet the bride and bridegroom coming out. A gentleman of that place, says Mr. Henderson, thus describes his own marriage: "After the vestry scene, the bridal party having formed in procession on leaving the church, we were stopped in the porch by a row of five or six women ranged on our left hand, each holding a large mug with a cloth over it. These were in turn handed to me, and handed by me to my wife, who after taking a sip returned it to me. It was then handed to the next couple, and so on in the same form to all the party. The composition in these mugs was mostly, I am sorry to say, simply horrible, one or two very fair, and one very good. They are sent to the church by all classes, and are considered a great compliment. I have never heard of the custom elsewhere. Here it has existed beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant, and an aged fishwoman, who has been married some sixty-five years, tells us that at her wedding there were seventy hot-pots."

Can Shakespeare be alluding to this custom when he says:

> "After many ceremonies done
> He calls for wine:—A health, quoth he, as if
> He had been aboard, carousing to his mates
> After a storm—quaffed off the muscadel,
> And threw the sops all in the sexton's face;
> Having no other reason
> But that his beard grew thin and hungerly,
> And seemed to ask for sops as he was drinking."
> "Taming of the Shrew," Act iii. scene 2.

Here is another, and a somewhat prettier custom.

A correspondent to *Notes and Queries* some thirty years back stated that "On the occasion of his marriage in Glamorganshire, nearly twenty years before, and in passing through the village adjoining that in which the ceremony had been performed, his carriage was stayed by the villagers holding a band of twisted evergreens and flowers, who good-humouredly refused to let his wife and himself pass until he had paid them a toll."

Akin to this, another correspondent states that when he was holding a curacy in Somersetshire, adjoining the Bristol Channel, the village children, on the occasion of a wedding, used to fasten the gates of the Church with evergreens and flowers. A silver key was required to unloose the bond.

In the village of Belford, in Northumberland, a singular usage prevails—that of making the bridal pair and their attendants leap over a stone placed in their path outside the church porch. This is called the "louping" or "petting" stone; and it is said on the spot that the bride must leave all her pets and humours behind when she crosses it. At the neighbouring village of Embledon two stout young lads place a wooden bench across the door of the church porch, assist the bride and bridegroom and their friends to surmount the obstacle, and then look out for a donation from the bridegroom. A very similar custom to this is in use at Crosby Ravensworth, in Westmoreland.

Perhaps a Scottish Presbyterian custom may, without impropriety, be introduced here, by way of illustration of what has been said above.

It is well known that in the Scottish Establishment the wedding is often performed at the house of the bride. About the time that the young couple are expected to start on their marriage jaunt all the boys and girls in the neighbourhood assemble in front of the house, and amuse themselves by calling out: "Bell money," "Bell money;" "Shabby wedding—canna spare a bawbee." These shouts are redoubled when the door is opened to let the bride and bridegroom out, who are accompanied to the carriage by most of the company; and, as the pushing of the crowd would be inconvenient, some one of the party at that moment showers a lot of coppers and small silver amongst them, thereby drawing their attention from the young folks, who, under cover of the diversion, are driven off.

A curious marriage superstition is commonly, as I am told, held in the southern part of Yorkshire. It is believed that at the marriage ceremony the person who speaks the loudest will die first.

Several instances have been given of a friendly feeling being commonly evoked on the occasion of a marriage. The following instance of a curse being pronounced on such an event is interesting, albeit unpleasant. The ritual, as it may be termed, by

which it was accompanied, is deserving of notice.

A clergyman married a couple in 1850 in a parish in Kent. An old woman, an aunt of the bridegroom, displeased at the marriage, stood at the church gate, and pronounced an anathema upon the married pair. She then bought a new broom, went home, swept her house, and hung the broom over her door. By this she indicated the rejection of her nephew and forbade him to enter the house. She had probably some precedent for this, but I know not what it was.

Let us turn to a more pleasing marriage usage. A Lincolshire Vicar states that from time immemorial it has been the custom for the wedding party to accompany the bride and bridegroom in a walk round the village in the evening after tea. This is still done, but it is not so common as it once was.

We find in various connections some odd fancies prevailing among our ancestors relative to the use of church doors. Here is one related to me by the Rev. A. C. Lefroy. At Longdon, near Tewkesbury, the people had a custom at weddings of going into church at one door and out at another. "This," says my correspondent, "I learnt when I was repairing my church on first coming to the parish in 1868, and happened to close up the second outlet."

In connection with this I may mention what a lady of Torquay has told me as to an idea which was popularly retained at Morchard Bishop, in North Devon. It was there thought ill-luck to a newly married pair if they chanced to leave the church by the small door on the north side, which was always used by the clergy.

Not many years ago, as the Vicar informs me, when a wedding of any importance occurred at Winchcombe, in Gloucestershire, it was usual for the Altar to be covered with a tablecloth, and for two oval glass dishes to be placed thereon. It would seem that these dishes were intended to receive donations from the wedding party when they went to the Altar to assist in signing the register.

A custom prevails, or did prevail, at Manchester, as I am informed by a resident there, of giving to the first couple married in a new church a Bible—of the "Family" variety if the priest is generous, and can afford it—and also a Prayer Book.

I find that a very curious practice is followed in some villages in the North of Nottinghamshire. Wheat is thrown over a newly married couple, with the exclamation, "Bread for life, and pudding forever," whatever that may mean. In Sussex also wheat is thrown over a bride and bridegroom. The throwing of rice at a carriage when a newly joined couple are departing is similar to this, and of course is intended to represent symbolically a wish that the bridal may be a fruitful one.

The following custom I imagine to be peculiar to the Scottish Establishment, but nevertheless I venture to put it on record. Speaking of what took place in the last century, a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says that "in their marriages (Inverness is especially mentioned) they do not use the ring as in England, but the bride, if she be of the middle class, is conducted to Church by two men, who take her under the arms, and hurry the poor unwilling creature along the streets as a pickpocket is dragged to a horse-pond in London, she having been attended the evening before by her bridesmaids, who with great ceremony wash her feet."

An odd formality, I understand, took place at Galashiels in 1867, which the parties believed to constitute a legal marriage. They each took a handful of meal, and knelt down, facing each other, after placing a basin between them. Both then put their handful of meal in the basin, and mixed it, in token that they would not sever till death did them part. After swearing to this effect on the Bible, they rose up, and declared themselves man and wife. This was chronicled in the *Scotsman* at the time, but I am unable to give the reference.

Anybody who cares to turn to February 15 in Chambers' "Book of Days" will find some very curious information about odd marriages which, at one time or another, have taken place. The article is far too long to quote, but one or two extracts may be interesting. Amongst other things, it is noted that the announcement of marriages published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* during the greater part of the last century included a very precise statement of the portions brought by the several brides. Thus:

"Mr. N. Tillotson, an eminent preacher among the people called Quakers, and a relative of Archbishop Tillotson, to Miss —— with £7000."

Here is another excerpt:

"Mr. P. Bowen to Miss Nicholls, of Queenhithe, with £10,000."

The next bridegroom appears to have done rather better pecuniarily:

"Sir George C—— to the widow Jones, with £1000 a year, besides ready money."

The Rev. W. J. Loftie, F.S.A., has extracted the following from the newspaper of a former day :

"Feb. 1769.—Thomas Fitzhugh, Esq., to Miss Lloyd, with £10,000.

"July 1769.—Bysshe Shelley, Esq., to the Hon. Miss Sydney, £80,000."

Numbers more might be quoted, but those above will serve as a fair specimen of the announcements which, to our modern taste, appear sufficiently ill-judged, not to say impertinent. The article above mentioned also gives some quaint instances of persons who, so to speak, had been very much married, and is well worth referring to.

We come now to a very curious custom, which was not unusual in days gone by.

In a communication made to *Notes and Queries* some fifteen years ago there were given a number of instances, ranging from 1723 to 1840, of women having been married "in the smock," or in a sheet. This was done from a mistaken notion that it freed the husband from responsibility for the woman's debts ; and in one case, to wit at Whitehaven in 1766, it was resorted to with the idea that it would protect the woman's property from the creditors of her husband. On one occasion we are told that the lady came to Church without any clothes on at all, but the parson, not unnaturally perhaps, refused to officiate. I have, however, read of a clergyman who, under similar circumstances, went through the service, on the ground that nothing was said in the rubric about the woman's dress. This gentleman evidently did not adopt the view taken by the judges in the Mackonochie case, that "Omission is Prohibition"—it had not been invented in his day.

The following extract is from a Wiltshire register : "John Bridmore and Anne Selwood, both of Chiltern, All Saints, were married Oct. 17, 1714. The aforesaid Anne Selwood was married in her smock, without any clothes or head gear on."

A gentleman, writing to *Notes and Queries* in 1853, stated that his brother, when curate of a parish in Lincolnshire, officiated at the marriage of a woman who was enveloped only in a sheet. I cite the instance to show that the strange custom has continued to within a measurable distance from our own day. This is the latest case of the kind that I know of.

Among the many clerical scandals prevalent in the former half of the last century were what were known as "Fleet Marriages." These were so common that between October 19, 1704, and February 12, 1705, no fewer than 295 were celebrated within the "Rules" without licence or certificate of banns. The marriages were generally performed in some low public house, or barber's shop. The officiants were clergymen of the lowest type, who were confined in the Fleet for debt. Sometimes publicans kept these clerics on a salary of twenty shillings a week. Other tavern keepers gave £25 a year, with board and lodging, to these disreputable clerical debtors ; fitting up one of the rooms as a chapel, and pocketing the fees. Advertisements were exhibited or published, inviting people to come and be married without the usual restrictions. Here is a specimen :—"G. R. At the true Chapel at the Old Red Hand and Mitre, three doors up Fleet Lane, and next door to the White Swan, marriages are performed by authority by the Rev. Mr. Symson, educated at the University of Cambridge, and late chaplain to the Earl of Rothes. N. B. Without imposition." Touts were employed to get customers, and received a shilling each. Some of these clergymen officiated at their own lodgings, but the majority were employed by the keepers of the marriage houses. The landlord usually acted as clerk, and if the clergyman were not salaried, they divided the fee between them. Each marriage house had a regular register.

In 1821 the Government purchased some of these registers, and deposited them with the registrar of the Consistory Court of London. Thus the scandalous practices which had been enacted at the Fleet, became better known. Many of these entries were falsified, as for example :—

"5 Novr. 1742, was married Benjamin Richards of the Parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Br., and Judith Lance, do. spinster, at the Bull and Garter, and gave [a guinea] for an antidate to March y^e^ 11th in the same year, which Lilley comply'd with, and put 'em in his book accordingly, there being a vacancy in the book suitable to the time."

Here is another, which, to say the least, has an odd sound.

"Mrs. Comyns gave me half a guinea to find a bridegroom and defray all expenses. Parson, 2*s.* 6*d.* ; husband, do. ; and 5*s.* 6*d.* myself."

Chambers, who gives this choice extract, adds :—"We find one man married four times, under different names, receiving five shillings on each occasion 'for his trouble.'"

Both the above entries appear to have

come from private registers. It seems to have been no uncommon thing for the keepers of these marriage houses to provide a bridegroom !

Pennant says that in walking by the prison in his youth he has often been accosted with " Sir, will you please to walk in and be married ?" And he states that painted signs of a male and female hand conjoined with the inscription " Marriages performed within," were common along the building.

Whoever wanted to be married quickly and quietly, without exposure or injury, resorted to the Fleet. The registers contain the names of all kinds of persons both gentle and simple ; and not a few names of highly titled folk have a place in the records, as for example, Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, who, in 1744, ran away with Lady Caroline Lenox, eldest daughter of the Duke of Richmond. The following covers a good deal of ground :—" Magistrates and parochial authorities helped to swell the gains of the Fleet parsons ; the former settling certain cases by sending the accused to the Altar, instead of to the gallows, and the latter getting rid of a female pauper by giving a gratuity to some poor wretch belonging to another parish to take her for better or for worse."

To us all this seems monstrous, and though for many years tolerated by our ancestors, things got to such a pitch that in 1753 a Bill was introduced by Lord Hardwick which became law the following year, making the Solemnisation of Matrimony in any other but a church or chapel, and without Banns or Licence, felony punishable by transportation, and declaring all such marriages null and void.

The Chaplain of the Savoy, however, on the plea that being extra-parochial the incumbent of that church was not bound by the New Marriage Laws, ventured to issue licences. A public advertisement was actually put forth in 1754 to this effect :—" By authority. Marriages performed with the utmost privacy, decency, and regularity, at the Ancient Royal Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Savoy, where regular and authentic registers have been kept from the time of the Reformation (being two hundred years and upwards) to this day. The expense not more than one guinea, the five shilling stamp included. There are five private ways to this chapel, and two by water." We are told that in 1755 the chaplain married no less than 1190 couples. The authorities began to move, and a curate, one Grierson, was appointed, the chaplain himself disappearing from public, but still issuing licences. The result was that they were both tried and convicted, and each was sentenced to fourteen years transportation, and 1400 marriages were declared void.

The term " Mayfair Marriages" is a more or less familiar one. The Rev. Alexander Keith had a chapel there, built in 1730, and carried on a great business in matrimony. He is said to have married nearly two hundred couples in one day, and the day before the Marriage Act came into operation no less than sixty-one couples were united there.

But if for a time there were such scandals in the English Church, the Presbyterians in Scotland were not in a position to throw stones.

About 1745 there existed a sort of Gretna Green in the Canongate, Edinburgh. A gentleman writing from Perth quotes the Newgate Kalendar :—" It was customary for some of the ministers of the Church of Scotland, who were out of employment, to marry people at the alehouses in the same manner that the Fleet marriages are conducted in London. Sometimes people of fortune thought it prudent to apply to these marriage brokers, but as their chief business lay amongst the lower ranks of people, they were deridingly called by the name of 'Buckle the Beggars.' Most of these marriages were solemnised at public-houses in the Canongate."

Not long ago public attention was arrested by a somewhat sensational breach of promise case, in which the jury found £10,000 damages for the lady plaintiff. It was generally supposed at the time that such a claim for damages had never been heard of before. Few persons were aware that, in 1747, one Miss David, of Cattle Yard, Holborn, brought a similar action against the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Prebendary of Worcester, Canon of Lincoln, and vicar of Newark-upon-Trent. The damages were laid at £10,000, and the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with £7,000 damages. In this case, it would seem that there had been some kind of formal betrothal ceremony, for the paragraph from which I quote goes on to state that " they both had declared the same (*i.e.*, the engagement) publickly in a solemn manner."

What were known as " Penny Weddings" were formerly common in Scotland. When a servant-maid had behaved well in a place, her master and mistress frequently made what was called " a penny wedding" for her when she married. They provided a dinner or supper, and invited all their relations and

friends; and in the evening, when there was music and dancing, the bride went round, and saluted all the men, during which ceremony every person in the company put money into a dish, according to their inclination or ability, and by this means the new-married couple often procured a sum to begin the world with very comfortably for persons of their condition.

The following curious information has been sent to me by the Rev. Ernest Geldart, Rector of Little Braxted, Witham, Essex, where, by the way, is one of the tiniest, but one of the prettiest, country churches that I ever saw. In looking over the register of marriages in his church he came upon the following item:—

"May 21, 1730. John Fitch, single man, . . . and Mary Borley, single woman, . . . were married by licence."

This, my friend tells me, is the first entry in the Register of Little Braxted Church, and, taken by itself, it is not very remarkable. But when the next entry is the same (with change of names), and the next but one again the same, it naturally occurs to the reader that some cause had been at work to produce an effect so apparently unlikely in a small country parish 150 years ago.

He accordingly set himself to analyse the marriage returns, with the following results:—

1730.	2	Marriages	by Licence.	1	by Banns.
1733.	1	"	"	0	"
1735.	1	"	"	1	"
1743.	3	"	"	1	"
1746.	1	"	"	0	"
1749.	1	"	"	0	"
1751.	2	"	"	0	"
1752.	1	"	"	0	"
1754.	1	"	"	0	"

It should be mentioned that the present population of the parish, which probably was never much larger, is only 117.

From 1755 onwards the marriages were by Banns, or "Bands," as some of the officiating ministers preferred to spell it, with few exceptions. The licensing system seems to take a fresh start in 1784, when this entry occurs:—

"Marriages entered according to Act of Parliament by Licence granted instead of stamps."

What the cause of the "Licence" was may, probably, be gathered from an examination of the dates (when they are given) of the Banns.

Usually the entry contains no reference to any particular date of "asking," but simply states, in these or similar words, that the contracting parties had been "asked in church, on three several Sundays, and no impediment alledged."

When, however, the register enters into details the dates stand thus:—August 5, August 19, September 12; January 12, January 26, February 9; &c.

Here is the probable solution of the problem.

The question is—Why should labouring "single men and single women" seek marriage by licence, whether granted by "the Archdeacon of Colchester," or by "licence instead of stamps, according to Act of Parliament"?

Now for the answer.

Because the parish church was so seldom opened that it was difficult to get Banns published, even at intervals of a fortnight. The officiating minister makes no reference to clerical liberality, but it seems probable that the non-resident rector preferred to pay the costs of stamps or licence on the rare occasion of a wedding, rather than be taxed by the provision of regular "duty."

How rare were the visits of the rector may be judged by the fact that no entry stands in the rector's name from the beginning to the end of the book—1730 to 1813. For the first three years, however, the entries are unsigned, but written in a hand bearing some resemblance to that of "Norman Mead, Rector," who wrote the title of the book. After that come entries by "Curates," "Ministers," "Officiating Ministers," following each other in due succession.

At the end of one entry there is, written with a triumphant flourish, "Duty paid thus far."

A few words on the taxes on marriages, &c., imposed in William III.'s reign will be interesting. In a letter to *Notes and Queries*, some forty years ago, Mr. C. Ross has put the matter so tersely that I cannot do better than utilise his communication.

He says that the first instance of a tax on marriage in this country of which he is aware occurred in the 5th of William and Mary, c. 21. The war in which William was engaged soon rendered it necessary to tax other incidents of humanity, and accordingly the 6th and 7th of William III. c. 6 was passed, granting to his Majesty certain rights upon marriages, births, deaths, and burials, and upon bachelors and widowers—a widely-spread net—for the term of five years, "for carrying on the war against France with vigour." The taxes on births, marriages, and burials were continued indefinitely by 7th and 8th William III. c. 35. The writer cannot state when

this Act was repealed, but by the 23rd George III. c. 67, taxes were again imposed on burials, births, marriages, and christenings, and by 25th George III. c. 75, the taxes were extended to Dissenters. By 34th George III. c. 11, these taxes were repealed, and they ceased on October 1, 1794.

THE LATE DR. ALLON.

Memorial Sermon by Dr. R. W. Dale.*

From *The British Weekly* (Nonconformist), London, April 28, 1892.

"They watch in behalf of your souls, as they that shall give account."—Hebrews xiii. 17.

The shadow of death lies heavy on the heart of this congregation. Christ has revealed a great and eternal glory beyond the grave, and even this morning you have been able to rejoice in that glory with exulting songs. But the revelation has increased rather than diminished our sensitiveness to the mystery and awe of death itself. It is the common lot. Through generation after generation, and in all lands, it has exercised the speculations of men as well as alarmed their fears, broken their hearts and desolated their homes. But familiarity has not soothed the agitation with which we regard it, or made it less mysterious. A man was with us yesterday, our neighbour, our friend, one of our nearest kindred, standing on the common earth, breathing in the common air, spending his thought and strength perhaps on some common mechanical trade, his mind worn with the small anxieties and vexations of some obscure business. He shared his troubles with us and his joys, all that he felt and all that he knew he could tell us. That yesterday; but now he is altogether beyond our reach. He is living under other skies. He finds repose and strength and joy in eternal things. The great secret has been disclosed to him. But the conditions of his new life are unknown to us, nor is it possible for him to satisfy our craving to know it.

The solemnity and impressiveness of death are deepened when it is sudden and unexpected, or when it terminates the activity of great powers which have been employed in great service rendered to man and God. Of the suddenness of the calamity which has fallen upon us all I do not care to say anything in this place. Let us rather dwell upon it in solitary thought, asking anxiously whether if death came as suddenly and as unexpectedly to ourselves we should be ready to meet it. But of the great work prolonged through so many years which has now been brought to a close, of the circumstances and conditions under which the work was done, and of the power which the work illustrates—intellectual power, power of faith, power of affection, power of character—of these it is necessary to speak this morning. "They watch in behalf of your souls as they that shall give account."

In these words the unknown writer of this Epistle describes the work of the leaders, the pastors, the bishops of the Christian church in every country throughout all time. Other men may render other forms of service, service necessary for the support, and ease, and delight, of the physical life; or they may enrich the intellect of the race with new and precious discoveries of the laws of the material universe, or with splendid creations of art; or, may be, the defence and security and independence of their country in the midst of war; or they may strengthen the foundations of law, and add new guarantees to national freedom and prosperity in times of peace. But the leaders and pastors of the Church, they have other duties. It is for them to watch in behalf of the souls of their people. This is their definite and distinctive trust, and they are to discharge it as men who at last must give account to Christ of their fidelity.

The metaphor, as you know, is one common in the writings of the ancient prophets, and would recall to the Jewish readers of the Epistle many passages in their sacred books. A city is threatened by predatory wandering tribes, or by the armies of a more formidable enemy. The watchmen stand on the walls day and night to give instant alarm on the first approach of the foe. On their constant vigilance or keenness of eye depends the safety of the city. If they sleep, or if they are unable to discern at a distance the signs that the enemy is coming, or if they are easily deceived and mistake foes for friends, the city may be suddenly surprised and lost. In the evil days of the Jewish state, when the political and religious leaders of the people cared nothing for justice or mercy, or for the true service of God, and sanctioned the crimes of the people instead of rebuking them, a great prophet said, "These watchmen are blind, they are without knowledge, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark"—that is, to give warning that the enemy is near—dreaming, lying down, loving to slumber.

* Preached in Union Chapel, Islington, on Sunday morning last. Verbatim Report.

And there have been dreary times in the history of the Christian Church, when its ministers have been equally ineffective, equally indolent, equally faithless, and when as the result of their ignorance and unfaithfulness the great part of Christendom has been laid waste by superstition, or by unbelief, by selfishness, by covetousness, by lust, by hypocrisy, by falsehoods concerning God and man, which destroy the very substance of the Christian faith. The ministers of the Christian Church had ceased to watch in behalf of the souls of their people.

Town and Country Churches: A Contrast.

The conditions under which this work has to be done are greatly varied, and therefore its methods must be greatly varied. For example, how great a contrast there is between the position of a minister of a congregation like this and that of a minister living in a Devonshire or Worcestershire village with a single street, of four or five hundred inhabitants, who preaches on fine Sundays to a congregation of eighty or a hundred people, a congregation drawn in part from the cottages in the village and in part from the surrounding hamlets and farms. The work of both is in substance the same and must have the same infinite issues. How different must be their methods of labour. It seems to me, indeed, as if in a church and congregation like this, with numbers so large, scattered over this vast city, it is impossible for the minister to be in any true sense of the word pastor, and to watch in behalf of the souls of his people. But this impression rests on a false conception of pastoral work, or at least on a conception which is much too narrow. Indeed I think it rests in part on a rather careless misinterpretation of passages like that which I have selected as a description of a pastor's duty. For there are many persons who seem to suppose that such passages require the minister to watch the people. But what the writer of this Epistle says is not that he is to watch the people, but that he is to be always wakeful and vigilant in behalf of the people, which is quite another matter. I do not underestimate the great value of that intimate knowledge of the actual thought and life of every member of his congregation which is possible to a pastor in a village or a small country town. He knows them so well that he is able to watch the development of their individual character, and can check with timely warning and wise counsel tendencies to grave vice or to religious indifference. He may be able to assist them privately in discovering a solution of moral and spiritual difficulties which it would not occur to him to discuss in public. He can give to each of them separately guidance and aid in the formation of religious belief. In a congregation so small that the details of every man's conduct are almost certain to come to the knowledge of the minister, unwillingness to give the minister pain, or of provoking his displeasure and remonstrance, may be a check to careless and indolent moral habits and a defence and support to high Christian performances. But it is foreign to our traditional conception of the true discipline of Christian perfection for the spiritual life to be subjected to the perpetual ascendency and control of the ministers of the church. We prefer a man-made freedom. We reject the claims of the priest, we also dispense with the authority of the spiritual director. It is better that the individual soul should be largely left alone with Christ and with the Spirit of Christ. The mutual watchfulness of the members of the church is indeed an admirable aid to Christian joy and an admirable protection to Christian righteousness, for in this mutual watchfulness there is something given as well as something received. And the freedom of the Christian soul in Christ is unimpaired. It is exempt from the evils which are almost certain to accompany too constant and too close a control of the individual life of the people by the minister.

Dr. Allon as a Pastor.

In a congregation like this such control was not possible. If Dr. Allon had written nothing, if he had never preached for other churches, if he had not spent more than two hours a day in his study, and had given all the rest of his time to visitation, he could not have seen and talked with every one of you more than a very few times in the course of a year. It was often indeed a surprise to me, at a time when the membership of the church was already very large, that he knew so many of them, knew some of you so well, and knew so much about many more with whom he could seldom have any personal intercourse. It was a surprise to me that he was able, under the constant pressure of multifarious engagements, to see the sick members of his church so often, and to find out so promptly those who were in trouble. From the beginning of his ministry till he had long passed middle life he had large and successful Bible-classes, and in these he exercised what might be called a pastoral superintendence over

the young people. To the very end you know with what warmth and cordiality he received you when you sought his counsel, how patiently he dealt with your difficulties.

But, after all, it was in this pulpit that he discharged the greater part of his pastoral duty. He watched in behalf of your souls, knowing that he would have to give account of his trust; and it was here that he endeavoured, under God, to save you from sin and from eternal death, and to give you fortitude and endurance in the great endeavour to make sure glory and honour and immortality. He watched in behalf of those of you who have not yet consented to receive the Christian redemption and to acknowledge Christ as your Saviour and your Lord. He saw the perils which menace you, perils which you cannot see, and tried to rescue you from them—the peril of regarding sin with increasing indifference, as though it were nothing more than a part of the necessary development of the moral life of man, instead of a great violation of the Divine order, and the proof of a deeply-rooted resistance to the Divine Father; the peril of a growing insensibility to the attraction and charm of the Christian gospel, and an increasing absorption in the pleasures and pursuits of this transitory world; the peril of that gradual limitation of your moral freedom and that gradual diminution of your very capacity for receiving the Divine grace which must result from the formation of the settled habits of a life persistently withdrawn from the control of the divine righteousness and love.

These perils he saw. They filled him with apprehension for you. He recurred again and again to those great truths which he thought likely to awaken your conscience and to move your heart. He saw the perils which menace those of you who have already made the supreme choice, and who already know something of the power and glory of the Christian redemption. He considered by what statements and illustrations of the contents of the Christian gospel he could save you from these perils, could maintain the fainting strength of your faith in God, rekindle the sinking fires of your love for Christ, renew and augment your joy in your eternal redemption. He watched in behalf of your souls, and his preaching was determined by the moral dangers to which the various descriptions of persons in this congregation are exposed—the perils of poverty and the perils of wealth; the perils of a lonely and cheerless life, the perils of a life of excitement and pleasure; the perils of a life of ease, the greater perils of business. And he endeavoured not only to protect you from falling into grave sins, but to maintain and to raise your moral ideals of life. He thought, and thought much, of the isolation of the young men and women who have always formed so large a proportion of this congregation; young men and young women who have come from villages and country towns in England, Scotland, and Wales to seek their fortunes in this great city. He knew their dangers, and endeavoured in his preaching to give robustness to their determination to stand fast in their integrity and in their loyalty to Christ.

He watched the strong currents of cotemporary thought, and considered how they were likely to affect for good or for evil the foundations of your religious faith, your intellectual conceptions of Christian truth, your moral habits, the temper of your religious life. And in the interests of your perfection he spoke to you in this place about great poets and famous philosophers and scientific discoverers. He discussed the doubts and difficulties of our time which have an injurious influence on the faith and conduct of Christian men. He watched in behalf of your souls. He saw that if you cared only to save yourselves you would not be saved, that the imitation of Christ requires you to instruct the ignorant, to pity and relieve the miserable, to seek and to save the lost. He therefore urged you to find noble forms of Christian usefulness, and appealed to you to consecrate personal service as well as money to their maintenance. He was not content with urging you to care for the neglected and the sinful who are within your reach. He saw that the compassion of the church should reach as far as the mercy of God and the sacrifice of Christ. He called upon you to demonstrate your faith in the love of God for all mankind by large and generous gifts for the support of Christian missions throughout the world.

He watched in behalf of your souls. His mind travelled far, ranged over many and varied provinces of literature, and was keenly interested in many lines of speculation. He had free and constant intercourse with eminent men whose religious beliefs were very different from his own, and with some who had passed into the sunless seas of doubt. But he cared supremely for your salvation. And from his reading and his intercourse with scientific men, with men of letters, and with politicians, he was drawing materials which he used in this pulpit to give security and strength to your religious

faith, and a larger and more gracious development to your moral character.

This was his work for nearly fifty years. When he stood in this pulpit it was not merely to interest and to charm, or even to instruct you. To him the work of the preacher had the most august dignity, the most awful seriousness. It was related to the infinite mystery of the incarnation, the death and resurrection of the Son of God, and to the judgment-seat at which preacher and hearer alike must give account of themselves before God. That during all the years of his prolonged ministry his vigilance never relaxed, and that mortal weakness, the successes, the sorrows, and the intellectual excitements of his life never made his vision of eternal things dim and uncertain, he himself would have been the last to declare. He would have served you far less faithfully if his ideal of faithfulness had not transcended achievement. But I am sure of this—and I think I knew his very heart —I am sure of this, that his greatest work, his work as your pastor, held the greatest place in his thought and life. And if I am to give in fewest words a just account of what he was and what he did, I find it here, "He watched in behalf of your souls." He has now gone to give account of his work to Christ. You in your turn will have to give account of how you have profited by it.

A Transition Period.

Secondly, when this Epistle was written, the work of the leaders and pastors of the Hebrew churches was carried on under conditions of exceptional difficulty. They had to defend and confirm the faith of large numbers of Christian men who were in danger of drifting away from Christ, and surrendering the great hope of the Gospel. For a long time after the crucifixion and ascension of our Lord, the large majority of the Jews who acknowledged Him as the Christ, for whom through so many centuries their fathers had been waiting, retained the great body of their national beliefs and national customs. They worshipped in the temple, they kept their Jewish festivals, they believed in the permanent authority of their ancient law, they still hoped for the restoration of the kingdom to Israel. But as the years went on, it became plainer and plainer, while the substance of their faith was enduring, its form would have to be greatly changed. They were being forced to make their choice between the nation and the church, between tradition and a new life, and that which had come to them in Christ. This compulsion came upon them when the passion of national independence among their countrymen was burning with a fierce heat. The Hebrew Christians were in great straits. With their fiery patriotism, with their memories of the glories and wrongs of their race, how was it possible for them to resist the strong currents of national feeling which were sweeping the nation forward to the great revolt against the mighty heathen power which held in its iron grasp the elect people of God? Was it possible for them to be traitors to the hopes of their race at such a time as this? But as long as any large number of Jews held fast to their belief that Jesus was the Christ, there was a schism in the national life and the national strength was broken. The peril of their position would have been lessened if their own Christian belief had been clear and firm. But, as I have suggested, at the very time that the national temper made the strain on their loyalty to Christ so severe, they had largely to re-construct their whole conception of the contents of their new faith. They were being forced to part with ancient religious traditions which they had hoped to retain. They were discovering that, in the light of the Christian gospel, sacred institutions were transitory which they had supposed were to last for ever. The writer of this Epistle endeavoured to reassure them by showing that in the Kingdom of God—a Kingdom that cannot be shaken—temple, priesthood, sacrifices, were not lost, but transfigured, and that in the ancient faith itself there were the clearest indications that the external institutions in which it was for a time expressed were to pass away. But the position of the Hebrew Christian was perplexed and painful, and the leaders of the Church, who watched in behalf of their souls, required very exceptional faith, firmness, consideration and wisdom.

His Early Ministry.

When Dr. Allon began his ministry, Congregational churches in this country were passing into a time of difficulty which, though less severe than that which tried the faith of these Hebrew Christians, has been sufficiently formidable. The force of the great evangelical revival was almost spent. The first and the second generations of its leaders were dead. The third generation had passed the meridian of their strength. The young men who were entering the Congregational ministry in 1840, and the next ten years, were beginning to subject the intellectual contents of the evangelical faith to criticism. Already the evangelical theol-

ogy was in a state of transition. The older Christian ministers of the time still said they were Calvinists, but their Calvinism was not the Calvinism of the Westminster Assembly. The bold and grand outlines of the older system—which not only impressed the imagination, but by their very sublimity sometimes suppressed and awed the protest of the revolting intellect—had this effect, and Congregational ministers during the first half of this century had constructed for themselves what must be called an eclectic theology, and they named it Moderate Calvinism. The men who entered the ministry between 1840 and 1850 began to ask whether this Moderate Calvinism was a coherent system, or whether it was not built on principles which were mutually destructive. They asked whether its account of the relation between God and man answered to the facts ; to the facts which were asserted by the ethical and religious consciousness of Christian men. They examined in detail the Scriptural texts which were commonly quoted in support of its principal doctrines. They doubted whether the vehement expression of religious emotion in the Psalms could be legitimately treated as scientific statements of doctrine. They wondered whether the rules of Judaism were really mysterious symbols which must have been almost unintelligible while it was a religious obligation to celebrate them, and which did not receive their interpretation, and then only a partial interpretation, when their activity had passed away. They asked whether isolated texts in the New Testament were sufficient to constitute the proof of a Christian doctrine, or whether we should not rather rely on the general substance of the teaching of our Lord and His apostles. Questions of a still more searching kind were raised. What is the real nature of inspiration ? What are its limits ? Does it relate only to the religious substance of the books written by inspired men or also to their form ? If only to their religious substance, how much must be included in their form, only the words or the whole intellectual and literary conception in which the substance is expressed ? In the earlier years of his ministry Dr. Allon had to confront the relentless criticism to which Strauss subjected the four Gospels, and to consider what strength there was in the argument that instead of containing the story of Christ as told by the men who listened to His teaching and saw His miracles, they preserve an unhistorical and mythical conception of our Lord which was created by the enthusiasm, the devotion, the impassioned imagination of the second and third generation of His disciples. This was succeeded by the still more formidable theory, supported by infinite ingenuity and great learning, that the larger part of the documents of the New Testament were written in the course of the second century in the interests of conflicting tendencies in the Christian Church or to promote their reconciliation. Then came the great discussion concerning the origin of the books contained in the first part of the Old Testament. To give a further impulse to the intellectual revolution of our time, there came new and brilliant scientific theories on the history of the material universe, and the emergence and development of the highest forms of life from the lowest—theories which enforced a revision of previous conceptions of the divine method of creation and of the present relations of the Eternal to the work of His hands. These immense controversies, originated in the speculations and researches of scholars and of eminent scientific discoverers, and carried on at first in university lecture rooms and in books written for the learned, soon began to disturb the thoughts and to alarm the fears of ordinary Christian people. The results of modern scholarship—the final results as they were often described, though they had to submit to frequent revision—and the definite conclusions of modern science found their way through a thousand channels to the popular mind, and it was declared that they were wholly and irreconcilably inconsistent with Christian faith. It was impossible for a congregation like this to be unaffected by this vast and imposing intellectual movement, and year by year, as it seemed to become more and more formidable, your pastor had to take account of it while he watched in behalf of your souls. You know what courage, what character, what open-mindedness, what firmness, what wisdom he showed through all this confused and distracting time. He never, so far as I can remember, gave way to the wild and irrational panic which more than once or twice took possession of large numbers of Christian people. And this was not because he himself had not felt the weight of the difficulties which pressed so heavily on the traditional creed ; for the storm broke upon him, as it broke upon every cultivated minister of his generation, before it reached you. He was revising and amending his own definitions of Christian doctrine, reconstructing his own theory of divine revelation, and of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in which the revelation is recorded,

examining the foundations of his own conception of the relations of God to the universe while he was defending and confirming your faith. I wonder how many of you appreciated the tremendous difficulty of his position. It may be hardly possible for all of you to appreciate it fully, but if, through God's grace, he has saved you from losing the infinite hopes of the Gospel which during these troubled years so many have lost; if you still find consolation and strength in the divine love and peace of conscience in Christ, the propitiation for the sin of the world; if you are living in the power of the life and Spirit of Christ, and can see beyond the dark and stormy clouds which hang over our mortal years the eternal glory of the home of the saints with God, give thanks this morning for the noble and wise fidelity with which during such a time your pastor watched in behalf of your souls.

Religious Sentiment.

Questions of another and very different kind disturbed and confused the mind of this church and of other churches during his prolonged pastorate, questions concerning the validity of the evangelical ideal of the Christian life, concerning modes of worship, concerning the relations of the Christian faith to literature, to art, to politics, and to the structure of society. Without claiming for him the impossible distinction of having discovered a final solution of any of these questions—if they are of a nature to admit of a final solution—it may be said that he dealt with them in the strength of a certain inborn sagacity. He was not driven and tossed by every wind and wave of popular feeling, nor did he peremptorily determine the serious practical difficulties which are involved in some of them by the authority of a rigid theory or by an unintelligent appeal to the authority of Christian experience as expressed in Christian tradition. It is impossible for me this morning to illustrate the measured judgment with which he was accustomed to treat subjects of this order, but his success in dealing with one of them was too conspicuous to be passed over. He set himself to consider very early in his ministry the true place of what for want of a better word I must call religious sentiment in the Christian life and in Christian worship, and the functions of art in exciting and expressing it. The Puritan tradition—which had its roots in a fierce resentment against the unreality of what was supposed to be religious emotion, but which was nothing more than natural sentiment created by stately buildings, by pictures, by imposing services—the Puritan tradition insisted on the sternest and barest simplicity in divine worship. It regarded with a wholesome dread whatever devout emotion was not excited by the immediate vision of God and by the revelations of His awful righteousness and His infinite love. As it refused the aid of art in the awakening of religious feeling, it also refused the aid of art in its expression. But Dr. Allon saw that in its dread of unreality, Puritanism had almost suppressed one of the most gracious elements of the life of man. He believed with Luther that noble music is the natural ally of noble feeling. He began cautiously, he felt his way, he discovered by experience the defects of his earlier attempts. And the result has been, what he achieved in this congregation has added to the solemnity and joy of worship of the vast majority of Nonconformist! congregations throughout England. In this work, too, he was watching in behalf of your souls, and endeavouring to make the service of God your delight.

Finally, to attempt this morning, while our great sorrow is still fresh, any complete analysis of the varied powers which enabled him to discharge with such efficiency such great duties, and through so many years, or to give an adequate account of the various elements which contributed to his energetic and impressive personality, is impossible. All I can do is to tell you briefly what kind of man he seemed to be to one who knew him and who loved him well. He had sound health and physical vigour. For many years I suppose he never knew what illness was, and he had that delight in labour, and those buoyant spirits which are among the most felicitous endowments of a man who is charged with heavy responsibilities, and whose life is spent in constant toil. At one time he appeared to me to be incapable of weariness. The fibre of his intellect was firm and strong. He was always eager, alert, and keen. He was like an ancient Greek, and cared to know things, and to know all sorts of things, for the sake of knowing them. His interest was active in all kinds of literature, and there was no narrowness in his intellectual sympathies. Excellence of every kind filled him with admiration and delight. His mind was literary, in its strongest and most characteristic tendencies, rather than speculative. He was never mastered, I think, as some of us have been mastered, by the imperial fascination of that great movement of philosophic thought which extends from Kant to Hegel. But while he craved for no vast and com-

prehensive theory which attempted to resolve into unity the antitheses from the infinite to the finite, he was always demanding of himself a responsible account of his own beliefs. Within the range of his speculation he was impatient of confusion, incoherence, and disorder. His intellectual method, to use a technical term, was rational rather than mystical. Yet, while he had his own definite beliefs, he had affinities with widely-contrasted schools of religious thought. He was strongly attracted by James Martineau, he was also strongly attracted by John Henry Newman. He was a man of strong affection and of deep emotion. There was passion in him, but, especially in his more elaborate sermons, it was largely suppressed. It was different in the discourses, which were of a more pastoral kind. In these his emotion was allowed to show itself freely. In these he moved your heart as well as instructed your intellect. In discussing great subjects on great occasions, his powerful understanding seemed to resent the disturbing power of passion. It was there; you felt its warmth; but yet it was only rarely allowed to set his thoughts on fire. It showed itself in the increased strenuousness of his purely intellectual activity. It was transmuted into intellectual energy. But when the intellectual strain was not upon him, there was not only warmth but flame. He was ardent in his love for his friends. His sympathy with them in times of trouble was as tender as a woman's. His emotion was sometimes uncontrollable. I have seen it break out in tears. He was large and generous in his thoughts of men. His admiration for those whom he honored was boundless. His delight in the successes of other men was one of the largest elements of his own happiness. But the regal element of his religious life was the tenderness and strength of his personal devotion to our Lord. I can remember times, oh, how well, when we were sitting together in his study, when our talk, moving quietly, and without excitement, from subject to subject, drew near to Christ; then I can remember the change that passed upon him, how he kindled, how sometimes his joy became radiant, how at others his voice broke with emotion while he spoke of the greatness of Christ's love, how at other times there burst forth exclamations of victorious faith in the Son of God who had become Son of man, and was the Saviour of the world. Ah, that was the ultimate secret of his power and his charm. Through all the confusions and uncertainties of his time his faith in Christ never faltered. With growing years his devotion to Christ deepened, and in Christ's service he found increasing delight. And so it was, as a minister of Christ, loving Christ with a vehement love, that, for Christ's sake as well as yours, he watched in behalf of your souls as one that would have to give account.

Now his earthly ministry is closed. His great trust, after he had fulfilled it for nearly fifty years, has passed to another, whose heart must be oppressed this morning by the awful weight of his responsibilities; for on his fidelity depends, under God, henceforth the vigour of your religious life, the measure in which you will realise the Christian law of conduct, and the energy with which you will maintain your institutions for lessening the misery, the ignorance, and the sin of the world. You will entreat God to give him light and strength and courage; you will remember that every great life has its own laws and its own ways of serving mankind and God. The ministry which lies behind us cannot, in the forms and manifestations of its power, be repeated. Only in its spirit and its aims can it be renewed and prolonged. The new man, working in the new time, must work by new methods. Trust him. Think much of the difficulties of his task. Be generous in your appreciation of his success, let your affection and your hearty co-operation sustain him. When he is ready to faint, give him courage by the strength of your confidence in God. Maintain for him and for yourselves an unfaltering faith in Jesus Christ, who is the same yesterday and to-day and forever. In generation after generation pastors, teachers, saintly men pass away, but Christ is the eternal strength of the Church and Christ its eternal glory. Amen.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Professor Paul Van Dyke's Resignation.

From *The New York Tribune*, May 5, 1892.

The present condition of affairs in the Presbyterian Church has received another illustration in the case of the Rev. Paul Van Dyke, which came before the directors of Princeton Theological Seminary at their meeting on Monday. His retirement from the Seminary has been brought about by the demand for an avowal on his part that he

will accept the standards of the Church in the sense which has always been put upon them at Princeton, and conform his teaching to this interpretation and never depart from it. This avowal he was unwilling to make. The regular and constitutional vows of a professor, promising loyalty to the standards, he could take with heartiness, but this extra pledge of strict adherence to a traditional interpretation of them seemed to him an unnecessary and improper imposition. This steady resistance to it has resulted in the severance of his relations with the Seminary.

The whole history of the case is of peculiar interest. Mr. Van Dyke was appointed in 1889 to be "instructor in Church history for two or three years, with a view of his being made full professor at that time should the Board of Directors be satisfied with his methods and success." Under this appointment he was entrusted with sole charge of the historical department, and has continued to conduct all of its work. But in the meantime the movement for a change in the doctrinal standards of the Presbyterian Church began, and Mr. Van Dyke's father, the Rev. Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke of Brooklyn, and his brother, the Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke of New York, were strong advocates of it. The question whether the doctrine of preterition was essential to the Presbyterian system became a burning question. The professors at Princeton took the affirmative ground very vigorously. But Mr. Van Dyke was entirely silent in regard to it, and confined himself strictly to the teaching of Church history. Of his methods and success in this work there can be no question. The students were enthusiastic about him as a teacher. This enthusiasm was expressed in a definite form. The members of the senior and middle classes drew up this testimonial :

We, the undersigned students of the senior class of the Princeton Theological Seminary, who have enjoyed and benefited by your instruction desire to express our recognition of your broad and thorough scholarship, and the clear, unbiased and purely historical method of your teaching ; our high appreciation of your patient, unselfish and successful efforts in our behalf ; and our sincere gratitude for the insight into the true historic spirit and for the stimulus which we have received from you to more earnest study.

We wish to thank you also for the personal interest which you, as an instructor and Christian minister, have uniformly shown toward each one of us.

The junior class presented a similar paper representing their unanimous sentiments as follows :

We, the members of the junior class, wish to express to you our high appreciation of the successful manner in which you have conducted the course in Bible history, notwithstanding the difficulties of the situation in which you were so unexpectedly placed.

We wish also to thank you most heartily for the freshness and interest with which you have invested the subject, not sparing your own time or strength in your endeavors to make it both stimulating and profitable, and we earnestly hope that nothing may sever the relations which have been to us so satisfactory.

These papers were signed by more than nine-tenths of the students. They also held a meeting to draw up a memorial to the Board of Directors, and appointed two delegates asking permission to appear before the Board and express their sentiments. But at the same time that this memorial and the request of the students were presented to the directors a letter came from Mr. Van Dyke in which he frankly stated the situation in regard to the extra doctrinal avowal which he was willing to make. It was as follows :

To the Board of Directors of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Gentlemen : I beg leave to resign into your hands the department of Church History which has been under my sole charge for three years. In so doing I feel it my duty to make a frank statement of the reasons which lead me to retire from the service of Princeton.

It has been brought to my knowledge in a manner which precludes all doubt that no man can be elected to a professorship in this institution with the full approval of the present teaching force, unless he makes a distinct and unequivocal avowal that he accepts the standards of our Church in the sense which has always been put upon them by the fathers, founders and former professors of this Seminary ; that he will conform his teachings and utterances thereto, and that he will introduce no new departure in this respect. Such an avowal I should not be willing to make under any circumstances or for any purpose.

1. It is unnecessary and unconstitutional The vows imposed on professors by the Church are sufficient, and I should find no difficulty in taking them. But I could not reconcile it to my conscience to make such an additional avowal of loyalty to a party or tradition, because I believe that its exaction is not apt to promote the peace, unity or prosperity of our Church.

2. It seems to me to destroy liberty of speech and personal initiative, and to impose an obligation impossible to fulfil. I am unable to understand how the teaching of Church History can be conformed to a traditional sense put upon the Westminster Standards by certain men.

3. It is evident that it includes a promise of support to a doctrine which is at present under discussion, *i.e.*, preterition.

Now I believe the Calvinistic theology to be the best which the human mind has constructed, but I do not believe that preterition is essential to Calvinism, and I should not be willing to make it a test of orthodoxy. In regard to this point, while I have never been conscious of any want of harmony with the spirit, method or teaching of my reverend preceptor, Dr. A. A. Hodge, it may be that I am

notin perfect harmony with the present spirit and teaching of professors in this Seminary. If so, it is certainly not due to any change on my part.

For these reasons I should always decline to make any such avowal as that to which I have referred. The knowledge that it is expected from me is, in fact, the reason why I must ask you not to consider my name in connection with the future of the department of Church History.

This withdrawal leaves you free to fill the chair in accordance with the policy of the faculty, and leaves me free to serve the Church according to the dictates of my conscience. I remain, gentlemen, yours very respectfully,

PAUL VAN DYKE.

The action of the directors upon this letter in connection with the memorial of the students and their request for a hearing was highly significant. They voted not to receive the delegates of the students, and passed a resolution recording their high appreciation of the value of Mr. Van Dyke's work as a teacher and of his personal influence in the Seminary, and at the same time accepting his withdrawal from the department of Church History, while dissenting from his reasons. This seems to indicate a judgment that his grounds for declining to make the avowal which was expected are not sufficient to satisfy the directors. It makes his separation from the Seminary clearly and definitely upon that ground.

In view of all the facts, this case is certainly one of great interest. It has a prophetic aspect. It shows that at least in Princeton an effort will be made to insist upon the maintenance of the doctrine of preterition, or foreordination to everlasting death, as essential to orthodoxy. It illuminates the situation and defines the great question which now agitates the Presbyterian Church.

MOVEMENTS IN THE DENOMINATIONS.

BY PRESIDENT E. H. CAPEN, D.D., TUFTS COLLEGE.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, May 12, 1892.

THE UNIVERSALISTS.

THE Universalist Church is not unaffected by the intellectual movements of the age. The same causes that are changing the form and trend of thought in other Christian bodies are at work here, though perhaps they are somewhat less apparent for the reason that the Universalists, to start with, were somewhat farther forward on that road along which all the sects are travelling. But they are not wholly free from those rationalistic and even skeptical tendencies which fill devout minds in all communions with alarm. The scientific method, with a certain order of mind, leads to the placing of religion on a naturalistic basis, and there are not a few men of that order of mind among Universalists. There is also a large sprinkling of men who have broken away from old ties, and once the bands of conservatism are unloosed there is a tendency with such men to take the most extreme ground in the opposite direction. The reflex influence of the German rationalistic and critical spirit, though late, has manifested itself distinctly among certain Universalist thinkers during the last decade. Under the sanction of what they call the "higher criticism" they are raising interrogation marks concerning the interpretation and records of Christianity. The historic and traditional basis of our religion is called in question.

This, however, is not an adequate description of the attitude and movement of the Church as a whole. The great body of Universalists, both clergy and laity, may be termed rationally conservative. That is, while they require a rational basis for their convictions, and will accept no conclusions which they think are against reason, they are not swift to move from established positions. They hold fast by what is called historic Christianity. The Universalist thought has been Christocentric from the beginning, and any attempt to remove the Christ from the central place or to eliminate the supernatural elements from the New Testament Scriptures is very generally treated not only as an absurdity but as an impertinence. Speaking broadly, the movement of the denomination is now, and always has been, toward the ethical theology. Its disposition has ever been to exalt the moral attributes of God. It has recognized in the character of Christ His transcendent moral quality. It has sought the interpretation of the universe through the moral nature of man. This, too, without departing in any respect from Biblical grounds. No body of Christians anywhere has held the Bible in higher respect or appealed to it with greater confidence. The Universalist theology is Biblical rather than systematic. Scholars of this school have turned their attention more to Biblical interpretation than to dogmatics or speculation.

The Universalist movement in this country is the counterpart of the movement on the other side of the ocean represented by Erskine, Maurice and Robertson. Here on our own soil Bushnell comes half-way to clasp hands with Hosea Ballou. Universalism may be regarded as a kind of Biblical

reaction. It is an attempt, at least, to return to primitive forms of religious thought. Latin Christianity is unpalatable to it. The tendency is away from St. Augustine and his disciples of every time toward what is conceived to be the more humane teaching of Clement and Origen, nay, toward that simplicity of doctrine on which the apostolic church was built. The Universalist theology is strongly Pauline. It fairly revels in those lofty generalities in which the apostle to the Gentiles pictures the spiritual nature of God and the destiny of the race.

In the use and interpretation of the Bible Universalists make reason the chief instrument. By that I do not mean the logical faculty merely, but everything that falls within the scope of human nature and experience, thought, will, affections, the whole spiritual being, everything in man that allies him with God. This is what is meant when it is declared that Christianity has a rational basis. It finds in the mind and heart a congenial soil and climate. It measures exactly and meets completely the moral necessities of the universe. Scarcely ever has it been affirmed that a revelation must be accepted because it has been made, though perhaps thirty years ago many would have felt constrained to receive it because it is miraculously attested. The present prevailing conviction is that revelation must be accepted because it is essentially and inherently reasonable, because the whole reasonable nature perceives its reasonableness. To reject Christianity, therefore, to call in question the grounds on which it rests, either because of the method by which it has come or the signs by which it is attested, is to put one's self in the posture of pure unreasonableness. The Universalist does not say, "I will believe what I do not understand." But he knows that divine truth is greater than the heart of man. While, therefore, he seeks for a rational faith, he will not forget to strive for a reason that shall be informed and exalted by faith.

The Universalist interpretation of the Scriptures is along natural lines. In a sense it treats them as literature. There was a time, perhaps, when the Bible was regarded as an arsenal of texts. To-day it is taken as a great religious text-book to be read in the light of man's moral and religious nature. The critical methods and the apparatus of scholars are not distrusted. Light from whatever quarter is eagerly welcomed. The grammarian and the archæologist are invited to apply their tests, and the results of learned investigation are awaited with serene and lofty confidence.

The sociological and practical phases of Universalism are noteworthy. By a kind of instinct it has seemed to gravitate toward every great humanitarian movement. Its conception alike of the infinite fatherhood and the universal brotherhood has logically placed it on the side of every cause that involves the social and moral elevation of the race. The Declaration of Independence was only another statement of the Universalist view of humanity. Naturally, therefore, John Murray was the intimate friend and counsellor of leading Revolutionary heroes—Washington, Adams, Greene and Varnum. When Garrison and Phillips went through the land preaching the new gospel of anti-slavery the Universalists, while not affiliating with them politically, in spirit were almost solidly on their side. Indeed, in that earlier time when reform was the watchword, the Universalist Reform Association often furnished in anniversary week some of the most interesting and valuable discussions of the great themes that claimed the thoughtful attention of the hour. In the great army that is battling with intemperance in its various forms, the Universalist body has had its place always in the front rank. It is impossible even to think of the temperance reform without certain Universalist names rising unbidden in the mind, so prominently have they been identified with it. Nor has any church been more ready to acknowledge the new claims that have been made in behalf of woman. Its position is almost unique in having an ordained woman ministry.

There is a natural tendency toward organized effort for social amelioration. The modern view of charity finds a sympathetic response among the Universalist clergy. No class of men manifests a greater eagerness to try the new methods for lifting human beings out of the degradation and helplessness of poverty. The movement in this direction is deliberate and systematic. The theological schools are dealing with the more important questions of sociology. Courses of study are prosecuted in applied ethics and the subject of pastoral care includes the consideration of those economic questions which come up for solution in the life of every working minister. The interest in these matters is perhaps intensified by the fact that the Universalist minister is accustomed to regard this world as the "subject of redemption." He works for humanity already lost, not in danger of being lost by and by. Here is the actual state of things that demands the application of the healing and saving principles of Christian-

ity. His interest is not merely theoretical, though it may have its root in theory. He is constantly seeking for some practical realization of the truth that inspires him. Hence the formation of various social leagues within the lines of parochial effort, the direction of the undertakings of individual churches to philanthropic ends, the creation of corporate philanthropies—for example, the Chapin Home in New York, which, better than anything else, perhaps, embodies the humane spirit of one of the greatest preachers of modern times, a truly representative Universalist minister; the Washburn Home in Minneapolis; and now the Bethany Home, an institution which is destined to fill a peculiar place among the charities of Boston.

During the greater part of its history, owing to the radical divergence of its doctrines from the received opinions of men and the social ostracism to which its adherents were subjected, the Universalist Church has been engaged in a struggle for existence. Yet it has laid its foundations and reared its superstructure with an irrefragible confidence in the future. The educational institutions it has created and endowed during the last forty years are a marvel. Of themselves they are sufficient to constitute an epoch in any denomination of Christians. But they have been called into being by the Universalists because they felt that in meeting the responsibilities of the future they could not get on without their aid. Along with these, and to some extent by means of them, the missionary spirit has been fostered. The earlier Universalist preachers were missionaries, self-appointed, proclaiming the doctrine far and wide, trusting to Him who feeds the ravens and clothes the lilies to provide for their temporal wante. In these later years there has been a renswal of this spirit, which is seen not only in the diligent and successful cultivation of home fields but in the work that is beginning to be prosecuted with so much earnestness and success in foreign lands.

For a long time, also, there has been an active effort to promote vital Christianity and develop church life. Nor is there any abatement of effort in this field. Though not holding the traditional ideas of conversion and salvation, the Universalist minister is striving earnestly for the revival of religion, pure and undefiled, in the congregation over which he is set and in the heart of the individual believer, and, while his people are less emotional than the people of many sects, more inclined to approach religion from the side of reason, few churches can offer better evidences of genuine growth in the religious life. The pulpit recognizes the church as the central force in the organic work which Christianity is called upon to perform. The supreme end to which preaching points is life. It must seek the perfection of individual character, the development of the noblest type of moral and spiritual manhood. The salvation of souls is the real purpose of the pulpit, but the salvation it would secure is not rescued from impending doom but the lifting of men into the life of God as manifested in Jesus Christ. The evil of the world is the enemy of the soul, therefore it must be assailed and, if possible, overcome and destroyed. Repentance and faith are the essential conditions on which men move out into the larger field of positive achievement and world-embracing love. In this spirit the Universalist pulpit is discharging its high duties and working out its noble destiny.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RUSSIAN JEW.

BY ARNOLD WHITE.

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THE Governor of ——, one of the ablest administrators in the Russian service, recently reported to his superiors in St. Petersburg, that "the greatest event in social life here—*i.e.*, at ——, is the tendency which is showing itself more and more among the Israelite population to quit the country." General —— goes on to say that this passion for flitting lately developed among the Jews in his province deserves the attention of the Government, and, so far from being checked, must be stimulated if need be, by the employment of certain Jewish funds, provided, it is true, for other purposes, but which are under the control of the Government. This desire to emigrate, referred to by the Governor of ——, is planted in the minds of the Hebrew population of Russia by the system of repression, suspicion, and dislike, under which they live; and it cannot fail to create in their new homes serious and far-reaching consequences, in whatever country those homes may be found.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes did not cause more general movement or lead to more rapid changes in England than the May laws and the consequent passing away of the Jewish population of Russia

will bring about in other lands. What may be the effect of these changes must depend on the moral, intellectual, and physical characteristics of the emigrants. If the Jew be essentially a parasite—one who lives by exploiting the vices of others, to whom existence is impossible when away from the higgling of the market, the rustling of bank notes and the chinking of coin, then he is not only a bad citizen for Russia, but he is equally ineligible for settlement in North or South America, or in any other portion of this planet to which he may hope to wend his way. There is no escape from this position. If the indictment brought against the Russian Jew by Madame Novikoff and her school can be seriously and effectively maintained, then the quicker Russian tribulations make an end of Israel the better for the rest of the inhabitants of the civilised world. Nor should Russia act alone in this matter. If there be a serious danger of Europe and the United States being devoured by a locust-swarm of vicious and mercenary Israelites, it is high time for all nations to awake out of sleep, to be up and doing, to smite hip and thigh at the scattered tribes, and to join Holy Russia in her romantic and religious endeavours to combine the preservation of her nationality with revenge for the Crucifixion of our Lord, and thus display to the Jews the practical teachings of our common Christianity.

What are the facts of the case? Almost without exception, the Press throughout Europe is in Jewish hands, and is largely produced from Jewish brains. International finance is captive to Jewish energy and skill. In England, the fall of the Barings has left the lonely supremacy of the house of Rothschild, not wholly to its advantage, unchallenged and unassailable. In other walks of life, wherever material comfort and personal safety can be attained by nimble brain, deft finger, or quick imagination, the Jew is found to take the highest place. Medicine, law, surgery, politics, journalism, music and art, are being more and more captained by men of the Jewish race; and it is certain that the process is not on the wane. Prizefighting and war have been largely left to the Gentiles, although Mendoza and Bendorff are names of celebrated Jewish pugilists that will occur to all. Three Russian Generals have described to me the dauntless courage of Hebrew soldiers at the Schipka Pass. In one instance a call for twenty-five men to engage in a forlorn hope was answered by thirteen Jewish soldiers. Is this intellectual preeminence of the Jews to be regretted? The answer depends on the circumstances and environment of the questioner. The stupid and self-indulgent, easily passed in the race of life by clever men, naturally join the ranks of anti-Semites. But there is another class of Jew-haters who cannot be so easily dismissed. Men like M. Pobiedonostzeff, who hold that it is better to lose a limb or an eye than enter whole into hell fire, cannot be justly accused of personal motives. To such men as the Procureur of the Holy Synod, the evils of these later days are inseparable from the growing worship of material comfort. M. Pobiedonostzeff is a rock against which the waves of materialism beat in vain. Vanished may be the national faith of England, of France, of Italy, but, safe-guarded by the Czar and his orthodox servants, the faith of Russia shall suffer no preventable danger from the cult of the Golden Calf. Russia is honest in this matter and is under no illusions. She does not pretend to love the Jew, who is believed to be the most ardent worshipper of the Golden Calf, or to chasten him for his soul's good, as the Holy Inquisition smote and racked the faithless children of the Church in the days of yore. But she considers his faith an insult to her Church, his presence a menace to her unity, and his scheme of life an outrage to her national pride.

The main object pursued by the governing classes in repressing the Jew in Russia is sheer self-defence. Russians hold that the bright Jewish intellect, if allowed free play, would contaminate the whole Empire within a short space of time. It has been calculated that if the repressive laws of Russia were repealed, and the Jews allowed access to any and every post in the service of the Empire, eight years would not pass before every post worth having outside the army and navy would be filled by an official of the Hebrew faith. I believe the statement to be little if at all exaggerated.

It behooves those who write about Russia to take care that what they write is true. Russia is magnanimous. She contradicts nothing. She subsidises no reptile Press, and if she be defended at all it is by agents who can be disavowed. Silent under such attacks as those of Mr. Kennan and the writer who uses the name of Lanin, Russia appeals from the present to the future to justify her in the policy she adopts. Confident of vindication by posterity, Russia magnanimously ignores those who regard her conduct to the Jewish race as a cruel revival of Middle Age barbarities, in harmony with her simple Constitution and her lagging Calendar. If taxed with the assas-

sination of the spirit of a whole race, she is conscious of being animated by the holiest of motives, and believes herself justified by the logic of facts. But she is silent. It is not an attack on Jews as such by which the May laws were justified, but on materialism itself. A race notoriously sober and naturally spiritual-minded, as the Russians are, needs to be preserved in the integrity of their faith and in the purity of their high calling. To shrink from necessary measures of restriction would be, they argue, sheer desertion of principle and of duty, and a display of base opportunism worthy only of the worshippers of the Golden Calf.

If M. Pobiedonostzeff bravely defends the Eastern Church against Jewish materialism on grounds of religion, it is impossible to deny that he is supported on other grounds by the main body of "tchinovniks" throughout the Empire. "*Les ennemis de Christ*" do not present to the average Russian official, perhaps, the embodiment of materialistic and of anti-spiritual forces in the sense in which they are so regarded by the Holy Synod. But every official feels that if the barrier now placed against Jewish freedom to pursue any career in the Empire were removed, his place would shortly be in danger. *Bon enfant* himself, he dreads the intellectual struggle with the Jew on equal terms. Intellectually the average Jew towers above the average Russian, as physically the Russian often towers above the Jew. Intellectual jealousy and fear of supersession supply the effective forces to anti-Semitic prejudice in Russia. In point of fact religious antipathy has but little part in the measures directed against Russians of the Hebrew faith. As in Egypt, the children of Israel are fruitful and wax "exceeding mighty," and the Emperor fears, as Pharaoh feared, that the land will be full of them; and as the Egyptian "tchinovnik" afflicted their Jewish ancestors with burdens, so not only do the Russian taskmasters strictly follow their Egyptian predecessors, but Israel multiplies and grows in the midst of calamity as did their forefathers on the banks of the Nile. Now as then, their service is with rigour, and as the treasure-cities Pithom and Raamses were built by them for Pharaoh, so the edifice of Russian commerce in Moscow and Kieff is mainly due to Jewish effort and to Jewish skill.

Although the statistics I am about to give of the actual position of the Jewish people in Russia are taken from official sources, they have never, so far as I know, been available to the English or the Russian public. I am indebted to the researches of MM. Oulenikoff and Soubotin for the opportunity of setting forth in a concise form the existing economic and vital effects of the Jews in Russia on the general population of the Empire.

The following table, compiled not from Jewish but from official sources, shows the relative condition of the population in the fifteen provinces constituting the Pale of Settlement, the twelve provinces adjacent to the Pale, the twenty-thee remaining provinces, and the whole of Russia, respectively:

	Fifteen Jewish Provinces. The Pale.	Twelve Adjacent Provinces.	Twenty-three other Provinces.	All Russia.
The annual mortality per 1000 inhabitants for the period 1867–85	36.6	40.3	41.1	No returns
Annual increase of population 1867–83	1.72 per cent.	1.47 per cent.	No returns	1.28 per cent.
Arrears of land tax from peasant proprietors in 1882—the last year of official returns	11.7 per cent.	26.6 per cent.	44.3 per cent.	27 per cent.
Number of cattle per 1000 dessiatines* of arable land 1883 (no later returns published)	639	480	541	539
Increase of horses in 14 years 1874–88	116 per cent.	11 per cent.	6 per cent.	27 per cent.
Ditto cattle ditto	26 per cent.	11 per cent.	17 per cent.	19 per cent.
Capital owned by village communities per 1000 peasants, 1887	681 roubles	403 roubles	No returns	521 roubles
Consumption of alcohol per 100 inhabitants, 1888	30.6 vedro†	27.7 vedro	27.2 vedro	28.0 vedro
Deaths from drunkenness in 1887 per 1,000,000 inhabitants	12.0	61.0	77.0	50.0
Houses of ill-fame per 100,000 of town population	57.0	109.0	80.0	77.0
Incendiary fires (per 1000 fires) for 1883–87	7.0	15.0	11.0	11.0
Commercial licenses per 1000 inhabitants, 1887	9.5	10.2	17.3	—

* The dessiatine=2.69972 English acres. † The vedro=2.707 imperial gallons.

SPACE.

Jews may inhabit	912,000 square versts, or 19 per cent.
Jews are forbidden to trespass on	3,858,000 " " 81 "
not including Siberia, the Caucasus, and Asia Minor.	
The number of agricultural Jews is 64,000.	

COMMERCE.

In the Jewish Pale, or the 15 Provinces.

The number of Jewish merchants was in 1886	11,468, or 55 per cent.
The capital employed by Jewish merchants was in 1886	437,000,000 roubles, or 47.1 per cent.
Average turnover per Jewish merchant	38,000 roubles.
Average turnover per Gentile merchant	53,600 roubles.
No. of Jewish traders per 10,000 Jews	34.1.
No. of Gentile traders per 10,000 Gentiles (excluding peasants)	18.8.
Jewish retail traders in 1884	60,729, or 67 per cent.
In the hands of the Jews in 1886—	
Brandy distilleries	2.5 per 1000, or 55 per cent.
" stores	1.8 " " 89 "
" retail establishments	37.7
Number of Jew manufactories in 1886	1460, or 31 per cent.
Value of their manufactures in 1886	47,300,000 roubles, or 16 per cent.
Average value of products per Jew manufactories	32,000 roubles.
Annual value of products per Gentile manufactories	78,000 roubles.
Number of Jew artisans, 1886	293,000.
Land Leased by Jews, 1885	1,993,000 dessiatines, or 4.14 per cent.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

In all Russia, the average number of Jews and non-Jews convicted of crime for the period 1875-85, per annum, was as follows:

Jews (per 100,000 Jews)	259
Non-Jews (per 100,000 non-Jews)	426
The proportion of Jews convicted of political crime was, for the years 1881-85	13 per cent. of the whole,
and for 1886-87	14 per cent. of the whole.

Those who will take the trouble to study the foregoing statistics will discover that the popular notion of the evil effects of Jewish influence in Russia is nearly destitute of foundation. It must be borne in mind that the figures given are in each case taken from official sources, and it is justifiably surmised that the reason why Government has ceased publishing statistics is because the evidence is so manifestly in favour of the Jews, that the course now adopted of making their lives bitter with hard bondage acquires no warrant from the statistical facts.

The principal charge against the Russian Jew consists in the allegation that he thrives only by exploiting the vices of others. In regard to the consumption of alcohol it will be seen, that while the inhabitants of the Pale consume a small quantity more brandy than the dwellers in the provinces outside the Pale, the deaths caused by drink are at the rate of but one quarter of those for the whole of Russia, and this notwithstanding the fact that more than half the distilleries are in Jewish hands. The comparative virtue of the Pale is shown by the comparison of *maisons tolérées* within and without the Ghetto of Russia. It is true that the fifteen provinces cannot boast the white flower of a blameless life, but they have no reason to shrink from comparison with the Orthodox regions of the Holy Empire.

Incendiarism is constantly charged against the Jews as a characteristic and habitual crime. I have been told by high officials, not once but a dozen times, that fraudulent insurance obtained by arson is enormously prevalent among the Jewish population, and that, as contrasted with the general body of the people, the former hold the field in this form of crime. Here again the official figures acquit the Jews of this charge, and raise them on a moral pedestal above their fellow subjects.

The arrears of land tax were conspicuously less in the Pale at the date of the last returns, from which the impression may be drawn that Russia would largely benefit by allowing the Jews to reside wherever they like without restriction of any kind. It is,

I believe, no secret that the Minister of Finance, M. Wyshnygradsky, holds this opinion; but in Russia, when Orthodoxy and Adam Smith are opposed, it is orthodoxy and not economic truth that gains the day. Some detailed considerations of the loss to Russia involved in a complete exodus of Jewish subjects will not be out of place.

	Roubles.
In the first and second Guild of Merchants there are 15,000 Jews who pay annually for permission to trade	1,600,000
For licences	1,500,000
" certificates	500,000
" taxes on various enterprises	200,000
" 3 per cent. duty of dividends of Companies	250,000
Within the Pale drink pays taxes to the amount of	80,000,000
" tobacco " "	10,000,000
" sugar " "	10,000,000
Of which aggregate amount half falls on the Jews	50,000,000

In the twenty-eight Governments, fifteen in Russia, ten in Poland, and the three Baltic Provinces, the Jews occupy 400,000 houses, and pay as ground rents from 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 roubles. Jews pay 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on coupons and securities. The merchandise imported by them from abroad pays millions of roubles of Crown taxes, and the rent paid by them for land still leased from Government is from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 roubles. The meat tax comes to 2,000,000 roubles, and Jewish passports and other indirect contributions to the revenue amount to a large sum.

Jews contribute to the military service 15,000 of their young men, and the contingent required from them is largely in excess of the proportion drawn from the rest of the population.

From these figures it is clear that the departure of the Jews from Russia would cause a direct and immediate annual loss to the revenue of over 100,000,000 roubles. In addition to this, a long series of economic disturbances must be taken into account.

1. The difficulties that would be introduced into Russian trade with foreign nations. Already the evictions in Moscow have created a state of affairs only to be described as disastrous. Many commercial firms are tottering to a fall, and others have suffered mutilation from the wholesale expulsion of the middleman. I am told on high authority that one reason for the refusal of Government aid to the banking house of Günzburg, which recently failed, was because a precedent would be created which would make it impossible to refuse aid to Moscow houses known to be in a shaky condition in consequence of the departure of the Jews from that city.

2. The inevitable shrinkage of banking and exchange transactions.

3. The introduction of obstacles to the ready disposal of corn and other agricultural products, especially in the twenty eight provinces, which must follow the disappearance of buyers and middlemen, who industriously buy in small quantities all over the Empire, and, by mutual competition, raise prices.

4. The fall in the value of all Russian products, arising from the contraction and stagnation of the markets.

5. Fall in the value of all real estate, and in the national funds.

6. Diminished income of all agricultural proprietors.

7. The diminished income of the peasant population, and the consequent increase in the arrears of Imperial taxes.

8. The development of commercial monopolies in manufactured goods, arising from the extinction of competition, and consequent suffering to the artisan and labouring classes. The tyranny of competition may be bad, but the tyranny of monopoly is worse.

9. The closing of new markets for Russian goods.

10. The shrinkage of municipal, provincial, and rural revenues.

11. The shrinkage of railway and steamship returns.

On a moderate estimate of these considerations, it is not too much to say that the money loss to Russia, direct and indirect, of a general exodus of Jews would not be less than 2,000,000,000 roubles, and it is difficult to understand how she could in that event continue to rank among the solvent States of the world.

The number of the Jews in Russia according to the best authorities, is about 5,250,000. The grand total of the population today is estimated at 114,873,008. According to the evidence furnished to the Pahlen Commission, which was kept secret, but to some of which I had access, the proportion

of the Jews in the fifteen provinces constituting the Pale, and in the town of Odessa, amounted to 12.5 per cent. of the population.

In the interior 35 provinces the Jewish population before the expulsions of 1890–91 was	0.12 per cent.
In the Polish provinces	13.8 "
In the Caucasus	0.12 "
In the Caspian provinces	0.55 "
In Siberia	0.35 "
In Asia Minor	0.10 "

averaging over the whole Empire less than 5 per cent. of the total population.

Seeing that the Russian Empire comprises one-seventh of the land surface of the globe, and covers with internal waters, an area of 8,644,100 English square miles, it seems an extravagant compliment to the Jewish race, notwithstanding their admitted abilities, to deal with them as if they were sufficiently powerful and sufficiently dangerous to the vast dominions of the Czar, to require herding in the pinfold of the fifteen provinces. Nor can it be justly alleged that the Jewish population is largely increasing. Death and emigration keep down their numbers. The opinion of M. Soubotin on this subject is expressed in the following words : " Il est bien probable que la population juive dans les dernières dix années n'est inconsidérablement accrue en comparaison avec l'année 1881." Indeed, regarded from the standpoint of population, as well as from economic and moral considerations, it is difficult for an Englishman to comprehend wherein lies the danger of allowing one Jew to dwell among eight hundred of the Christian population, or in what way the empire is strengthened by driving out innocent men, women and children during the snows of January.

The cry against the Jews that they are not agriculturists is exactly like preferring an accusation against a man for not being able to swim, when, at the same time, he is not allowed to approach water. Under Russian law, a Jew may not farm, or become a miller, or a fisherman ; he may not buy, sell, lease or rent land. He may not be a gardener on his own land. Driven by centuries of coercion to dwell in towns, and restricted to a few commercial occupations, the traditions of the time when Israel was an agricultural theocracy have almost faded away. Severed from the soil and estranged from the plough, the majority of the race has become incapable of bearing the physical strain that falls to the lot of the agriculturist. Christian animosity has organised Jewish deterioration. No conditions of life so sweeten and purify the human race as sunshine and hard work in the open air. The truth of this proposition is demonstrated in the complete physical change to be remarked in the second and third generations of the handful of Jews who were planted by Alexander I. in the colonies of Cherson in the year 1806. Prince Demidoff San-Donato says truly that " the position of the first Jewish settlers, who belonged chiefly to the most destitute members of the Jewish communities, was most deplorable." They were physically weak, exhausted by privation and travel, and ignorant of agriculture ; and the mortality among them was so great that the Governor of Cherson reported in 1810, that " no more Jews must be sent to the province." The experiments dropped in 1810 were resumed in 1834, and again in 1846 by the Emperor Nicholas.

I have conversed with these colonists. Their old men told me of the hardships they had to encounter. The administration was composed of retired military men who, for the most part, were more occupied with their own interests than with the development of the prosperity of the colonies. The houses such as they were, being built of green bricks, collapsed in the first rains, and they were erected so far from water that many of them were never occupied. The agricultural implements were worthless. The discipline imposed on these luckless farmers was of the utmost severity. The idle were flogged or imprisoned, and many were sent to Siberia for lack of enthusiasm in their work. Irksome administrative rules checked the development of the colonies, and, while it increased the distaste of those already engaged in cultivating the soil, deterred others from pursuing a similar career. In the archives of the Bessarabian Board of Administration, kept at Cherson, it is stated in an official document, that the hovels prepared for the poor Jews from Mariapol and Berdicheff were built of frozen materials during severe frost, by half frozen workmen. Before they were occupied, many of them fell to pieces, and instead of habitations, the Jews found only ruins. With the irony prevalent in these regions, the Provincial Board accused the immigrants of not keeping their tenements in good repair ! Cold, damp, and lack of

proper food brought on scurvy, and many died a miserable death. Medical attendance they had none, and a more direful lot than fell to these Jewish settlers was not borne even by the 1820 settlers sent by Lord Liverpool to the Cape Colony.

However, notwithstanding all these drawbacks, many families held on, and became stalwart and successful farmers, and to-day, a population of 21,000 agriculturists inhabit the Cherson colonies, whose pluck and patience are a credit to themselves and to their country. The natural increase in the population has, however, brought new troubles. Land that is capable of supporting five people is not enough for fifty. To-day, not only is the pastoral and agricultural land in the Cherson colonies exhausted from constant cropping, but the quantity is totally insufficient to maintain the population settled upon it. When I visited these colonies, commissioned by Baron de Hirsch to inquire and report upon the condition of the Russian Jews, I was greeted as if succour had been brought to men at hand-grips with death. Quiet, dignified and hungry, the whole population impressed me with the greatest respect. Not once was I asked for a copeck ; nor did I hear an angry word against the Government of the country. It need not be said that no trouble from drink existed in the colonies ; not only was temperance the invariable rule, but the Russian villages adjacent learned moderation and sobriety from example and contact.

The dignity and care of woman is maintained among the Jews in a manner surprising to those acquainted with the usual conditions of female peasant life in Europe. Except among the very poor, no married woman or young girl is allowed to work in the fields. This seclusion of their women is charged against the agriculturists as a crime. The practice of restricting female labour to domestic offices has much to be said for it. Beauty and intelligence are so common among the children, that it is difficult to resist the conviction that the comparative care with which the mothers of Israel are lovingly surrounded by their menfolk at critical periods of their lives has a wholesome effect on their offspring. Gentleness to women and children is a conspicuous feature in the lives of this Hebrew yeomanry. In the evening, when a young English labourer would be enjoying himself away from his wife, the Hebrew Hodge dandles his babies, and helps his wife in the family work, and in so doing finds the highest happiness of which his nature is capable.

Usury, to which the Jews pent up in over-populated towns, must have recourse or die, is not practised here. The few instances of money-lending I encountered were, curiously enough, cases where Russians were the lenders and Jews the borrowers. The pursuit of agriculture seems to eradicate the abnormally developed commercial instinct so often characteristic of Abraham's seed : at all events when his seed have been settled on the soil for a series of years.

There can be no stronger testimony to the high character of these Jewish peasants than the existence of a land system under which the contract for the lease is constituted by word of mouth. Since the May laws of 1882, no Jew may become a farmer. Land-hunger in the Jewish breast appears to be consistent with honesty, for numerous instances came to my knowledge of a tenure subsisting on a parole contract. One Russian proprietor told me that he had let land on these terms for years, and had never been cheated of rent. We hear much of Jewish dishonesty, and it is only fair to record the evidence telling what the real nature of the people becomes when humanised by contact with the soil.

An excellent plan of mutual insurance exists among these people. The policies are limited to 400 roubles. Arson is unknown, as it would go hard with an offender who impoverished the whole community. Such capacity for combination and self-help renders the Jewish race excellent raw material for colonisation. It is true that the surface impurities must be removed—as I have often said before, by the two great purifiers for mind and body, sunshine and sweat—but with patience and opportunity there is no reason why a great Jewish State should not be rebuilt. Religion, race, language, and literature, the Jews possess. Land only is wanting, and that is in a fair way to be supplied by the matchless generosity of one man.

The principal note in the gamut of impressions left on my mind by close contact with the agricultural Jews was the aristocratic quality of mind common to the whole people. Their sense of honour would have satisfied Burke. They are gentle to women and tender to children. They feel a stain like a wound, and the proof is that a Russian accepts their word for weighty contracts in place of a bond. But in addition to all these things, there is that indefinable air of distinction about the lowest and commonest of these Jews which impresses the conviction on one's mind that their unpopularity is due perhaps, if one may be frank, to their native superiority over the settled nations

of the earth. Trouble and pain have refined the Jews in Russia. Prosperity vulgarises, whether in Brixton or Berdicheff. The Jewish race are in agony, and their agony is slow. Their patience is eternal, but the body fades and dies while the mind remains unconquered. Perhaps the most cruel deeds perpetrated on the Jews are the accomplishment of their degradation, the destruction of their spirit. No one wishes less than I, or would do more to prevent, the introduction of large numbers of poor Jews into Great Britain, but the spiritual assassination that has been practised on them in past times by the nations of Europe, and even until recently by England, but more especially of late by Russia, justifies the organised resentment of all who have hearts to feel or minds to think.

A few months since I visited a certain Jewish hospital in a small town near the Russian frontier. The meat tax collected from the Jews had been confiscated by the Christians. Medicine and nursing were impossible, there was no money. Cleanliness was unattainable, there was but one attendant. Men and women, eighteen of them, lay suffering and dying together. Cases of cancer, puerperal fever, Bright's disease, meningitis, fracture, amputation, tumour, and fever, lay huddled on dirty cubicles, irrespective of age or sex. One plucky Jewish doctor showed me the scene with shame. He did what he could. It was evening, and the western sun sloped his rays through the one window. An old man, with his face lit by the sunset, lay a-dying. He had wanted food, and now the gasp of death was in his throat. Alone he had lived, and alone he came to die. By his side lay an open book of psalms, with an ancient pair of spectacles marking the place where he had last read. Other hands than his would move the mark. The book was open where it is written : "For He remembered His holy promise and Abraham His servant. And He brought forth His people with joy and His chosen with gladness." Squalid and foul as were his surroundings the face of the old man, whose name I never knew, showed a peace within that the troubles of the world had not taken away.

It may be that when men are judged for the deeds they have done in the flesh, the Russian Emperor will learn for the first time the evils he has suffered to be done in his name.

NOTE.

The following are recent testimonials of responsible Russian proprietors and others to the agricultural capacity of the Russian Jews :

(1) Living continuously for twenty-three years on my property near the village of Sergnewka, in the district of Cherson, at a distance of three versts from the Jewish colony of Romanowka, I can with truth certify that the Jews of that colony occupy themselves personally with the cultivation of the ground and the rearing of cattle.

They also engage themselves for harvest work to the farmers round. In a word, they occupy themselves in the same way as do the farmers who hire them.—(Signed) Propriétaire, gentleman, Chrisanophe Aleksandrowich Petrowski ; Propriétaire Goustaw Henrichowiez Faltz.

(2) Living on my estate in the district of Cherson for twenty-five years, close to the Jewish colony of Novopoltawka, I can testify that for all this time I have been content with their conduct as neighbours, and that there has never been a quarrel or misunderstanding between us. I can also testify that the majority of the inhabitants of this colony occupy themselves personally with agriculture, and have procured of late years the best machines for agricultural purposes, for which they have also plenty of horses and cattle.—(Signed) Propriétaire honorary hereditary citizen, Petre Petrowiez Zuritzin.

(3) 1892, February 18.—I certify that my neighbours, the Jewish colonists of Novopoltawka, grow successfully different kinds of corn, as well as carry on all the usual occupations of an agricultural life, as for example, gardening, rearing of cattle, horses, &c.—(Signed) Propriétaire in the district of Cherson, Nicolas Pawloff Lougowski.

THE FARIBAULT CASE.

From *The Christian Union* (Undenom.), New York, May 21, 1892.

The Christian Union gave last fall an account of the action at Faribault, Minnesota, by which large Catholic schools of the Immaculate Conception parish were transferred to the local Board of Education, without conditions or reservations, and the buildings were thrown open for children of all creeds, under the direction of the public school authorities. The Catholic Church retained its ownership of the school buildings, renting them to the public authorities for a merely nominal rent. The text-books of the public school system were adopted, and the teachers were required to possess the qualifications and submit to the examinations required of all other teachers under the public school system. No objection was interposed by the Roman Catholic authorities to the reading of a brief portion of Scripture and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer. All religious emblems characteristic of the Catholic faith were removed from the rooms, but the Roman Catholic teachers, who belonged to the Dominican order, continued to wear the robes of that order. This arrangement was severely criticised at the time by some Protestants on the one hand, and by some Roman Catholics on the other. It has now received the approval

of the Vatican. The following is the full text of this important decision :

ROME, April 30, 1892.

To the Most Rev. John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, Minn :

Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir—It has pleased your Grace to submit to the judgment of the Holy See the arrangement you deemed well to make for elementary schools at Faribault and Stillwater, Minn., in your diocese, in order to provide in the best manner possible for the spiritual welfare of the children confided to your pastoral care.

This wise resolution of your Grace seemed all the more prudent because the aforesaid arrangement, even though it regarded only separate and exceptional cases, still appeared to many of the bishops, to the members of the lower clergy and laity, as hardly worthy of approval, perhaps because they were not as well acquainted with the circumstances and conditions of the transaction as they ought to have been in order to have been able to pronounce thereon a fair opinion.

For that reason, his Holiness confided the examination of this important question to a committee of cardinals chosen from the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. In a meeting held on the 21st inst., after weighing carefully the grave reasons, adduced by your Grace with so much clearness, which induced you to enter into the arrangement mentioned above, and considering the declarations worthy of all praise, which show that, in the matter of education, your Grace has always wished to maintain inviolate the principles set forth by the Holy See and commended to the observance of the bishops by the Councils of Baltimore, particularly the third Council, their Eminences gave their decision on the question submitted to them, as it is found in the accompanying document, and his Holiness has ratified and approved the same.

I hope your Grace will be gratified by this decision of the Holy See ; because, though unusual provisions made by the different bishops in their respective dioceses according to the requirement of circumstances cannot be approved directly by the Holy See when they imply a departure, to a certain extent, from a general law, nevertheless, when the Holy See declares that such provisions may be tolerated, it thereby puts an end to all indiscreet attacks upon them.

Furthermore, by order of his Holiness, and with great pleasure to myself, I must not fail to inform your Grace that your expressions of respect, filial obedience, and unalterable adherence to the Holy See and its teachings, of which you have given splendid proofs, have been most acceptable to the Sovereign Pontiff and myself, and have strengthened the full confidence of the Holy See in your wisdom and piety.

Finally, I pray that God may preserve your Grace and protect you always.

Your Grace's most devoted servant,

M. CARDINAL LEDOCHOWSKI, Prefect.

IGNATIUS, Archbishop of Damiata, Secretary.

In special congregation of the Propaganda, held on April 21, 1892, to consider the question what judgment is to be formed of the arrangement entered into by Archbishop Ireland concerning the two schools at Faribault and Stillwater, Minn., in this case, they decided to reply affirmatively, and, without derogating from the decrees of the Councils of Baltimore on parochial schools, that the arrangement entered into by Archbishop Ireland concerning the schools at Faribault and Stillwater, taking into consideration all the circumstances, can be tolerated. In an audience, held on the same day, his Holiness deigned to approve the resolution of the cardinals given above.

IGNATIUS, Archbishop of Damiata, Secretary.

We only need add in further explanation the following statement of Archbishop Ireland : " The plan is, of course, a departure from the ideal, and in case of departure the canonical language is *tolerari potest.* But these words imply for practice a full approval."

PROFESSOR BRIGGS'S LATEST BOOK.

BY REV. TALBOT W. CHAMBERS, D.D.

From *The New York Observer* (Undenom.), May 5, 1892.

THE full title of this recent volume is given below.* If any of the Professor's readers entertain the notion that he has seen fit to modify or qualify the doctrines of his Inaugural Address, a glance at these pages will undeceive them. We read (p. 62) : " God himself speaks with divine authority to men, and gives them certainty of that authority, sometimes through the forms of the Reason, sometimes through the Church, sometimes through Holy Scripture ; and then again in any two of them, or in all three of them." So, then, each is independent and sufficient. But on the next page it is said : " We do not in the statement either co-ordinate these fountains or subordinate them, or in any way define the relation between them. . . . It is conceivable that the three fountains might be regarded as co-ordinate. If any one holds such an opinion, we do not." If any one can understand these utterances, we do not. The fountains accomplish the same result respectively for the purposes for which they exist, yet they are neither co-ordinate nor subordinate. This style of writing is much more ingenious than ingenuous, and must needs awaken suspicion in the reader's mind. The Professor's disclaimer is to be accepted, but it must also be considered together with his other utterances in the same connection. There is a curious mystification in his treatment which it is very hard to explain. He seems to say and unsay in the same breath, which is surely not the way in which a teacher of theology should express himself.

Dr. Briggs attacks the current method of settling the Canon as an attempt " to prop the divine authority of the Scriptures by arguments drawn from traditional sources"

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*The Bible, the Church, and the Reason: The Three Great Fountains of Divine Authority. By Charles A. Briggs, D. D. New York : C. Scribner's Sons.

(p. 5), which is a gross misrepresentation, as is also the assertion that the holders of this view "rest their faith upon the judgment of a majority of Christians in the second century no wiser or better than ourselves" (p. 6). We accept the testimony of the churches of the second century as witnesses of what books were regarded by them as inspired and of apostolic origin. Nor is this "a perilous position." The whole Protestant Church is thus certified that what it receives as Scripture is Scripture, and their assurance is confirmed by every new investigation of the sources. Whereas Dr. Briggs's method makes as many Bibles as there are Christians, for each man is to believe only so far as the Holy Spirit bears witness to him; and besides, this method denies to the unregenerate any Bible, for no man can know what Scripture is till he is converted. And hence all accredited writers * on the Canon without exception reject Dr. Briggs's view, and adopt the method of historical investigation, which contrary to his opinion yields them positive certainty.

But while the Church is a witness to the truth, she is not a fountain of divine authority, and never was. Scripture gives no warrant for any such claim, nor does experience, for all Churches at one time or another have erred in faith and practice, whereas divine authority must be infallible.

Still less is Reason such a fountain. Her only province is to test the truth of what claims to be a revelation on historical or moral grounds, and when that is done, her office is exhausted. She has no further authority, except in so far as she draws it from the inspired Word. And nothing can be more puerile than Dr. Briggs's argument that because intelligence must be employed in the believer's exercises (pp. 54, 55), therefore Reason is a fountain of divine authority. It requires an effort to believe that the author did not himself see the flimsy nature of such a mode of reasoning.

He insists (p. 88) "that no man can attain the heights of religious development until he has used the three fountains in harmony." Now there is a sense in which this is true, viz.: that a believer must use his reason and have the aid of the Church as means under the divine Spirit, in order to reach his best estate, but if this is Dr. Briggs's meaning, why could he not say so? Why must he use language which is capable of another interpretation, and one which is very offensive to the generation of the righteous?

The author assigns to Scripture a unique place in the literature of the world, yet affirms (p. 72) that there are in it errors "in science, in geography and in history;" that "there are crude conceptions and gross immoralities in the lower stages of divine revelation in the Old Testament;" and that "the writers were, in a measure, influenced by the religious ideas of the religions with which they were brought in contact." Again (p. 108): "The psychology may be crude, the methods of reasoning sometimes inexact, the rhetoric occasionally extravagant, the language of some of the writers rude, their conceptions provincial, their knowledge of the earth defective." And he goes into an argument to show that inerrancy is not claimed by Scripture, is not an orthodox doctrine, and is a dangerous doctrine. To all of which the sufficient reply is: The sacred writings are said by the Apostles to have been inspired, and if they were, they must have been without mixture of error. We do not pretend to say what the process of inspiration was, but we are sure of the result, not only by a rational inference from the divine-human authorship, but from the way in which the Old Testament (thoughts and words) is quoted and used in the New. If then any errors are proved to exist, we account for them by the accidents of transmission, and we do this not to save a theology, but to maintain what we gather is the view of Scripture itself. And we reverently say: "Let God be found true, but every man a liar." And we object to the doctrine so boldly avowed of the errancy of Scripture not only because of the dishonor it does to God the Holy Ghost, but also because of its injury to men. It is all very well to say that the errors are only "motes in the sunbeam," but when we are told that an apostle reasons badly, or an inspired man writes extravagantly, or his knowledge is defective, we draw back in dismay. Here is a door opened for endless objections to the truth of God. Men's confidence in the divine Word is rudely shaken if not destroyed, and an utterance from the Bible ceases to be the end of controversy. How much better than the careless expressions of Dr. Briggs are the words of Augustine when he said to Jerome (Ep. 19): "If I meet with anything in the books of Scripture which seems contrary to the truth, I do not doubt that either the manuscript is corrupt, or that the interpreter has not reached the true sense, or that I myself by no means understand it." Might not the modesty of the great Latin father be commended for imitation to some of the teachers of our day?

* Specimens of the list are Stillingfleet, Hooker, Baxter, Hill, Cunningham, Chalmers, Dick, Van Oosterzee, Harold Brown, Pond, both the Hodges, H. B. Smith, A. H. Strong and A. Hovey.

In the part of the volume devoted to the Higher Criticism, the writer constantly speaks of his opponents, called "traditionalists," as if they objected to the searching investigation of the Bible. This is a very great error, and one which the Professor ought not to have made. We by no means object to the most careful and thorough scrutiny to which the Bible can be subjected. Our faith in it is so assured and strong that we have no fear of the result in any case. But we do object positively to the methods employed by the modern school, maintaining that they are eminently deceptive. This has been shown by crucial instances. To parcel a book of Scripture among several writers on the basis of differences in vocabulary, style and contents, and then whenever an inconvenient word or clause occurs which contradicts the theory to attribute that to a redactor, is, we think, an arbitrary and irrational proceeding. Dr. Briggs assumes four authors of the Pentateuch, and compares them with the four evangelists, and insists that the Old Testament quartette answers the same purpose as that of the New, whereas they differ as widely as fiction and fact. Besides, the new version of the Bible now issuing in Germany, with marginal indications of the authorship, gives six authors of the Pentateuch, viz. : the Priestly, the Jehovist, the Elohist, the Deuteronomist, the second Deuteronomist and the Redactor, so that the number of hands employed is not quite so well settled as Dr. Briggs supposes. The advocates of the modern system tell us with confidence that the authority and the inspiration of the Bible will remain unchanged, even though it be admitted that the book did not assume its present form until the time of Ezra. But to us this seems literally impossible. Men will compare the actual facts with the explanation given of them, and form their judgment accordingly. They will accept a narrative by a credible author properly vouched for, but to find that what seems to be a contemporary document and has been so accepted for thousands of years, is merely a long subsequent rehash by unknown parties of various documents proceeding from anonymous sources, but marked by specific tendencies, will inflict an irrecoverable shock upon their confidence in Scripture. The holy Book will be no longer to them what it was—an artless statement of what the Most High was pleased to reveal for human guidance and comfort, the writers being always under the direction of the divine Spirit. On the contrary, the history will come to them as a compilation by unknown hands of what was written by equally unknown persons, and manipulated at sundry times and in various ways without even the least hint having ever been given of this mode of procedure.

Nor will their confidence be restored by the way in which Dr. Briggs allows himself to speak of "some ministers and editors who are not critics," and who have been outspoken in their opposition to his course. He says (p. 278), "Our Saviour represents such enemies of the truth as hissing serpents (Matt. 23 : 33) : Paul writes of them as dogs (Phil. 3 : 2)." It remains to be seen whether the Professor's abilities and acquirements entitle him to assume such a lordly and contemptuous tone toward those who feel compelled to differ from him and to do what they can to hinder the continuance of his teachings.

The common opinion of the Christian Church is that the heathen not living up to their own sense of duty are hopelessly lost. Dr. Briggs acknowledges that this is according to the popular theology, which ministers preach and people accept, but he adds, they do not really believe it in their hearts. "If they did they would be more worthy of damnation than the heathen themselves" (p. 46). Such is the way in which a professor in a Presbyterian seminary allows himself to talk. The rashness, the shallowness, the wickedness of the utterance need not be dwelt upon.

The author recites the progress of the higher criticism, and claims that it has secured the assent of all the professional scholars of the Continent, and the most of those of Great Britain, and a majority of the Old Testament professors in America (p. 278). The notable exceptions among the last mentioned are Professors Green, Osgood and Bissell. He thinks it very improbable that more than a hundred specialists in this study should all be wrong, and these three Americans have the right of it. We answer that his enumeration on both sides is neither complete nor accurate ; that even were it so, the minority in the days of Noah was much smaller, and yet held the truth, as was the case centuries afterward, when Athanasius stood alone against the world for what is the historic faith of the Church, and that some names on his list, (*e.g.*, Kuenen, Wellhausen,) have made shipwreck of the faith by pushing the methods of the higher criticism to their legitimate conclusion, and that Dr. Briggs bids fair to arrive, in due time, at the same mournful result. He, no more than any other man, can jump halfway down a precipice.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series. Translated into English with Prolegomena and Explanatory Notes under the Editorial Supervision of Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D., etc., and Henry Wace, D.D., etc., in Connection with a Number of Patristic Scholars of Europe and America. Vol. IV., "Select Writings and Letters of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria." Edited with Prolegomena, Indices, and Tables by Archibald Robertson, Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham; late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. New York: The Christian Literature Company; Oxford and London: Parker & Co., 1892.

The fourth volume of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Library has been awaited with impatience, and will be gladly welcomed by all historical students. Within the compass of a single volume the publishers have given us the majority of Athanasius' most important works and all of his extant letters, with the exception of a few minor fragments, accompanied with extensive and admirable prolegomena and notes, the whole constituting the most convenient and complete Athanasian apparatus in English, or, indeed, in any modern language. The very richness of the volume increases the student's regret that Athanasius' complete works could not have been included in the series. But since its necessary limits were such as to make that impossible, and a selection consequently had to be made, we may congratulate ourselves upon the wisdom displayed by the editors. The writer especially regrets the omission of the *Orationes ad Serapionem*, and to a lesser degree of the so-called *Contra Apollinarium*, and is of the opinion that the *Vita Antonii* might have been spared without serious loss; but, on the whole, though there may be a difference of opinion at certain points, the selection is beyond criticism, and is, perhaps, under the circumstances, the very best that could have been made.

To emphasize the importance of such a volume as the one before us is almost superfluous. The Greek Church had perhaps greater theologians, certainly greater philosophers than Athanasius; many surpassed him in learning, many more in the power of systematic thinking; but few if any were gifted with deeper and truer insight, and none of them, taken all in all, was a greater man. But the chief value of Athanasius' writings, with which alone we are here concerned, lies in the fact that they were drawn from him by the stress of circumstances, and that they reveal as no other works of the early Church do the marks of a great theological conflict, the effects of which have been permanent. To understand the development of Christian doctrine, to understand the heritage that has come down to us, it is essential that we familiarize ourselves with the genius and temper of the fourth century, and that we trace the forces which then had play, and the results which were then reached. But the fourth century was not the beginning of things. The great figure of Athanasius and the first œcumenical council have at times filled too large a place in the horizon of Christian thought, and too few have been able to look beyond them with a clear and unembarrassed gaze; but no less injustice is thus done to Athanasius than to the fathers that preceded him. In more senses than one the early fourth century was the climax of a development that had been going on in the Christian Church since the time of the apostles. From Athanasianism, on the one side, and from Arianism, on the other, we can trace back the lines of development to the very earliest days. Only because Athanasianism and Arianism were growths have they any significance to us. Leaping full grown from the head of Jove, they might have been curiosities worthy of a place in some museum—more they could not have been. The editor of the present volume knows this well, and in his recognition of the fact lies the chief value of his part of the work. After reading carefully his prolegomena the student will be prepared rightly to estimate the significance and the influence of Athanasius. We welcome this excellent volume, then, above all because it is calculated to correct such misapprehensions as are all too apt to exist in the minds especially of those not intimately acquainted with the ante-Nicene age, and to guide the reader toward a truer view of the history of Christian doctrine. We rejoice that the labors of Harnack are so evidently bearing fruit in England.

Turning to the volume in hand for a more particular examination of it, we note that the prolegomena by Mr. Robertson fill seventy-eight pages, and present the life of Athanasius with all needed fulness. The troubled and eventful years of his long episcopate are carefully traced, and all possible light is thrown upon disputed matters, while the difficult chronological questions involved are carefully elucidated. The story of Athanasius' life is a very fascinating one, and though Mr. Robertson's account is, as it should be, critical and not pictorial, vivid interest attaches to it. The life of the man is in this case an excellent introduction to, and, in some respects, the best commentary upon his writings. A complete list of these writings, so far as known to us, is given in the prolegomena, together with such an account of them as is needed by way of general introduction, while the character and theology of Athanasius, as well as Arianism and the Arian controversy, are treated with commendable thoroughness.

The work throughout reveals painstaking care and a mastery even of the minutest details of the subjects involved. The most interesting and important parts of the prolegomena are the paragraphs on the antecedents of Arianism, in which the editor follows in the main the lead of Harnack—whose discussion of the subject in his *Dogmengeschichte* has thrown new light upon the history of the whole period—and the chapter on the theology of Athanasius, which is very complete and useful. The introductions to the several works of Athanasius are all from the hand of Mr. Robertson, and are at once concise and comprehensive and well adapted to the end in view.

The translations, with the exception of the *Contra Gentes*, the *Vita Antonii*, and some of the epistles and minor writings, which have been made especially for this edition, are from Newman's famous Oxford edition, with revisions, and, it need hardly be said, are of the highest standard of excellence. The present edition is immeasurably superior to all previous ones, and its points of excellence are so many that criticism seems ungracious. To possess the chief works of the great Greek father in such a form is in itself a cause of rejoicing, and to have them furnished with such admirable and copious helps increases our sense of obligation both to publishers and to editors. Evidently no pains have

been spared to make the volume as complete and as useful as possible. The result is eminently satisfactory. ARTHUR C. MCGIFFERT.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE ORIGIN AND RELIGIOUS CONTENTS OF THE PSALTER, IN THE LIGHT OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. With an Introduction and Appendices. Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the Year 1889 on the Bampton Foundation. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1891. 8vo, pp. xxxviii., 517, $4.

In these lectures the author maintains the view that the whole of the Psalter, with the possible exception of Ps. xviii., is post-exilic. Even of Ps. xviii. he speaks with hesitation. He "cannot complain if some prefer to regard the Psalm as an imaginative work of the exile" (p. 206). Ten or twelve Psalms he assigns to the period of the Restoration; twenty-seven, more or less, to the Maccabean period; some sixteen to the pre-Maccabean-Greek period. But it is to the Persian period, and especially the later part of it, that we are indebted for most of the Psalms.

Professor Cheyne's arguments leave me unconvinced. He starts from the assumption that Simon the Maccabee edited the last two books of the Psalter soon after 142 B.C. (p. 12). But he admits that "we have no ancient record" of such editing, though the prosaic author of 1 Maccabees "warms into poetry in telling of the prosperity of Israel under Simon," and "makes it the climax of his description that he 'made glorious the sanctuary, and multiplied the vessels of the temple'" (1 Mac. xiv. 15). The argument from silence is no doubt precarious; but the fact must be faced that "our one first-class authority for the Maccabean period" is absolutely silent about that "reconstruction of the temple-psalmody" to which "we may, nay, we must, conjecture . . . that the noble high priest and virtual king, Simon, devoted himself;" and is equally silent about the editing of the last two books of the Psalter which we are told to connect with it.

Thus the foundation and starting point of Professor Cheyne's argument is a conjecture, or, rather, a series of conjectures; and though it is true, as he tells us, that "the dark places of history must sometimes be illumined by the torch of conjecture," it cannot be too carefully remembered that the torch is not daylight, and is extremely apt to cast misleading shadows.

The history of the canon is admittedly so obscure that it would be rash dogmatically to assert the impossibility of such a late date for the final arrangement of the last two books of the Psalter. But in spite of Professor Cheyne's arguments to the contrary, I cannot but think that (1) the language of the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, with its implicit distinction between canonical and deutero-canonical books; (2) the probable date and actual character of the Septuagint version of the Psalter; (3) the use made of Psalms xcvi., cv., cvi., cxxxii., in 1 Chron. xvi. 8–36; 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42; (4) the silence of 1 Maccabees; when taken together, create a very strong presumption against the possibility of so late a date for the last two books of the Psalter. In estimating the weight of historical probabilities, the arguments must be taken all together, and not separately; and taken together, they point distinctly in the opposite direction to Professor Cheyne's conjecture.

Starting from his conjectural hypothesis, Professor Cheyne proceeds to fix the probable dates of particular Psalms. He assigns some seventeen Psalms in Books IV. and V. to the Maccabean period, and about seven more to the pre-Maccabean-Greek period. Some of these Psalms may, plausibly enough, be thought to reflect the circumstances of the Maccabean age; and if there are Maccabean Psalms in the Psalter at all, it is natural to look for some of them in what is undoubtedly, in the main, the latest part of the Psalter. But it may be questioned whether these Psalms cannot equally well be explained from the circumstances of other periods, and whether there are not conspicuous features of the Maccabean age which are absent. And his treatment of Ps. cxxxvii. is an example of the arbitrary criticism into which Professor Cheyne is forced by his theory of the date of these books. If any Psalm bears upon the face of it clear indications of the time at which it was composed, it is this Psalm. The writer and those for whom he speaks are still smarting under the fresh recollection of the sufferings of the exile. But this will not suit Professor Cheyne's theory. "So striking a poem, if composed soon after the Return, would have found a home in the third book of the Psalms." Why so is not quite clear, for Psalms xciii., xcv.–c. are placed about 516 B.C. But Ps. cxxxvii. must be regarded as a "dramatic lyric," and assigned to the age of Simon.

It is, however, in the denial of the existence of pre-exilic Psalms in the Psalter (with the possible exception of Ps. xviii.) that Professor Cheyne's criticism is most arbitrary. That religious poetry existed before the Exile is certain. I must decline to abandon the evidence of Ps. cxxxvii. 3, 4 on this point; and it is supplemented by the reference to the ancient praises of Israel in the temple in Isa. lxiv. 11, and by such a passage as Jer. xxxiii. 11. The Lamentations, which Professor Cheyne allows to have been written in the Exile, are, if I am not mistaken, artificial in style as well as in form. They are clear evidence that the art of writing sacred poetry had been long and largely practised. There is, then, an *à priori* probability that the Psalter contains pre-exilic Psalms. It would be strange, indeed, if none of the pre-exilic Psalms had been preserved. In the first place, then, at least those Psalms which contain a definite reference to the king, such as ii., xviii., xx., xxi., xlv., lxi., lxiii., lxxii., presumably belong to the period of the monarchy. Why, except in the interests of a theory, should Ps. ii. be regarded as a dramatic lyric, written long after the Return, by a poet who throws himself back into the age of David or Solomon? Surely, if evidence of tone and style are worth anything at all, this Psalm must have been written in view of actual facts. In the prophets we find Messianic hopes, such as those which are expressed in this Psalm, springing out of and closely connected with the circumstances of the time. Why should we assume that it is otherwise in the Psalter? The reference of Ps. xlv. and lxxii. to Ptolemy Philadelphus is singularly unsatisfactory from every point of view. Why should Ps. xx., xxi., lxi., lxiii. be referred to Judas or Simon? Professor Cheyne by no means disposes of the objection that the title of the king was studiously avoided by these princes, and only assumed by Aristobulus and his successors (105 B.C.).

Further, Ps. xlvi., xlviii., lxxv., lxxvi. may much more naturally be referred to the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib, than "at the earliest to one of the happier parts of the Persian

age." We are told that "the Jewish Church in Isaiah's time was far too germinal to have sung these expressions of daring monotheism and impassioned love for the temple." If this means that these Psalms soar far above the belief of the average Israelite of the time, I am quite ready to admit it. But that is no argument against their having been composed by Isaiah, or a poet fired with Isaiah's enthusiasm and insight, and used in the public celebration of the deliverance of Zion. Do all those who join in a Church hymn appropriate its full meaning? But if it means that there is anything in these Psalms in advance of Isaiah's theology, I deny the fact. It may be remarked, by the way, that it is distinctly *not* "impassioned love for the temple" which inspires Ps. xlvi. and xlviii., but admiring love for the *city*, which has been so signally delivered; and the thought of these Psalms is in full accord with Isaiah's teaching on the inviolability of Zion. Professor Cheyne will hardly allow an argument from quotations; but it appears to me quite certain that Lam. ii. 15 unites Ps. xlviii. 2 and Ps. l. 2.

If these Psalms can securely be claimed for the age of the kingdom, they may carry others with them. Into the question of Davidic Psalms I will not enter here. But I observe that Professor Cheyne "says for himself that he cannot divide sharply between the age of David and that, say, of Isaiah" (p. 191); and for myself I must still ask with Riehm how David came to be regarded as the "sweet Psalmist of Israel," and how so many Psalms came to be ascribed to him, unless he was really a psalmist, and some of these Psalms were actually written by him? What Professor Cheyne means by his "second David" (p. 194) I am at a loss to understand.

One result of Professor Cheyne's criticism is to credit the obscure Persian period, and especially the later part of it, with the production of the greater part of the Psalter. To assign so many of the Psalms, including some of the highest poetical merit and the most varied character, to a period of which so little is really known, is exceedingly precarious. On linguistic grounds, moreover, it is highly questionable. While it is no doubt possible that later psalmists imitated earlier models, it seems improbable that we should possess only the imitations, and that the diction of the Psalms, which are presumed to be very late, should not show more traces of changes which there is reason to believe were passing over the language.

To consider the bearing of the religious contents of the Psalter upon its date would lead me far beyond my limits; but there are one or two points on which I venture to offer the briefest remark. The free use of the name Jehovah in the fourth and fifth books of the Psalter is in strong contrast to the avoidance of Divine names in 1 Maccabees; and certainly, if the author of 1 Maccabees at all reflects the spirit of the age, this is one argument against the hypothesis that these books were arranged by Simon. Further, it still seems to me that considerably more than a century must be allowed for the growth and development of religious thought between the canonical Psalter and the Psalms of Solomon.

There is, moreover, no little force in the objection which Riehm urges to the theory of a late post-exilic date for the majority of the Psalms. It is admitted, he says, even by Reuss, that the Psalms show a spirit akin to the spirit of the Gospel, and that the same conceptions of God's nature and man's duty as are found in the Psalms are to be found in the prophets. And yet we are asked to believe that this spirit akin to the Gospel is not the spirit of the prophetic age, but the spirit of a Judaism which was binding itself more and more closely to the letter of the law, and sinking more and more deeply into a righteousness of works. Judaism might make use of the treasures of song derived from ancient times, but it could not have produced them.—A. F. Kirkpatrick, *in the Divine Library of the Old Testament.*

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The Christian Home. Its Foundation and Duties. By W. J. Knox Little, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Worcester, and Vicar of Hoar Cross. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., [1891.] 12mo, pp. xiii., 287, $1.75.

Bating one or two points, such as show a too strong leaning to sacramentarianism—Christian baptism and marriage—this is an excellent and timely book. It treats of a trite subject in an original and forcible way. Its teachings are just, generous, wholesome. The topics comprehend such relations as naturally occur to one in thinking of the home, and they are discussed, in the main, with a fairness, a fulness, and a practicalness which must commend the author's views to all who read the book. Nothing is slighted, and no important issue is dodged; every responsibility is squarely met. The chapters on Courtship and Marriage, Parents and Children, may go into any hands, and be read by the most fastidious and even prurient minds not only without detriment, but with positive advantage. The elements involved, while boldly put, are yet set with such propriety and grace of expression that only pure thoughts are suggested.

I like the "ethos" which runs through the presentation of the various relationships of the sexes. While the young marry for love, they are not to forget that they never get away from the sense of moral obligation. This obligation must ever be present to re-enforce natural affection. "In fact, it must be remembered that there is an ethos or temper appropriate to married life which, if this life is to be happy, must be carefully and conscientiously preserved, and which can be preserved by the power of God. That *ethos* is, perhaps, best described as *trust* and *faithfulness*. Every temptation of the devil toward failure in these, not merely in some gross and serious manner, but in the very first-springs of thought, ought to be crushed as a deadly sin." The same "ethos" exists between parents and children. It will readily be seen how important are both recognition of this law and insistence upon it, as tending to counter-work the laxity which is springing up both in the marital and parental relations. It is becoming quite too common in England and America for the children to be relegated to the care of nurses or tutors, while the fathers drive their bargains on 'Change or lounge in the club rooms, and the mothers betake themselves to novel-reading and society. The imperative *ought* should interpose in behalf of offspring at its most formative period, otherwise a faithless and irresponsible generation will arise.

The chapter on Master and Servants is an admirable one, though better adapted to conditions in England than in America. Its principles are safe for both countries.

It is especially pleasant that the author recognizes the place of the unmarried in the household. The attitude of brothers and sisters, the mutual helpfulness they should render each other, is beautifully portrayed.

While the wilful celibate, the one who deliberately refuses marriage, and flaunts his cynicism in everybody's face, is soundly condemned; the true celibate, who for high and sufficient reasons remains in a single life, is duly praised and the condition vindicated. All which is said about the celibate and virginal life as an "avocation" with a "special call," and after a time as "irrevocables" cannot be approved. It has no sufficient warrant in Scripture, and is fraught with danger. Speaking of the class who remain single, "who from circumstances cannot marry," the author holds of these the far larger proportion will be women. "It is doubtless this fact," he claims, "which has given so great an impetus in modern times toward an effort for the altered position of women." He approves this movement as necessary and inevitable. "There is no doubt, I think, that the modern movement with regard to women is distinctly Christian, and that the great value of it is that it tends to help girls far more than was done before to realize the value of life, and to use it well, and a very practical benefit of it is to help the unmarried women, who must always be a large class, to greater happiness and greater usefulness" (p. 174).

The best way to discourage a girl from marrying recklessly is to teach her habits of self-respecting independency, so that she will not need to marry until such a man offers himself as deserves to be loved, and who will, in her judgment, help her to a holy, happy, and useful life. The right sort of independence cannot be inconsistent with what is truly womanly. While a girl should avoid everything that is "*mannish* and fast, and knock-him-down, and *doctrinaire*, and aggressive" as unwomanly, yet she may unite strength with tenderness as truly becoming to her, as a man may join tenderness with strength as the highest type of Christian manhood.

The chapters on The Home and Happiness, The Home and Sorrow, The Home beyond the Grave, merit full notice, but space forbids. The book must be read to be appreciated.

H. B. Ridgaway.

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The Divine Enterprise of Missions. A Series of Lectures delivered at New Brunswick, N. J., before the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, upon the "Graves' Foundation, in 1891, by Rev. Arthur T. Pierson, D.D. New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 1891. 16mo, pp. 333. Cloth, $1.25.

The author bases his lectures upon the great commission presented "in four different aspects" by the four evangelists. The "idea and plan of missions" is outlined in the words of Christ to His apostles: "Ye shall be witnesses unto Me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea; and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." "The book of Acts is the typical history of the first age of missions, and a key to all future ages of Church history." "It illustrates the Divine purpose, and furnishes a practical example of the results which we are to expect to follow faithful witness." "The ruling idea is *witness*, but the grand features of the plan are its *purpose, order, scope, method, stress, power* and *results*." These features are stated, explained, illustrated, and enforced with all the force and energy and fervid zeal which characterize the author. No one, we think, will follow Dr. Pierson as he unfolds his theme without feeling his heart humbled and quickened—humbled under the sad neglect and failure of the Church to fulfil its divine commission, and quickened with better and stronger purposes for the future. Every one will agree with him that this is the work of the Church, binding upon it now and always; that love to Church and love to the souls of men will lead the Church to the work; that it will require a higher measure of consecration than the Church has yet reached, and that there is nothing which will restrain the gift of the Holy Spirit if the Church seeks Him by prayer. And by the Church is meant, as the author well insists, not the body of Christ's people merely, but each and every believer.

But Dr. Pierson very frankly tells his auditors and readers that "to get God's own conception of missions informed and infixed in our minds, our hearts, and our practical methods, might lead to the partial and even total revolution of our present mission work." The plans and methods of mission work are to some extent tentative; they are very inadequate, it may be, to the end sought. Great changes may be suggested by the experience of the Church and the fuller understanding of its mission. But Dr. Pierson's idea is not that the plan may be improved, but that it rests upon a mistaken conception of the work. The great function of the Church, and that which the Saviour insists upon in the commission, as He understands the commission, is to witness to Christ and His Gospel; that the hope of turning the world to Christ, or of converting the nations, has no foundation in the Scriptures, and that to cherish such a hope or to adopt plans which are designed to secure it, is to hinder the Church in accomplishing its real and pressing work, which is to preach the Gospel to every creature, or, what is equivalent in the author's view, "to witness the truth" to all men. A broad line of distinction between preaching the Gospel to every creature and teaching those things which Christ has commanded runs through the commission. The preaching is essentially the same as witnessing—"the soul of preaching is witnessing"—but teaching is the "after training of those who have been evangelized." "To confound these is a mistake that is fundamental." The one is simply "heralding of good tidings," the other is the gathering of converts into churches, and then bringing them under the culture of Christian institutions and truth. And yet our author himself finds it difficult to observe his own distinction; for he says, "The conversion of souls, the outgathering of converts from the world, and their ingathering into the Church, the erection of a Christian home, the setting up of Christian school, college, printing press, and medical mission, the whole array of Christian institutions, all these belong to the witness," which is yet "*the simple heralding of the Gospel.*"

It is enough, perhaps, to say, in regard to this theory of mission work, that it is one-sided. It does not provide for the full commission entrusted to the Church. It is certain that the Church could neither fulfil its commission nor discharge its own conscience by "the simple heralding of the Gospel," even if it could, by one supreme effort, send men into every part of the world, who should witness to Christ, or tell all men the good news of the Gospel. The theory of missions, which lies imbedded in the New Testament, upon which the Church has acted, and which is confirmed by all its experience in its mission work, is that Christ has entrusted His Church with the mission of making His Gospel known to men, and thus bringing men to Himself, that to this end He has clothed

His Church with authority, endowed it with all the powers and facilities necessary to do the work, and, above all, gifted it with the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, who makes the witness and the preaching of the Church effective, whose office it is to convince the world of sin and righteousness and judgment, and thus bring the world to Christ. Thus endowed and qualified, the Church testifies, proclaims the good news of salvation, teaches the nations, makes disciples of them, establishes Christian ordinances, plants Christian institutions, and is justified in expecting that its mission will be successful. And as the dispensation of the Spirit closes with the present age, whatever is done to fulfil this mission must be done now.

The view advocated by Dr. Pierson seems to us defective, and, therefore, misleading. But with this exception we can heartily commend these lectures as full of the fire and energy which characterize their author, all aglow with zeal and love to the souls of men, the outgrowth of honest convictions, and well fitted to rouse the conscience of the Church and stimulate it to a deeper interest and share in this "Divine enterprise."

ABRAHAM GOSMAN.

LAWRENCEVILLE, N. J.

PROBLEMS OF CHRISTIANITY AND SCEPTICISM. Lessons from Twenty Years' Experience in the Field of Christian Evidence. By the Rev. ALEXANDER J. HARRISON, B.D., Vicar of Lightcliffe, Evidential Missioner of the Church Parochial Missionary Society, Lecturer of the Christian Evidence Society. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. xvii., 340.

The author of the above work gives in it much of his own intellectual biography. Early in life he was troubled by the doubts and difficulties which especially beset those who are by nature religious, and he describes the process by which he found his way out of them, and reached his present position as a clergyman of the Church of England. Sympathy with those who are assaulted in the same way has led him to devote his life to the special work of familiarizing himself with the arguments *pro* and *con*, and endeavoring to save others from the perplexities through which he has himself passed. As a narrative of his experience as a lecturer the book is extremely interesting. He has evidently acquired great adroitness in dealing with the popular forms of unbelief. Hence the work will be of great service to clergymen and others who are called upon for a similar function.

The author is entirely free from bigotry. He recognizes the fact that bigotry and intolerance are the mother and nurse of free-thinking, and responsible for much unbelief. He states fairly and in their full strength all the arguments of his adversaries. From long experience he has been enabled to classify the various forms of scepticism, and to detect their starting-points or animating principles. Some of his argumentative combats are quite amusing in the narration.

The style of the book is perspicuous and popular, not remarkable for abundant and felicitous illustration or for musical flow; and some may think it wanting in philosophical precision; yet it is without obscurity, and pervaded with a spirit of charity. He sympathizes with much that he opposes because he has himself felt its force.

Theologically the work does not go below a certain depth, and may not fully meet the case of the philosophic objector. It does not give, such may think, the fundamental questions, upon whose solution the validity of the whole argument depends; yet even such it will serve by narrowing the discussion in the ultimate appeal to these same philosophic problems. One is led to see what further he needs for the ultimate decision. There is, for instance, no attempt to show the absolute rationality of the doctrine of the unity in Trinity, nor the absolute need of the Incarnation as the only possible means, for thought, of human moral recovery. The author's position, in these regards, is the dogmatic rather than the philosophical one; and to justify this there is needed a satisfactory view of inspiration.

In arguing with those whose thought can go to a certain depth, he uses, effectively sometimes, the *argumentum ad hominem;* which, indeed, is the true way of dealing with the more formidable objectors to Christianity. It is very easy to find little flaws, and even serious difficulties in any system whatever claiming to be true; not only such as are inherent in it, but particularly such as have arisen because it has had to run through the mould of human intellects, and shows the stains and distortions it has received thereby. But, one may ask, "What have you to put in its place?" Your negative argument is of no worth until you have given us something positive in the stead of that to which you object. Weave your thought into a consistent whole, and let us compare it with a philosophic system, in which dogmatic Christianity finds its proper and needed place, and see which of them solves most satisfactorily the crucial questions." There is really no intermediate position for an honest, thoughtful mind between these or such alternations. Besides, there is only the fluctuating one of the persistent *Pyrrhonist*. Such, indeed, seems to be the position of some of the most eminent objectors to Christianity in our own day. They attack, in various ways, this, that, and the other in Christianity as popularly held, but give us nothing coherent instead. Some seem to be without an explicit system. They simply take scientific results as facts, till something occurs to modify the view, and beyond this refuse to think. Yet, all the while, there must be a system implicit in their minds to justify their interpretation of these facts. This hesitating state of mind, which leaves everything in an atmosphere of doubt, must needs deaden or make irresolute all moral activity. This is a most melancholy condition for men to be in, and leads to a despairing pessimism; yet, perhaps, a needful phase of man's mental history, and destined to endure till its paralyzing influence becomes manifest.

But for all besides this limited *stratum* of philosophic doubters, the book under review will be worthy of attention, and for many securely helpful. Cases similar to those the author narrates are constantly recurring in the experience of all clergymen, and here is an armory of weapons ready at their hand.

JOHN STEINFORT KEDNEY.

SEABURY DIVINITY SCHOOL, FARIBAULT, MINN.

THE LITERATURE OF THE SECOND CENTURY. Short Studies in Christian Evidences. By F. R. WYNNE, D.D., J. H. BERNARD, B.D., and S. HEMPHILL, B.D. New York: James Pott & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. viii., 270, $1.25.

This book is a study in historical apologetics as its titles indicates. It consists of lectures written

in a popular style by men of entire competency, and forms an admirable example of how scholarly results can be presented in non-scholastic terms so as to be intelligible to the less learned. And yet it would be a great mistake to imagine it below the learned. It will be safe to say that a specialist in the field, who cannot look over this unincumbered, cogent, and refreshing presentation of elementary matter with which he is familiar, to his interest and pleasure, knows not anything yet as he ought to know. The writers are all professors or lecturers in the University of Dublin. The six lectures are equally apportioned among them, each taking two. Canon Wynne treats of "The Evidence to Christianity supplied by the Literature of the Sub-apostolic Age" and "The Gradual Growth of the New Testament Canon."

Confining himself to the safe inner circle of documents whose authority and dates are substantially unquestioned, he mentions, but does not use, the Didache. He traces the thread of Christian evidence to show how "Irenæus, Justin, Papias, Hermas, Polycarp, Ignatius, Barnabas, Clement, St. John, and St. Paul" fill up all the time between Christ's death and the period when Christianity was as well known as it is now. He has similarly traced the canon.

Mr. Bernard treats of "The Apocryphal Gospels" and "The Miraculous in Early Christian Literature." In the former he presents the evidence from the sharp contrast in dignity and intrinsic credibility of the true and false gospels, and in the latter makes the distinction between Gospel and ecclesiastical miracles to be one of testimony, thus putting the controversy whether one kind of miracle is as good as the other on a sound historical basis. Mr. Hemphill treats of "The Long Lost Harmony" (Tatian's Diatessaron) and "Early Vestiges of the Fourfold Gospel." Respecting the former he maintains two points, "that the Diatessaron existed, and that it was compiled by Tatian," and concludes that this shows the four Gospels to have been recognized during the third quarter of the second century as the only authentic form of apostolic tradition. In the "Early Vestiges" the author forms a ladder on which he descends from Clement, Irenæus, and Tertullian to Tatian (172), from Tatian to Justin Martyr (150), from Justin to Papias (130), who implies that the Gospels have been written "long before." The author of lectures one and two gives as his chief reliances Lightfoot, Westcott, Sanday, and Salmond, than which there could hardly be better. His collaborators use equally good literature, and all show evidence of sufficient knowledge of their sources.

It is not every day that a book is produced which is suited to so large an audience—ministers, theological students, Sunday-school teachers—and the "average layman" can and ought to find in it both interest and profit.

E. C. Richardson.
Princeton University Library.

The Larger Christ. By Rev. George D. Herron. Introduction by Rev. Josiah Strong, D.D. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1891. 16mo, cloth, 75 cents.

This is an excellent book on an important subject. The object of the author is to give the reader a larger view of Christ in His redemptive work and a corresponding enlarged view of Christian obligation. This is done in four chapters: I. The Discovery of Christ the Need of our Times. II. Innocence Suffering for Guilt. III. The Growing Christ—The Dying Self. IV. The Resurrection of Life.

The character of Christ stands up alone in the world's history. Like the blue arch above us, the character of Christ rises as we rise, lifting itself up into unattainable heights of purity and moral grandeur. One view of Christ revolutionized Paul's whole nature. Such a view of the crucified One lifts man's whole nature at once; and, like everything perfect, the more we know of it the loftier will be our appreciation, and the sublimer will be the transforming results.

The tap-root of all sin is selfishness, and the vital principle of all holiness is self-sacrificing love. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that, because Christ suffered officially, He has the whole field of self-sacrifice entirely to Himself; for, in His sufferings, He was conformed to the one universal law of love; and every Christian, coming under the law of love, comes into a life of self-sacrifice. "The dying self is the growing Christ."

The Christian life is the only life that will ever be completed: "I shall be satisfied when I awake in Thy likeness," has been the sigh of the ages. The Divine image is the ideal of creation, the final prophecy of Christianity, the climax of redemption. Without Christ human life is a broken column—the human race an unfinished pyramid.

The author writes at white heat. The burden of the Lord is upon his soul. He has something to say, and he says it. His style is terse and direct. He has mastered the art of verbal economy. His diction is varied and copious—blazing up sometimes into a sudden explosion of prophetic grandeur. His spiritual insight is of a high order. No modern writer has stirred me more deeply than this author. I commend this book to every devout Christian who desires a larger view of Christ and His redemptive work.

J. M. Boland.
Paris, Ky.

Brief Reviews, by the Editor.

When a great man dies the story of his life obtains an accentuated importance—an interest is taken in the subject commensurate with the impression which he has made upon the popular imagination, or the affection and esteem which he has aroused in the hearts of the people. A case in point is the story of the life of Mr. Spurgeon. The announcement of his departure was received with sadness and a sense of loss by millions. Multitudes to whom he was more than a mere name took interest in the published details, and many have taken in hand to set forth the story of his life as it was known to them. But in spite of the number of "lives" which have fallen from the press in the interval, it is not too much to say that "the life" of the great preacher has not yet appeared. We have before us, however, several contributions to the subject which are of greater or less importance and value. It is not necessary at this place to enter into a discussion of the subject of these memoirs, but only to give a brief account of the several books which have come to us.

The titles are as follows: *From the Usher's Desk to the Tabernacle Pulpit.* The life and labors of Charles Haddon Spurgeon. By Rev. *Robert Shindler.* (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1892.

Cr. 8vo, pp. xii., 316, $1.50).—*Life of Charles Haddon Spurgeon*, the world's great preacher. By *Russell H. Conwell*. Illustrated. (Philadelphia: Edgewood Publishing Co., 1892. Cr. 8vo.)—*Charles Haddon Spurgeon;* preacher, author, philanthropist, with anecdotal reminiscences. By *G. Holden Pike*. Introduction by William Cleaver Wilkinson, and concluding chapters by James C. Fernald. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xv., 397, $1.)—*C. H. Spurgeon*, his life and ministry. By *Jesse Page*. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 12mo, pp. 160, 75 cents.)

Each one of these books has features of its own which call for mention, and upon which an estimate of its value may be formed. The first was evidently prepared in part before the death of the subject; and as it was written from the vantage-ground of intimate friendship and of an acquaintanceship during nearly the whole period of the London ministry, it may lay some special claim to being the "authorized life." It is a very readable book, and gives a somewhat intimate though scarcely a complete view of the man, his principles, and his work. The volume of Mr. Conwell is that of an admirer, possibly of an imitator—at least the publisher's prelude gives rise to this latter suspicion. It is the largest of the lot, contains some excellent material, and more in quotation marks. It was evidently made in haste to meet a supposed demand; but it has the value of containing the estimate from a sympathetic pen. Mr. Pike's book is mainly made up of incidents, as is indicated upon the title-page. This gives the book a peculiar character and a value all its own. The introduction by Professor Wilkinson is short, but it contains much in little, being a fitting tribute to the memory of a great man. Mr. Page's book is one prepared in briefer compass than the others, and forms one of a series. The necessities of the case call for certain limitations, but inside of these the work has been well done, and will serve to give a fair idea of the man to such as cannot examine the larger volumes which have appeared.

Caspar Wistar Hodge. A memorial address. By *Francis L. Patton*. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 8vo, pp. 61.) This memorial of a notable man by a loving and appreciative hand was prepared at the request of his colleagues in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and delivered during the fall of last year. It will be welcomed by a large circle of pupils who have enjoyed and profited by his instruction.

Records of the Past, being English translations of the ancient monuments of Egypt and Western Asia. New Series. Vol. III. Edited by *A. H. Sayce*, D.D., LL.D. London: Bagster; New York: Potts, 12mo, pp. xxiii., 131. We have already spoken of the first two volumes of this series. The present is a worthy continuation, containing a valuable introduction by the editor on the data for determining the chronology of Babylonia and Assyria. The body of the book is composed about equally of Egyptian and Assyrian texts, the most interesting of which is a series of letters to Egypt from Babylonia, Assyria, and Syria in the fifteenth century B.C.

The Moral Crusader, William Lloyd Garrison. A biographical essay founded on "The Story of Garrison's Life Told by his Children." By *Goldwin Smith*, D.C.L. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892, 8vo, pp. 200, $1.) The author has not only done a service by presenting the public with a compendious life of the anti-slavery agitator, but also by presenting tersely and pointedly the philosophy and development of the sentiment which became the ruling and dominant passion of the man. The story as here presented is of great interest, and the volume will constitute an important though short contribution to the subject. A very clear picture of Mr. Garrison is prefixed as a frontispiece.

Life in Christ. A study of the Scriptural doctrine on the nature of man, the object of the Divine incarnation, and the conditions of human immortality. By *Edward White*. Third edition, revised and enlarged. (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 8vo, pp. xvi., 543, $1.50.) This is a new edition of a work originally published in 1875, now revised in the light of criticism. Strange to say, the preface to the third edition is dated December, 1877. The work in former editions has been widely read, having been translated into French and Danish. "The leading idea of the work is a revival of a doctrine prevalent in the Ante Nicene Church, that man's soul is not necessarily immortal, and therefore it must cease to exist unless renewed in eternal life through the work of redemption in Christ." The author is Professor of Homiletics in New College, London.

The Fourth Gospel. Evidences external and internal of its Johannean authorship. Essays by *Ezra Abbot*, *Andrew P. Peabody*, and *Bishop Lightfoot*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891, 8vo, pp. vi., 171, $1.50.) The first of these papers has been long before the public—"The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel: External Evidences"—and it is not necessary to do more than mention it. The last, by Bishop Lightfoot, on the "Internal Evidence for the Authenticity and Genuineness of St. John's Gospel," was first published in the *Expositor* in 1890. The second paper on "Internal Tokens of Authorship in the Fourth Gospel," by Dr. Peabody, is the result of a close study of the Gospel itself, which has issued in the conviction that "no one but John could have written it." The volume is a valuable and convenient contribution to an exceedingly important and interesting subject.

Bible Difficulties and How to Meet Them. A symposium. Edited by *Frederick A. Atkins*. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 12mo, pp. 114, 50 cents.) A collection of papers on topics of interest at the present time by men who are competent to their tasks. Some of the subjects discussed are "Inspiration," "Bible and Science," "Miracles," "Reliability of the Gospels," "Incarnation," "Atonement," and "Resurrection." The quality of some of the papers is worthy of all praise, though the general character of the series is excellent. It is not necessary to agree with everything which a writer says in order to gain most improvement from what he writes.

The Life and Light of Men. Expositions of John i.–xii. By *F. B. Meyer*, B A. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 251, $1.) "There is no part of Scripture more conducive to the culture of the inner life; and it is under this aspect that it is considered in the following pages." We have already commented favorably upon a number of the little books of this author, and the present one is no exception to the general rule as to insight and helpfulness. It is the result of pious and devout meditation.

Windows; or, Gospel Lights for Gospel Subjects. Suggestions for addresses and lessons on Scripture emblems. By *Sarah G. Stock*. (Same publishers, 1892, 12mo, pp. 130, 60 cents.) The substance of this volume has the appearance, more or less, of the brief notes which a speaker might take in his

hand if he were to deliver an extempore address to a Sabbath school. Thirty-four topics are presented, with some practical illustrations of the methods by which the "windows" may be used to let in the light. The different sections are practically Bible readings upon the topics in question.

Brief Mention.

The Risen Redeemer: the Gospel history from the Resurrection to the Day of Pentecost. By *F. W. Krummacher*, D.D. Translated from the German by John T. Betts, with the sanction of the author. (New York: American Tract Society, 1892, 12mo, pp. viii., 298, $1.) A reissue of a well-known classic, formerly published by the Carters.

The Problem of Jesus. By *George Dana Boardman*, D.D., LL.D. Revised edition. (New York and Chicago: Revell, 16mo, pp. 36, 35 cents.) Compact, suggestive, stimulating.

The Morals of Christ. A comparison with contemporaneous systems. By *Austin Bierbower*. Second edition. (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 200, paper, 50 cents.) Unity Library, No. 10.

Lecture on the Bible. By Rev. *Charles Voysey*, late Vicar at Healaugh, and pastor of the Theistic Church of London, England. Fifth edition. With introduction by Rev. Herbert Taft Root. (Same publishers, 1892, 12mo, pp. viii., 31.) Unity Library, No. 11.

The New Life: words of God for young disciples of Christ. By Rev. *Andrew Murray*. Translated from the Dutch by Rev. J. P. Lilley, M.A. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., no date, 12mo, pp. 240, $1.) Short chapters on various matters of special interest to young Christians; helpful, devout, and good.

Far Out on the Prairies. By the author of "Drew Drake and His Nets." (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1892, 12mo, pp. 320, $1.15.) A very pretty and instructive story, admirably suited for the Sabbath-school library, to which it will be a valuable addition.

Synopses of Leading Articles from Periodicals.

Among the numerous current contributions to the subject of Inspiration, the article in the May number of *The Thinker* entitled "How Do Errors in the Bible Affect its Divine Authority and Inspiration?" by Rev. J. J. Lias, M.A., is one of the most notable. As readers of Mr. Lias' former articles know, he acknowledges the existence of errors to a sufficient degree to disprove the absolute inerrancy of the Scriptures. He holds, however, that there are limits within which such admissions are confined, and that the admissions may be carried so far as to destroy the general credit of the Bible. What is the object of the Scriptures? The Christian Church, while regarding them with the deepest reverence, has never officially propounded any theory of inspiration; has never even officially discussed the question of what books the Scriptures consist, and is not committed to any catalogue of them. This disproves the claim that we receive the Bible on the authority of the Church. The Church, leaving the investigation of the evidence for each particular book to the conscience of the individual, thereby teaches that the authenticity and canonicity of the Bible rests on *testimony*. The ground on which the Scriptures have been handed down is, therefore, the *accuracy of the information concerning God's relation to man* which they contain, this depending on the writer's position as the accredited ambassador of God. Thus the Pentateuch must have been written by some one officially competent to inform us what the teaching of Moses really was; this not involving any Divine interposition, miraculously preserving the writer from all error. Here the tendencies of the higher criticism should be watched. We ought to bear in mind what is and what is not consistent with the Christian position; to distinguish between criticism *ab extra* and *ab infra*. While the Old Testament may be entirely rejected by one who theoretically holds to Christ, the instinct of the Christian Church condemns such a position. If we admit that the history of the Divine education of the world contains errors of vital importance, the result may injuriously modify our conceptions of Christianity. While errors may be admitted, therefore, in minor matters of fact, the line should be drawn at the *direct teaching concerning God's education of man*. Thus, if the Old Testament says that God's revelation was handed down through the Israelitish history, and that Israel was rejected, and Judah shorn of its splendors, because of neglect of such revelation, we are *not* at liberty to reconstruct the history on critical grounds unless prepared to reject the inspiration of the Old Testament altogether. This is independent of origins and dates of the books. It matters not by whom they were written, or at what date they took their present shape, so long as the writers are competent teachers. If discovered insufficient teachers, the human element overpowers the divine. Criticism is not one of the exact sciences; and it is absurd to abandon a belief founded upon a vast amount of cumulative evidence upon premises resting on an uncertain induction. But a belief in the authority and inspiration of Scripture is not impaired by confining that authority and inspiration to the proclaiming the ways of God to man. The inspiration of the biblical writers did not concern itself with ordinary history, the limits of the natural and the miraculous, natural science, nor the elaboration of a system of theology. From the Bible, rather, are gathered elementary truths; the will of God; the first "principles of the doctrine of Christ." If we admit that incorrect deductions may have been made by the writers from the principles they were commissioned to proclaim, we are nevertheless bound to remember that their position gave them a firmer hold on the truths of religion than we may venture to claim. To conclude: the admission of the existence of error *does* destroy the theory of a revelation made by means of an infallible book, every portion of whose contents is equally important, equally binding on the conscience, and equally impossible to be credited with the smallest fragment of error. But it does *not* destroy the doctrine that the Scriptures contain the true revelation of God. This larger conception will be as vast a help to the theology of the future as its absence has been a hindrance to the theology of the past. This theology will be of the Spirit, not of the letter. It will be built, not on texts, but on principles.

The leading article in the May *Expositor* is a review of Klostermann on the Pentateuch, by Dr. Driver. Klostermann objects to the functions assigned by modern critics to the "Redactor," claiming him to be a person possessing no definite character. Critics should start with Deuteronomy, not

Genesis. The Deuteronomic editor of the law-book discovered under Josiah (*i.e.*, Deut. v.–xxvi., xxviii.), together with the section of "J E" containing the Song of Moses, and who prefixed to that law-book Deut. i.–iv. to connect it with Numbers, and added at the end the hortatory and other matter, is a "living person." Klostermann has laid down the canons for distinguishing what belongs to Deuteronomy proper (Deut. v.–xxvi.) and what is due to this Deuteronomizing editor (Deut. i.–iv.–xxix., etc.). The older critics held the Elohistic document (P) to be the earliest. Twenty-five years ago Klostermann discovered, what is usually credited to Wellhausen, that the narrative of P never existed as an original, independent source, but has direct reference to J E, and is, therefore, later than J E. He also sees, what Wellhausen does not, that the author of P is the true long-sought "redactor." P presupposes J E, and is based upon it, being simply compiled as a kind of margin or framework in which to place J E. The LXX contains two Greek texts of the Book of Judges, each similar, but at the same time each marked by certain peculiarities. Imagine all copies lost except two, partly fragmentary, partly exhibiting a mixed text, and that an editorial committee undertook to construct from these a single consecutive text of the entire book. Any failure or obscurity of the one would be supplied from the other; in particular passages they would let that one speak which was most complete, and where the choice was difficult, they would set side by side the expressions of both. The philologist would not infer that this was the work of two *separate* historians, but the existence of two *recensions* of one and the same text. This has actually happened in the Hebrew Bible. None of the writings have reached us without the alterations which the Jewish community introduced into them. Passages such as Deut. xxxi. 9ff. show that at the time when they were written public readings of the Law were an old-established institution. These readings would also include historical matter. Explanatory narratives would be necessarily introduced. The narratives compiled for such purposes were recited principally at the great festivals, which for awhile had a "communal" character; hence the narrative would assume a variety of types in different localities. When worship became centralized at Jerusalem, the priests collected and harmonized these various types, combining them with the "Law," strictly so called. So the first draft ("Urbild") of our Pentateuch took shape. The local traditions, combined with the accompanying laws into a continuous narrative, is presumably J E, the learned priestly margin being P. Klostermann meets the objection that this hypothesis exposes the truth of the Divine Word to arbitrary human alteration by remarking that it is not the bare word which is spiritually operative, but the Word as *assimilated by the believing community;* and hence the community, once brought effectively under its influence, may "re-act" upon the documents which declare it, and modify them for the purposes of edification. . . . The original standard copy perished at the destruction of Jerusalem. Between this and Ezra the copies saved by single communities must at least have undergone as much change as Luther's Bible has done. Klostermann faults present critics because they take as the basis of their investigations *the existing Massoretic text;* assuming practically *the identity of that with the original form of the Pentateuch.* Hence their analysis, in the case of J E, is apt to be inconclusive, being founded upon distinctions which had no place in the original text. Ezra had no *autographs* at his disposal; he had only what had been transferred from those autographs, modified in different directions; "his text consequently must have been a harmony of different forms of text synoptically combined." Klostermann next takes up Genesis. One Divine name may have been substituted for another. The old historical style (*e.g.*, "and *he* said"), being ambiguous, was filled in by a later scribe, sometimes incorrectly; the variation in the names Jacob, Israel, is due to the same cause; old expressions were translated into modern phraseology, the explanation sometimes being introduced into the text beside them; corrections, etc., originally on the margin, often afterward found their way into the text. So far Klostermann. Dr. Driver says, in reference to the above, that it is no doubt true that the Hebrew text has sometimes suffered corruption from the causes here indicated, but very few of the examples adduced by Klostermann are cogent, and the majority rest upon nothing but conjecture. He goes on to ask in what respect are Klostermann's scribes less objectionable than Wellhausen's redactors? What advantage, from a historical point of view, in the theory that J and E are two *recensions* of one and the same text, over the theory that they are two *narratives* written independently? On the basis of the former theory, there is no criterion to determine which of the two recensions represents the narrative in its primitive form. Moreover, Klostermann's textual criticism is untrustworthy. His proposed corrections are often forced and unidiomatic—*e.g.*, in Genesis xv. 2, 3, Klostermann censures the critics for finding in the name Eliezer a criterion of E. Under his treatment the name disappears from the text altogether, with the whole of ver. 3. Ver. 2, which now reads, "The steward of my house is (R. V.) Dammesek Eliezer," or (Dillmann) "... is Damascus (the city) of Eliezer," read originally, according to Klostermann, "The steward of my house has furnished me with help;" the first part of ver. 3 is a gloss on "childless" in ver. 2, and the second part a gloss on the words that have been just translated, after they had become corrupted to their present form. No Hebrew scholar, Dr. Driver claims, qualified to form an independent judgment, will indorse Klostermann's "restoration;" quadriliteral verbs are exceedingly rare in Hebrew, and the importation into Hebrew of such a word as the Arabic *damshaqa*, with the meaning *deproperavit, cito expedivit*, is alone sufficient to condemn it. Numerous other passages from Klostermann's writings are quoted to illustrate his vagaries. The article, which is inspired by a paper in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January (which attacks some of the positions of Dr. Driver) should be read by those who desire to keep abreast of the complex subject of the Higher Criticism.

The MAGAZINE has lately reprinted several articles on future punishment, from various sources. The opening paper on "Hell," in the current *Methodist Review*, by Bishop Newman, may be regarded as the latest Arminian expression on the subject. The eternity of law is the most majestic of thoughts. The consequences of sin are eternal. Penalties attend transgression. Disobedience is the essence of sin, and sin is disloyalty to authority. Personal liberty is the glory of man. Absolute freedom is inconsistent with the right to rule and the duty to obey. The law of limitation is coextensive with the rights of individual freedom

Within such limits man is free to act. Upon the exercise of his rights of individual freedom is suspended his final destiny. Where the issues are forever, the possibilities must be correlative. Each and all will have a full opportunity, without prejudice and obstruction, to distinguish between right and wrong. No matter how long it takes—seventy years or seventy thousand years—God will decide. Man will be content. This the unchanging law to those who follow nature, or the pagan religions, or the Gospel. As all are dependent upon the vicarious merits of Christ. He will present Himself sometime, somewhere, somehow, to every human soul for acceptance or rejection. Nothing less can meet the demands of justice, the claims of mercy, the created rights of man. This is the significance of such texts as, "wherefore God also hath highly exalted him," etc., and, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain," etc. Each soul in its final decision will be in a state and condition as favorable to choose as was Adam prior to his fall. If the consequences of sin are eternal, this aspect of the incorrigible removes the subject from the common wholesale precipitation of untold multitudes of our race into endless torments. Probation supposes trial and temptation, but also possible victory. A probation implies an end. An eternal probation is a contradiction. The final absence of sin in a state where purity is supreme does not arise from the loss of liberty, but from the attainment of permanance of character from the prior exercise of liberty in probation. The reverse is true. In the present life vices become fixed. A state of impurity may be reached to the exclusion of all desire for holiness. The Universalist position is based on the truth that Christ died for all men, and that to doom a soul to eternal death would be to demand a second satisfaction. But this ignores the conditional element of the atonement made by Christ, such as faith, repentance, conversion. Nor has the Restorationist theory scriptural warrant. All the Divine invitations and proclamations presuppose the ability and possibility of rejection. "Ye will not come to Me that ye might have life." This conditional atonement is in harmony with the order and constitution of nature. All that men most highly prize is suspended upon human effort. Some avoid the doctrine of endless torment by assuming that immortality is not inherent in the human soul, but is the reward of virtue. All history is unanimous in the faith of a future life—not from education, but from instinct. There are occasional balks in nature, but no such universal and ceaseless balk as conditional immortality implies. Nothing is clearer in Scripture than that "eternal life" is promised to the good. The old world was destroyed; Sodom was consumed; Jerusalem was left a desolation; the empires which sinned have passed away. Why not the cessation of the existence of the incorrigible soul? Will a clearer and better exegesis of Scripture justify this conclusion? The doctrine of purgatory throws weight on the merit of human suffering, rather than the vicarious merits of Christ. If any part of the penalty for sin is satisfied by the suffering of the offender, here or hereafter, why not the whole penalty; and, if whole or part, why the atonement at all? It is not the function of punishment to purify, else every felon out of the penitentiary would be a virtuous citizen. It is better to hold to the ancient belief that Christ descended into *Hades*, and presented Himself for acceptance to all who had died from Eden to Calvary. We are justified in the thought that the results flowing from the consequences of sin will be the absence of joy and the presence of sorrow. All the utterances of Christ touching the future state are in general terms. His allusions to the heavenly world are sufficiently clear. His allusions to the future condition of the impenitent are no less exact; but He never indulged in those horrid pictures which afterward prevailed. Such portrayals are reflections on the exalted character of God. They have hardened the heart and increased infidelity. Calvin's and Edwards' imaginings would find no tolerance now. This happy transition is largely due to the better understanding of terms used by the sacred writers. We are approaching the "mind of the Spirit." *Hell* primarily signifies the *covered* or invisible place, and had no reference to a place of torment. Its popular rendering is an outrage on the laws of language. It is made to mean what never entered the minds of Old or New Testament writers. It is used to render three wholly different words—*Sheol* or *Hades*, *Tartarus*, and *Gehenna*. The *Sheol* of the Old Testament refers to the state of the departed, not the place of their abode, nor the duration of their continuance therein. Sheol and hell are as opposite as light and darkness. *Hades* is the Greek rendering of Sheol. "In *Hades* He lifted up His eyes, being in torment," is a rendering that dissipates groundless fear. If our translators had not been influenced by the dark shades of meaning the word *hell* was acquiring in their day, they would have made St. Paul say: "O hell, where is thy victory?" *Gehenna* implies suffering beyond the grave, and is translated hell twelve times in the New Testament. In the valley of Hinnom the fire was perpetual only to consume all that was thrown therein; and the worm in succession, generation after generation, continued to feed on the dead bodies of man and beast carried there, till time closed the horrid banquet. All now is changed. The fire has ceased to burn; the worm is not; it is once more a "pleasant valley." Symbols vanish, but realities endure. Hell may be a *ubi*, but is rather a state. The elements of heaven and of hell are within us—moral conditions lead on to their development.

THE JUNE MAGAZINES.

The June number of Harper's Magazine is rich in illustrations and in the extraordinary variety of its contents. Its most striking literary feature is the beginning of the series of papers on "The Old English Dramatists," by James Russell Lowell—papers which will attract universal attention as representing the maturest critical thought of their distinguished author upon a subject which was to him a life-long favorite. Another article which will elicit the especial interest of thoughtful readers is Dr. Charles Waldstein's "Funeral Orations in Stone and Word," suggested by the recent discovery of a remarkable bas-relief in the excavations on the Acropolis at Athens. This article is accompanied by several illustrations (including the frontispiece) from photographs. A minute and comprehensive description of "The Austro-Hungarian Army" is contributed by Baron Von Kuhn and appropriately illustrated by T. de Thulstrup. The popular series of Danube papers, "From the Black Forest to the Black Sea," is continued by F. D. Millet, who describes the voyage of himself and fellow-canoeists from Belgrade to the Bulgarian frontier. The paper is superbly illustrated by Mr. Millet and Alfred Parsons. Several articles have a predominant American interest. "The Birthplace of Commodore Isaac Hull," by Jane de Forest Shelton, accompanied by a portrait of the famous hero (from the painting by Stuart) and by several other illustrations, is a

valuable contribution to the history of the country. So also is the paper in which George W. Ranck, apropos of the centennial of the admission of the first Western commonwealth to the Union, tells "How Kentucky became a State." Julian Ralph, continuing his studies of the great Northwest, gives a graphic exposition of the development, resources, and prospects of "Montana: the Treasure State." The fiction of the number includes the continuation of Mary E. Wilkins's remarkable story, "Jane Field," illustrated by Smedley; the fifth part of W. D Howells's novel, "The World of Chance;" a timely story, "Decoration Day," by Sarah Orne Jewett; and a striking short story by Katharine Pearson Woods entitled "From Leopold's Window." The poems are by Archibald Lampman, George Horton, and John Allan Wyeth. The Editor's Easy Chair and the Editor's Study are conducted as usual by George William Curtis and Charles Dudley Warner; and the Editor's Drawer is opened with a humorous Southern sketch by Thomas Nelson Page.

Roswell Smith, the late President of The Century Co., is the subject of a number of contributions to the June *Century*. There is a frontispiece portrait, a poem by Edmund Gosse, a biographical sketch by the Rev. Dr. Gladden, an editorial in "Topics of the Time," with brief statements of Mr. Smith's connection with the Tract Society, the Congregational Club, and Berea College, Kentucky. The leading illustrated article of this number is by Dr. Albert Shaw, whose timely and interesting papers in other numbers on modern municipal governments will be remembered. In this paper he describes the rise of a new metropolis—"Budapest." The paper is brightly and profusely illustrated by Joseph Pennell. A paper also of timely interest in view of the approaching presidential campaign is Joseph B. Bishop's article on "Early Political Caricature in America," which is illustrated by fac-similes of caricatures which were famous in their day. Some of the pictures have been made from the original drawings. "Mount Saint Elias Revisited" is a description by Israel C. Russel, of the United States Geological Survey, of his second attempt to reach the summit of that famous pinnacle. In the April number of last year he described the expedition of the previous year. This second expedition was perhaps more eventful. He describes the desolate region seen to the north from the highest point reached on the mountain, and furnishes new data as to the height of the mountain and its position with respect to the international boundary. The article is illustrated from photographs taken during the trip. In the article entitled "Land of the Living Cliff Dwellers" Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka describes his first visit among the half-civilized and wild branches of the Indians of Chihuahua. Señor Emilio Castelar's second article on Christopher Columbus describes the great explorer "In Search of a Patron." In this paper an account is given of the perfidy of the King of Portugal, who, after encouraging Columbus and getting from him his views and plans, sent a private expedition to reap the fruits of Columbus's anticipated discovery; but the commander of the vessels lost courage before he had proceeded far, and returned. Columbus then left Portugal for Spain. His experiences in the latter country will form the subject of the July paper. A striking feature of this number is the beginning of a new serial called "The Chatelaine of La Trinité," by Henry B. Fuller, author of the book so much praised by James Russell Lowell and Professor Norton, "The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani." Mr. Fuller's first book dealt with Italian subjects in a novel and charming manner. The scene of the present one is laid in Switzerland. Mrs. Foote's story of "The Chosen Valley" is continued in this number, as are also Kipling's and Balestier's "Naulahka," and Dr. Weir Mitchell's "Characteristics." In the way of short stories a new writer makes his appearance in the *Century*, Will Payne, with a story entitled "A Simple Case," accompanied with pictures by E. W. Kemble. Viola Roseboro' has a story called "The Girl and the Problem," with pictures by Du Mord, and Mr. Edwards illustrates his own "Thumb-Nail Sketch"—"The Clavecin, Bruges." An illustrated summer article of curious interest is a paper by the late J. B. Holder on "The Great Unknown," namely, the famous and much mooted seaserpent. Mr. Stedman's poetical essay deals in manly fashion with the "Melancholia" of the poets. Among the poems may be specially mentioned a ballad by James Jeffrey Roche, editor of the Boston *Pilot*, on "The Fight of the *Armstrong* Privateer."

The contents of Scribner's Magazine for June are as follows: "On the Great Cattle Trail," frontispiece, drawn by A. Castaigne, engraved by G. H. Del'Orme; "An Ascent of Mt. Ætna," by A. F. Jaccaci, with illustrations by the author, engraving by Van Ness, E. H. Del'Orme, J. Clément, and W. Miller; "The Return of the Year," by Archibald Lampman; "The Drury Lane Boys' Club; What it Grew From, What it is, What We Hope it Will Be," by Frances Hodgson Burnett; "The Priceless Pearl," by John W. Chadwick; "Historic Moments: A Memory of the Chicago Fire," by David Swing; "After Sunset," by Graham R. Tomson; "Life in New York Tenement-Houses, as Seen by a City Missionary," by William T. Elsing (the third article in the series on "The Poor in Great Cities"), with illustrations by Charles Broughton and O. H. Bacher, engraving by Peckwell and Schussler; "The Reflections of a Married Man" (Chapters IX.–X., conclusion), by Robert Grant; "Cattle-Trails of the Prairies," by Charles Moreau Harger, illustrations by A. Castaigne, engraving by Van Ness, Witte, C. I. Butler, Chadwick and E. H. Del'Orme; "Rapid Transit in Cities: II., The Solution," by Thomas Curtis Clarke, illustrations by O. H. Bacher, H. T. Schladermund, and Hughson Hawley, engraving by Witte; "Sea-Beaches," by N. S. Shaler, illustrations by J. H. Twachtman, V. Pérard and G. Véron, engraving by C. I. Butler, McCann, E. H. Del'Orme and George Del'Orme; "The Wrecker," Chapter XXIII.

The Atlantic Monthly for June contains: "The Education of the Negro," W. T. Harris; "The Emerson-Thoreau Correspondence: Emerson in Europe," F. B. Sanborn; "Agrippina" Agnes Repplier; "John Austin," Janet Ross; "Chinese and Japanese Traits," Ernest Francisco Fenollosa; "Nuremberg," Julia C. R. Dorr; "An American at Home in Europe," II., William Henry Bishop; "The Witching Wren," Olive Thorn Miller; "Don Orsino," XII.–XIII., F. Marion Crawford; "Have I not Learned to Live Without Thee Yet?" Louise Chandler Moulton; "The Discovery of a New Stellar System," Arthur Searle; "Private Life in Ancient Rome," II, Harriet Waters Preston and Louise Dodge; "Whitman," "Recent Biography," "A Dictionary of Hymnology," "Comment on New Books," "The Contributors' Club."

The complete novel in Lippincott's Magazine for June, "John Gray: a Kentucky Tale of the Olden Time," is by James Lane Allen, who gives his readers a tender historical picture of the region named, singularly apart from anything written against a Kentucky background heretofore, yet brimming with local knowledge, and rivalling in its exquisite sympathy and touch all that the author has before produced. The peaceful theme of the tale, under Mr. Allen's own marked originality of handling, only serves to enhance the interest of the story. Murat Halstead furnishes the Journalist Series with a paper on his "Early Editorial Experiences," that cannot fail to attract a reawakening interest in the series. Hon. John James Ingalls contributes an article on the West, entitled "Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way," bearing the impress of the ex-Senator's powerful style. In the Athletic Series, Frederick Weir gives a careful paper on the game of La Crosse. One of the most interesting articles in the number is Professor John Bach McMaster's historical sketch of "The Struggle for the West." "The Great American Desert," by William F. G. Shanks, gives an amount of information about the growth of the principal cities in that region which will be new and of keen interest to most readers. The department "As it Seems" is as Western in spirit as the entire number, and discusses "The West in Literature," Mr. Allen, and his novel, "John Gray." The short stories of the number are by Maurice Thompson and Patience Stapleton. The poetry is contributed by James Whitcomb Riley, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Susie M. Best, Robert Loveman, Carrie Blake Morgan, and St. George Best.

In variety of subject and popular treatment the contents of the June Cosmopolitan furnish an attractive standard. The magazine is leading a movement for the solution of the problem of Aërial Navigation, and Hiram S. Maxim, the great inventor and foremost authority on the subject, gives the result of some recent experiments under the title, "The Aeroplane." St. George Mivart, who for forty years has been known to the public as an ardent student and thoughtful writer upon all subjects connected with evolution, begins a series of papers in the June Cosmopolitan, in which he will set forth the conclusions he has reached in regard to the great theory of natural selection and its philosophical bearings upon the religious thought of the day. The magazine opens with a charming Philadelphia story by Janvier, with artistic illustrations from Wilson de Meza. Miss Hewitt, daughter of ex-Mayor Hewitt, gives some very sound advice regarding "Fashions and Counterfeits in Bric-à-Brac." Miss Hewitt is a connoisseur and an authority on such subjects, and gives the result of some unusual opportunities she has enjoyed for personally inspecting the manufacture of forged articles of vertu. The fiction includes a mystical and peculiar story by Howard Pyle, the well-known illustrator, accompanied by two fine pictures of his, and "Maw," a rather striking character of slave life. Other important articles in this number are, "The Working of the Labor Department," by the Commissioner of Labor, Carroll D. Wright, and "Fur Seals in Alaska." Another sonnet of James Russell Lowell's is published in this number, and a poem by Inigo Deane with a full-page illustration from the pen of Will Low. Many people will read with interest also the poem, "Mystery," by Amelia Rives. Among artists employed to illustrate this number are Kenyon Cox, H. Siddons Mowbray, Will H. Low, Wilson de Meza, Walter Crane, Howard Pyle and E. W. Kemble. Murat Halstead, Brander Matthews and Edward Everett Hale are among the other contributors.

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

At. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R.	Andover Review.
Bibl. Sacr.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. Q. R.	Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R.	Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q.	Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. P. R.	Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)
C. R.	Charities Review.
C. T.	Christian Thought.
Ex.	Expositor.
Ex. T.	Expository Times.
G. W.	Good Words.
H. R.	Homiletic Review.
L. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H.	Missionary Herald.
Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
N. H. M.	Newbery House Magazine.
N. E. & Y. R.	New Englander and Yale Review.
N. W.	The New World.
O. D.	Our Day.
O. N. T. S.	Old and New Testament Student.
P. M.	Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch.	Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
S. A. H.	Sunday at Home.
S. M.	Sunday Magazine.
T. Th.	The Thinker.
T. Tr.	The Treasury.
Y. M.	The Young Man.

Abelard, The Temper of, Jesse B. Thomas, HR.
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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 20th of each month.)

Apr. 20-21. Annual meeting of the Woman's Baptist Foreign Mission Society in Boston.

Apr. 21. Seventy-sixth annual meeting of the New York Female Auxiliary Bible Society.

Apr. 21-23. Fiftieth anniversary of the American Oriental Society in Washington, D. C.

Apr. 24-25. Annual convention of the Theosophical Societies of the United States in Chicago.

Apr. 25. Annual session of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England at Birmingham. In connection with this over one hundred children under fifteen years of age repeated the Shorter Catechism without a mistake.

Consecration of the Rev. Charles Edward McDonnell, D.D., Bishop of Brooklyn in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City. He was installed May 2.

Apr. 26-27. Ninth annual meeting of the McAll Association in the city of New York.

Apr. 27. Twenty-first annual meeting of the Woman's Presbyterian Board of Missions of the Northwest at St. Paul, Minn.

May 2. Beginning of the sessions of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Omaha, Neb.

May 2-6. Annual meetings and conference of the (English) Sunday-School Union.

May 3. Opening of the Quadrennial Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in Philadelphia.

May 4. Annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in London.

May 3-13. Delivery of the Southworth Lectures on Congregationalism at Andover Theological Seminary. Subjects were as follows : "Spiritual Life and Ecclesiastical Polity ;" "Church and State in England ;" "The Evolution of Modern Congregationalism ;" "English Congregationalism as it is To-day ;" "The English Congregational Pulpit ;" "Recent Movements in English Congregationalism, and the Outlook for the Future."

May 5. Annual meeting of the Lutheran Publication Society in Philadelphia. Consecration of the Rev. Dr. Gabriel as Roman Catholic Bishop of Ogdensburg at Albany.

Seventy-sixth annual meeting of the American Bible Society.

Union of the Baptist Theological Seminary of Chicago with the new Chicago University.

May 6. Thirty-seventh session of the Southern Convention of Baptists at Atlanta, Ga.

May 9-14. Annual meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

May 10. Twenty-seventh anniversary of the National Temperance Union of America at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City.

May 11. Sixty-seventh anniversary of the American Tract Society, held in New York.

May 12. Meeting of the Industrial Christian Alliance at Calvary Baptist Church, New York City. The object was to further the work of reclaiming "tramps" to honest labor.

May. 18. Annual meeting of the United Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions at Allegheny, Pa.

May 19. Presbyterian General Assembly met at Portland, Ore. ; and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Memphis, Tenn.

May 19–25. General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church at Hot Springs, Ark.

May 19–30. National anniversaries of the Baptist churches in Philadelphia, as follows : 19–21. Baptist Congress. 22–23. Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society. 23. American Baptist Historical Society. 24–26. American Baptist Missionary Union. The Anniversary and Centenary of Missions. 27–28. American Baptist Home Mission Society. 28. American Baptist Education Society. 30. American Baptist Publican Society.

By the will of Augustus Kountze, ground and $50,000 are left for the purpose of founding a Lutheran theological seminary in Omaha. The gifts are conditional upon the raising and deposit by July 1, 1892, of $150,000 in behalf of the General Synod.

The Rev. Samuel Curry, D.D., has been called from the Harvard Divinity School, the Newton Theological Seminary, and the School of Expression at Boston to the chair of Elocution in Yale Divinity School.

The Rev. John De Witt, D.D., has been elected to the professorship of Church History in the Princeton Theological Seminary.

The Rev. Lewis B. Paton, of East Orange, N. J., has been invited to take the chair of Old Testament Languages and Literature in Hartford Theological Seminary, vacated by Professor E. C. Bissell, who has gone to McCormick Seminary, Chicago.

The Rev. James Spurgeon is to occupy the pulpit of the Metropolitan Tabernacle for three months, and Dr. Arthur Pierson is invited to preach there for the year, beginning August next.

The Rev. Dr. Stalker has been called to succeed the late Dr. Donald Frazer in the pastorate of the Marylebone Presbyterian Church, London, and the Rev. W. J. Macdonald, of Kirkcaldy, has received the call to Regent Square Church, of which the Rev. John McNeill was pastor.

OBITUARY.

Burroughs, Rev. John C. (Baptist), D.D., LL.D., in Chicago, April 21, aged 72. Dr. Burroughs was graduated from Yale College, 1842, and from Hamilton Theological Seminary, 1846 ; became pastor in Chicago, 1852 ; declined presidency of Shurtleff College, 1855 ; accepted presidency of a (since defunct) Baptist University in Chicago, 1856 ; resigned, 1873 ; became assistant superintendent of public schools of Chicago, 1883.

Caspari, Carl Paul (Lutheran), Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1842), D.D. (Erlangen, 1860), in Christiania, Norway, April 11, aged 78. He was born of Jewish parents, but was baptized in 1833 ; became Professor of Theology at Christiania, 1847 ; declined calls to Rostock, 1850, and Erlangen ; 1857, and has occupied the position of an evangelical student. His written works are very numerous on Old Testament exegetical themes, on patristics and church history, and on systematic theology. Since 1857 he has edited the *Theologisk Tidsskrift, for den evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Norge.*

Cook, Rev. John (Presbyterian), D.D., LL.D., in Quebec, March 31, aged 87. He was born in Scotland ; was graduated from the University of Edinburgh, being under the tuition of Dr. Chalmers ; was twice moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland ; was first moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion, 1875 ; was principal of Morrin College from its opening till his death, having retired, however, from the pastorate of St. Andrew's Church in 1883.

Muzzey, Rev. Artemas B. (Unitarian), D.D., in Cambridge, April 21, aged 90. He was graduated from Harvard College, 1824, and from the Divinity School, 1828 ; held pastorate at Framingham, 1830–33 ; became pastor in Cambridgeport, 1834 ; Lee Street, Cambridge, 1846 ; Concord, N. H., 1854, and Newburyport, 1857 : retired, 1865. Since then he has resided in Cambridge, devoting himself to literature. Besides numerous essays for reviews and newspapers, he has published many volumes, the most noted of which are : "The Young Maiden ;" "The Fireside ;" "Christ in the Will, the Heart, and the Life ;" "The Blade and the Ear : Thoughts for a Young Man," and "Reminiscences and Memorials of Men of the Revolution and their Families."

Nelson, Rev. Theodore (Baptist), LL.D. (University of Chicago, 1885), at Alma, Mich., aged 52. He was graduated from Kalamazoo College, 1872 ; served in the pastorate at Saginaw for eight years ; 1883–84 was acting President of Kalamazoo College ; Professor of English Literature in State Normal School, Ypsilanti, 1884–85 ; became Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1885 ; was Professor of English Literature at Alma College, 1886–89 ; returned then to the pastorate whence he was called to the Presidency of Kalamazoo College.

Williams, Rt. Rev. James William (Church of England), D.D., fourth Bishop of Quebec, April 20, aged 67. He was graduated at Oxford, 1852 ; came to Canada, 1857 ; taught in the Lennoxville Grammar School till 1863, when he was elected to the bishopric.

CALENDAR.

June 6. General assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland in Dublin.

June 7–9. Meeting of the Congregational Home Missionary Society at Saratoga, N. Y.

June 7–18. Meeting of the English Primitive Methodist Conference at Norwich.

June 8–15. Meeting of the International Congregational Missionary Union at Clifton Springs.

June 12. "Children's Day."

June 17–21. Fifth convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Canada at Toronto.

June 23–30. Nineteenth annual conference of Society of Charities and Corrections at Denver, Col. Alexander Johnson, Esq., of Indianapolis, is secretary, and will give any desired information.

June 29–*July* 28. Reunion conference at Grindelwald, Switzerland, with the view of finding a means of evangelical interdenominational comity and united aggressive Christian work. Only evening meetings will be held, except on July 12, when there will be three sessions. Among those announced to take part are the Bishop of Ripon, Canon Body, Professor Stokes, Revs. Hay Aitken, Hugh Price Hughes, Dr. Clifford, Dr. Mackennal (who is to read a paper on "The Meaning of the Reformation from a Congregational Point of View"), Mr. R. F. Horton (who will treat of "Inspiration"), Mr. W. T. Stead and Mr. Percy Bunting.

June 30. Opening of the Chautauqua season.

July 7–10. Eleventh annual convention of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor in New York City.

July 12–26. New England Congregational Assembly.

July 12. Beginning of the sessions of the Sixteenth Summer School of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy at Prohibition Park, Staten Island.

July 14–17. General convention of the Baptist Young People's Union at Detroit, Mich.

THE

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THE ECONOMIC MAN AND THE CLERGY.

BY REV. J. MACBRIDE STERRETT, D.D., PROFESSOR ELECT OF PSYCHOLOGY AND ETHICS IN COLUMBIAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE clergy are to-day between the cross-fires of two contending armies of economists. The new historical, ethical, Christian school upbraids them for not studying, teaching, and applying the social aspects of Christianity. They fault them for busying themselves with the dead abstractions of scholastic theology, for their devotion to the ring politics of ecclesiasticism, and to the mint, anise and cummin of ritual. Our seminaries are likewise criticised for not rising above such unreal sort of training of men to be real ministers of Christ's Gospel. The stock in trade furnished the young clergymen is barely sufficient, they say, to enable them to perform a polished form of the medicine dance, instead of furnishing them with an intelligent view of the actual, sinful condition of their fellow-men, and also with an intelligent view of how they are to be helped to lead the higher life. They tell us that social science is the Christian science of the commonweal—the science of human welfare, to the knowledge and application of which we should naturally be impelled by the Christian love of our fellow-men. This, they tell us, is the simple Gospel, which we are prone to overlay with a mountain of human traditions. They call our attention to the large part of time and effort of Christ which was spent in this secular work of doing good to men. They show us that the standard of criticism, which the Son of man will apply to men in the separation at the judgment seat, is just this one of doing temporal, secular good to their fellows—the hungry, naked, stranger, prisoner, and the sick, whom He identifies with Himself. Inasmuch as we have done or left undone this service to them, we have done or left undone our true service to Christ. Nothing is said by Him as to what doctrines, what polity, or what ritual we may have busied ourselves in pressing upon our fellow-men. They show us that we can prepare to stand this test only by making an honest endeavor to find out the temporal ills of our fellow-men, their causes and remedies, and then making a practical application of these remedies. They say that sociology is the essential complement of a true theology, the science of loving man that of the science of loving God; and more than this, they repeat St. John's exclamation: "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen"? (1 John iv. 20.) In fact, they turn the tables upon us, and preach the simple Gospel to artificial preachers. They preach so as to make our hearts condemn us and cause us to agree with them that half the time of theological students should be devoted to sociology or the Christian science of human well-being, the causes of its scantiness, and the best methods for promoting its increase.

But these new preachers are in turn preached to by the representatives of the old, non-Christian, not to say unchristian school of economists, and the clergy catch the fiery invectives hurled at the new school. The most recent notable tirade of this kind is that of Mr. E. L. Godkin, in an article on "The Economic Man."* He affirms that all the present confusion in the science of economics is due to the new school trying to make it a *moral* science, to their emphasizing the "what ought to be," rather than confining their work to the mere analysis of the "what is" in the social world. Hence his taunt, "Their clothes are economic, but their talk is ethical." Again, he flings at them for daring to meddle with politics, for their attempt to make legislation a means of changing the economic conditions, for their paternalism in

* q.v. in *The North Am. Rev.*, Oct., 1891.

politics and their extravagant expectations of what legislation can do in this field of exact science. Meanwhile he discerns the clergy in the field and their evident inclination to the side of the ethical school. Hence he fires a direct shot at them. They also are to blame for the sad confusion in the economic mind. He gives as the second cause of this confusion "the substitution in nearly all the churches of the 'Gospel of social endeavor,' as it has been called, for the old theological Gospel." He assures them that the present lack of clerical authority is due to this apostasy from scholastic theology, and warns them to cleave to their harmless weapons if they would regain their position. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* He knows that this appeal to the natural man in the clergy is apt to be effective. Love of official power has generally been a mark of the clerical order. He notes the division in its ranks. He relies upon the essentially conservative instinct of the order, in this appeal to them to stick to their old theological logomachies and antique religious forms. He would gladly stir up a theological war with the cry of neology, secularism, and heresy against those who are inclining toward the ethical school of economists. Before we choose which of these voices we shall heed, let us note briefly their conceptions of "The economic man."

I. "The economic machine" would be a better expression for the old school to use. Their view of the economic man is not that of man, but of a thing, subject to the laws of matter and motion, and thus only capable of being treated by exact science. Mr. Godkin holds that "the comparison of Ricardo's economic man to the first law of motion is an old one, but it is as good to-day as when it was first made"—that is, we may say, good for nothing except for such abstract speculation and deduction as form the old theory of economics.

Man in his economic relations is looked upon as a natural physical thing controlled by natural laws. The science is exact because it is made static rather than dynamic. Wants are so much physical force. Goods are so many physical things. The relation between these are governed by laws as absolute as physical laws. There is no question of what ought to be and no effort after its attainment. The science is confined to an analysis of the existing economic conditions and their laws, while the machine is to be let alone. *Laissez faire laissez passer.* Hands off, all ethical ethusiasts, all philanthropic reformers. The mechanical laws will attend to it—the laws of supply and demand, of self-interest, of competition, of rent, of the wage fund, of labor as a commodity and laborers as economic things, of the production, exchange, and distribution of wealth.

The "economic man" of Ricardo always buys in the cheapest and sells in the dearest possible market. He is absolutely free, according to the theory, from all moral considerations except of the legal sort, which should be minimized as much as possible in accordance with the *laissez faire* doctrine of the school.

Mr. Godkin holds that when this abstract man is adulterated with such foreign stuff as ethics, religion, philanthropy and social welfare, there is an end to economics as a science. Hence he faults the members of the new school. "Their air of authority is that of scientists, but the eager philanthropy of their utterances indicates that they are really would-be legislators. Their clothes are economic, but their talk is ethical." Their additions to the science consists mainly of the foreign elements "of theology and metaphysics."

He strenuously insists upon political economy being one of the exact sciences, and upon the necessity of keeping the abstract economic man in order to keeping the science. Given this man and the science can predict with almost as much certainty as chemistry or physics.

He accuses the new school of being politicians, using the word in its good sense, rather than scientific men. They will not decline the proffered honor, as they frankly say that there can be no economical science apart from sociology, of which politics, the theory of the State, is the crown. He says that "the State has lost completely, in the eyes of the multitude, the moral and intellectual authority it once possessed." The new school are trying to restore this after the deluge of naturalism and individualism has so nearly destroyed it. Mr. Godkin gives a parting fling at the clergy who are joining the new school for their belief in the power of ethics in economics. "Was not the world once conquered by an ethical idea, and what is easier than for an ardent preacher to believe that it is not too late to do it over again?" Thus "the new school," "benevolent clergymen," and "ecstatic ladies" are lumped together as "prophets and disciples of an industrial millennium" through the force of an ethical ideal.

II. The ethical man in economic relations is the best description of the economic man of the new school. Professor Ingram's

article on political economy in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* traces the growth of this historical school, which so emphasizes the ethical aspects and aim of economics, and teaches the possibility of a better condition of economics through the exertion of the ethical will of man. Their historical study has proved that ideas are motive forces in economics, and that the intelligent will of man can to-day modify the present conditions of production, distribution, and consumption of temporal goods even more than they have in the past. Mr. Godkin grants that ethics and religion constitute the disturbing forces, which make their abstract economic man somewhat intractable, and render their science a little less exact than it otherwise would be. The new school proposes them not merely as transient disturbing forces, but as forces radically destructive of the selfish economic man of the old school.

Thus the modern school, while insisting upon the historical treatment of economics, has also, as a whole, strongly insisted upon the necessity of accentuating the moral element. They say that personal interest predominates only in the sphere of private economy, while the general interest of society rules in the sphere of compulsory public economy and the benevolent impulses in what they term the third, the "caritative," sphere. In place of the *laissez faire* doctrine, which belongs to an abstract view of the State and the individual, they look upon the State as the organ of the nation for all ends which cannot be adequately effected by voluntary or individual effort. State action in the sphere of economics is justifiable whenever social aims or the common weal can be attained best by its action. It ought to promote intellectual and social culture, enforce provisions for public health, protect the weaker members of society, secure workmen from personal injuries in their employments, and assist the laboring classes in their efforts at self-help. They point out that the present institutions of society in relation to property, inheritance, contract and the like are "historical categories which have changed, and are subject to further change." Moreover, they favor the fusion of economics into the more real concrete science of sociology, thus making the common weal of the social man the aim, in place of the prosperity of the abstract, selfish, "economic man." Jevons declared that the English economists of the abstract deductive school had been "living in a fool's paradise of mazy and preposterous assumptions." The "economic man" and economic situations of the old school have been shown to be imaginary men in imaginary situations. They show that the many economic motives, altruistic as well as egoistic, cannot be lumped together under the coarse generalization of "the desire for wealth," nor the actual economic man be simply described as "a money-maker." Any existing condition of economic society is the historical outgrowth of the whole complex of institutions formed by the spirit of that people. "Wealth," from being made the chief aim, is reduced to its proper subservience to the maintenance and evolution of the common weal. This high moral issue to which mere economics ministers supplants the view of natural rights in favor of that of social duties. Hence, they hold that the most urgent work to-day is that of forming profound convictions as to social duties and better forms applying these convictions. The New Jerusalem of economic activity can only descend from these moral heights of human conviction, and the new theory can be formulated only in the spirit and method of the "universal human," "the Man," Christ Jesus. Thus the new school has become largely one of Christian sociology, in the most concrete sense of the term. The spirit of Christ, the Economic Man, leads them to antagonize the non-ethical school as to the "iron law of wages," the law of "buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market," the treating of labor—*i.e.*, laborers, as a commodity, holding to the current theory of property as ultimate, and indeed as to almost every one of their abstract fundamental laws.

They regard all transactions between men, including economic ones, as having personal and therefore ethical significance. Capital and labor are not two impersonal things, whose relations can be stated in the formula of exact science, etc. It has well been remarked that "the most significant fact, perhaps, of our time is the process of transition from (so called) political to ethical economics. To reason rightly on social problems we must ever have regard to *personality*; for ethical purposes the abstract terms capital, labor, production, wealth, etc., must be replaced by personal terms, employer, employé, producer, man of wealth, etc. Our problem is how to supersede the technical and legal relation by the personal" *—that is, the new school abandons, as far as possible, the use of abstract terms, and takes the living historical forms

* Rev. R. L. Ottley, M.A., in *Lux Mundi*, p. 439 of Lovell's Edition.

of the concrete situation as the subject-matter of their investigations.

The new school represents in part a return to the Greek estimate of economics, and in part a return to the teaching of Christ, of the early Church, and of the Church in the Middle Ages. The first gave wealth only an ethical significance as a means to the highest possible human well-being; the second gave the powerful economic factor of human brotherhood.

The best Greek thought on their current sociological topics held that the great aim of the State was the education of good citizens and of the individual to be a good member of a good State. Wealth was esteemed only as a means to the higher moral content of civilized life. What withering scorn those old pagan thinkers would have bestowed upon the Ricardian economic man! He would speedily have been banished as a conspirator. They held that the State had regulative authority over every sphere of social life for the good of the whole, undoubtedly going further in this way and allowing less play for the spontaneous impulses of its people than the modern Christian State can allow.

In the *Corpus Juris Canonici* is to be found the economic theory of the Church of the Middle Ages.* This world and its goods, it is true, are looked at as subordinate to the spiritual interest of a true kingdom of God, but still worthy of being regulated by Christian principles. While regarding the distinction of *meum* and *tuum* as necessitated by the fallen state of man, the canonists are friendly to the conception of a community of goods, and hold that in cases of need the public authority is justified in re-establishing the primitive community. The care of the poor is a bounden duty. Avarice is idolatry, and cupidity the root of all evil. The fixing of a fair price (*justum pretium*) is stringently insisted upon. The intrinsic value of a thing, not the necessities of the purchaser, is to regulate this price. The prohibition of usury is the centre of their whole system of economy.

The new school has rapidly taken up the best Greek and Christian conceptions of the relations of man to economic goods.

They see that the "cash-nexus" never is the only *nexus* between the employer and the employé, and are persuaded that more emphasis should be placed upon the higher and more human relations between them. They see that the best employers are not merely beings desirous of getting wealth, nor the best laborers those who desire only wages. Both have multifold wants and aspirations that enter into even the cash-nexus between them. They believe that employers get more out of their employés by treating them as fellow-men rather than as machines, and say with Carlyle that "to be a noble master among noble workers should be the first ambition; to be a rich master only the second," and point to—*exemplum omnium instar*—Godin's most successful effort in both, at Guise. Thus man, not money, is the starting-point as well as the object-point of all truly human economic activity. Granting that self-interest is the prime motive, they show that it is never of a constant and regular quantity, like a physical force, but that it varies infinitely with one's conception of his true self and his true interest, till it reaches that of the Christian conception of being a true brother in God's great human family.

They quote John Ruskin* against the impersonal use of laborers, making the most out of them possible: "It would be so if the servant were an engine of which the motive power was steam, magnetism, gravitation, or any other agent of calculable force; but he being, on the contrary, an engine whose motive power is a soul, the force of this very peculiar agent, as an unknown quantity, enters into all the political economist's equations without his knowledge, and falsifies every one of their results. The largest quantity of work will not be done by this curious engine for pay, or under pressure, or by help of any kind of fuel that may be applied to the caldron. It will be done only when the motive force—that is to say, when the will or spirit of the creature—is brought to its greatest strength by its own proper fuel—namely, by the affections." Economists are now noting the presence and value of this factor in the production of wealth. They decline, in the interest of economics as well as of morals, to treat labor—*i.e.*, the laborer, as a commodity, as exclusive of all human and moral considerations, as if he were so much material or fuel. This, however, is what the old theory taught, and what too many employers practise.

The economic man of the old school was the veriest abstraction of *a priori* speculation. No such an actual man ever lived. Man is always more than a money-wanting animal. He wants more than hours of toil and pounds of muscular power. He wants intellectual, moral, and loving service; and

* Cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, xix., 352.

* *Unto this Last*, p. 23.

only when these are infused into the labor does he get the best results in every way. The unmoral science of the old school, it has been said, wrote over the entrance into workshops of the industrial world : "All love abandon, ye who enter here." Where this is done there is the pandemonium of war rather than the "peace on earth to men of good-will."

Christian Sociologists seems to be the best title for the new school. They believe in "The World as the Subject of Redemption," a vast process of the extension of the incarnation, leavening the whole lump. They have no ready-made schemes for all social evils ; they have no predictive science of economics, as the old school claims ; but they believe it capable of demonstration that it is only when the Spirit of Christ is the ruling force in any sphere of man's activity can that sphere bring its best results to the common aim of the common weal ; for the practical solutions they are content to use the methods of historical study, induction, analytic observation and tentative experiment, but always with the spirit of the "universal human" animating these methods. As Christ is "the Man," He is the Economic Man that ought to be, the Economic Man that is to be when economics is concreted in sociology and sociology is Christianized. Their call is that of the Master to "the service of man" instead of the service of mammon. They know that there *is* a social question, and that it arises from non-Christian conditions of society. They believe that "the Man" must be the solution of all human problems ; but to make specific application of the Christly economic spirit to the present manifold intricate and immense social problems needs careful study and hard work. Christian feeling must become educated feeling, having intelligent views of the economic sphere of human activity as well as of other spheres ; but they believe that the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man, of the kingdom of God, is even now a powerful economic factor that needs chiefly to be emphasized so as to make it the regnant factor. The widening and deepening of the range of ethical power has been the advance into the conviction of the truth of this brotherhood. Such is the demonstration of the late Professor T. H. Green, in his *Prolegomena to Ethics.**

They are Christian as opposed to the anarchic atheism of *laissez faire*, and they are socialists as opposed to selfish individualism, believing in the organic nature of society, in which individuals are members of one another, so that their laws must be social laws if obedience to them is to enable them to be men. They find these social laws for the social man expressed in the three Divine social institutions of the Family, the State, and the Church, all of which imply and rest upon this social bond. It is nowhere considered creditable to drive a hard bargain with a near relative or friend, or with a member of one's local religious circle. They believe that the vital principles of the other great social institution also implies the same discredit of "sharp practice and hard bargaining" between fellow-members. They believe that no State which says *laissez faire* to such bargaining can be permanent under such suicidal conditions. They believe that the State must see to it that such conditions be minimized as much as possible. They repudiate the modern heretical doctrine that the State is a necessary evil, a police corporation, an arbitrary arrangement of individuals for individual ends. They maintain the catholic doctrine that the State is the man ; that it is most truly Divine in being human ; that it exists for the common weal ; that it is the expression of the essential, ethical spirit of its people ; that it is one of the most powerful means for educing and conserving the best that there is in man in this temporal sphere ; that its function is to promote good living, and that its duty is to do whatever is within its power to promote the good life. The fullest, richest life can never consist merely of riches. Hence the State can never ask how can the most riches be attained, but how can the greatest possible riches be produced and distributed and consumed, so as to be the means of the more truly humane living of its citizens ? In particular, how can the economic institutions and processes of the nation be ordered so as to promote the highest welfare—the highest form of life of all its citizens ? The first master in politics over-emphasized the subordination of the industrial life to the higher ethical spheres, while the Ricardian school have thoroughly subordinated ethics to economics. The stream cannot rise higher than its fountain ; but has it risen nearly as high to-day in the State as regards the economic problems ? Its organ, the government, is not something apart from us, but the expression of ourselves. Is it to-day in our country the true and full expression of ourselves ? Have "we, the people," the Christian people of this country, fully expressed our Christian will in the present laws of

* Q.v., p. 414.

trade and commerce? The new school says no. They maintain that the will of man, the social will, is a main factor in all economic activity and in all laws concerning it. They show that within certain limits we can have just such a kind of economic life as we wish, and that our economic life is therefore a social structure for which we are largely responsible. We are not, in economics, the mere tools of a system of natural laws existing independently of our wills, but we have the power to infinitely modify the natural and inherited economic conditions. Nor is the government aught than ourselves, so far as we rise to the responsibility of expressing ourselves on these questions. Hence the new school calls for the fuller expression of the Christian will at the heart of our nation, in its laws in regard to economic activity. Because they believe in the catholic doctrine of the State as the institution of human rights, and in government as the expression of the moral will of its people for the furtherance of these rights, they put upon us the responsibility of seeing that its laws express our wish, our will in this matter. The creation and intensification of the want is the first thing, and then should come the demand for the gratification of this want through the proper channel of laws which "we the people" enact. By laws, we have already established the conditions of present family life, of property, of inheritance, of education, of trade, and of all that ministers to our well-being. If we have competition to the death in trade, it is not because competition is a natural law outside of us, but because we have either willed it or supinely allowed others to will it into a law. The State can never, when true to its function, will any other law than that which conserves the common weal. Within a half of a century, especially in England, it might be said that "we the people" have greatly modified the industrial conditions by labor-legislation, which had previously been chiefly in favor of we the few employers. The new school are not alarmed at the heretical cry against "paternalism," nor by the kindred one that "you cannot make men moral by act of Congress." Such acts have already greatly broadened and deepened the ethical life of our country, and they rightly look to this for further help. After all, *State help* is only the social form of *self-help*, which "we the people" have in our power. "The powers that be" are emphatically "ordained of God as ministers of good" when they are the expression of the Christian consciousness. Let the concentrated consecrated Christian sentiment of the country, then, as regards economic activity be expressed in laws, and we shall have made a great advance in moralizing economics. National laws, as the expression of the national consciousness, very largely determine the moral character of the nation. The fact that we have burning, social questions comes largely from the fact that we have Christian ideals that we have failed to express in our laws. The great sob of our downtrodden brethren is the Christ-sob for His own. It is the ideal of brotherhood that is demanding social and civil recognition. It is "the Christ that is to be" in the economic world in the birth-throes of advent. No sudden ultimate advent of such sort is looked for; for the historical spirit has thoroughly tempered all millennial visions, so that the extension of the incarnation in this sphere is expected to come gradually and through imperfect forms, as it has been coming in other spheres. They have no dogmatic prescription for present ills, and no utopian schemes for the social perfection of economic man; but they make the *ethical* aim paramount. Their historical study convinces them that all true humane progress has been ethical. They believe that the ethical kingdom of God is that which ought to be in all spheres of man's activity. Thus De Laveleye defines political economy as "the science which determines what laws men *ought* to adopt in order that they may, with the least possible exertion, procure the greatest abundance of things useful for the satisfaction of their wants; may distribute them *justly* and consume them *rationally*." Again, in the last paragraph of his *Primitive Property* he says: "There must be for human affairs an order which is the best. That order is by no means always the existing one, . . . but it is the order which ought to exist for the greatest happiness of the human race. God knows it and desires its adoption. It is for man to discover and adopt it."

They turn to the clergy, and say that they recognize the spirit and principles of Jesus Christ as the motive and method which *ought* to be regnant in the economic sphere; that Jesus Christ is *the Man*, unto the measure of the stature of whom they would have the whole social-economic man grow. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is accepted as the golden rule for transforming, under historical conditions of growth, the whole economic world into golden har-

vests of golden grain. They plead with us to study the problems and conditions of economics with the practical view of extending the Lordship of Christ over it. They call upon us to become intelligent Christian economists that we may know and teach others *how* to love our neighbors as ourselves; that we may help hasten that economic world-union of brethren where "hard bargaining and sharp practice" shall be reduced to its minimum. They point the road the Church must take to-day in order to fulfil its missionary duty in meeting the great Christ-want in the economic sphere. Nay, they point only the way that the Church itself is largely treading in, in its revived appreciation of the true humanitarianism of the Gospel. They have themselves been largely influenced by this stirring spirit in the Church, and only call definite attention to it that it may be fostered in the Church. To take but one of the very many illustrations of this we may point to "The Christian Social Union," organized in Oxford with a branch in America, whose purpose and work is as distinctively economic as it is Christian. These Christian students, fired with the enthusiasm of humanity, vote the urgency of the social and economic questions upon the Church to-day. They believe that industrial and economic questions should be as paramount in the Church to-day as theology has been in past days. Their primal creed is that Jesus Christ is "*the Man*," who is to be the solution of these problems: and this, not in the way of mere unscientific feeling, but in reasoned, historical appreciation of *how* He is the solution. They have as their organ *The Economic Review*, published in Oxford. Bishop Huntington is the President and Professor Ely is the Secretary of the American branch, which in less than a year numbers nearly a thousand members, and has put in the field an agent to organize local circles and start them at the work of studying economics for Christ, the Church, and the world. They seek to regain for the clergy that lofty, ethical authority which the truly human always inspires. In all questions, for example, as to the rights of laborers and capitalists, the clergy must either (1) support the existing order, or (2) champion proposed reforms, or (3) at least study them in the ethical spirit of Christ, so as to be able to guide public opinion in its process of crystallizing into customs and laws. These Christian students have the last for their object. They are thus entirely at one with the new school in their historical and ethical method in economics. Both join heartily in the cry,

"Ring out the old, ring in the new,
* * * * *
Ring in the Christ that is to be."

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

VI. Partition and Derivation Theories.

BY PROFESSOR W. SANDAY, D.D.

From *The Expositor* (London), May, 1892.

The position of things in the Liberal camp at the present moment is this. There is a small group of Irreconcilables whose literary defence of their views is really not such as to claim serious consideration. Thoma is the most voluminous; Pfleiderer the most distinguished. There are however two Pfleiderers, the theologian and the critic. Pfleiderer the skilful and lucid exponent not so much of the history as of the logical relations of doctrine is one thing, Pfleiderer the historical critic is another. In this latter capacity I am afraid that if all criticism were like his, the character which it bears in some quarters would not be undeserved. For any power of estimating historical evidence or discriminating between the relative value of verified fact and hypothesis we look in vain. Confident assertion does duty for proof where proof is most needed. I may have been unfortunate, but in the parts of *Urchristenthum* which I have read there were more disputable propositions than paragraphs, sometimes even than sentences. Only some eleven pages (pp. 776–786) are given directly to the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. In this Dr. Pfleiderer sees neither mystery nor difficulty. He will not hear of any half measures. The Gospel clearly comes after a group of Deutero-Pauline writings which belong to the first decades of the second century—the writings attributed to St. Luke and the Epistles to the Hebrews and Ephesians.

We remember by the way that the first of these Epistles is quoted at length in the Epistle of Clement of Rome, which the great majority of critics with clearly preponderant probability place in the year 95 or 96; but the mere fact that it quotes Hebrews makes Pfleiderer remove it into

the second century, though he has only a "perhaps" for the date of Hebrews itself.

The Fourth Gospel was written between Barcochba and Justin (135–158 A.D. according to Pfleiderer's dating; a recent writer, Krüger, places the First Apology on which the question turns in 138 A.D., Dr. Hort c. 146). The Gospel was written at Ephesus, by a single author, who from the miracles to which he gives admission cannot have been either the Apostle or a disciple of the Apostle, but was a nameless person who sought to invest his work with Apostolic authority; the ideas are largely derived from Philo, and a great part of the narrative is pure allegory.

Again I would ask the reader to recall and compare with this the external and internal evidence as it has been stated in previous papers.

The great mass of Liberal opinion in its more reasonable exponents is so alive to the weight of the arguments for the genuineness of the Gospel that it is trending more and more in the direction of a compromise; it is more and more seeking for some solution which shall not cut the Gospel adrift, but shall connect it by some tie, stronger or weaker, with the beloved Apostle.

I spoke in my first paper of the double form which this solution was taking. There are some who divide up the Gospel into sections and assign by far the greater number directly to St. John, but the remainder away from him. There are others who contend that no part of the Gospel was actually committed to writing by the Apostle, but that the whole is the work of one of his disciples, drawing upon the tradition which he had heard from his master.

When it is a question of dividing the Gospel, and saying that this part is genuine and that not, we naturally think of the narratives and the discourses, and we are reminded of the way in which the two most eminent literary critics who have dealt with the Gospel took opposite sides on this point.

"M. Renan," writes our own Matthew Arnold, "often so ingenious as well as eloquent, says that the narrative and incidents in the Fourth Gospel are probably in the main historical, the discourses invented! Reverse the proposition, and it would be more plausible. The narrative, so meagre, and skipping so unaccountably backwards and forwards between Galilee and Jerusalem, might well be thought, not indeed invented, but a matter of infinitely little care and attention to the writer of the Gospel, a mere slight framework in which to set the doctrine and discourses of Jesus. The doctrine and discourses of Jesus, on the other hand, *cannot* in the main be the writer's, because in the main they are clearly out of his reach." *

* *Literature and Dogma* (London, 1873), p. 170.

It is easy to see what is in the mind of both writers. M. Renan, the skilled Orientalist, who had himself made the pilgrimage to Palestine, and who has always a quick though not always a sure eye for the play of human nature, cannot resist the indications in the Gospel of true local colour and reality. On the other hand, Matthew Arnold, the charm of whose writings consists in his instinctive delight in and unfailing response to the higher expression of the things of the spirit, sees at once that the Johannean discourses have in them something which is above the level even of an Apostle.

The recent attempts to work out in detail the separation of the two elements, that which is original from that which is not original, in the Gospel of St. John, do not follow the dividing line of discourse and narrative.* And yet it is rather remarkable that the most important of these attempts all seem to make a point of removing the chief stumbling-block in the eyes of Matthew Arnold, the skipping of the narrative backwards and forwards from Jerusalem to Galilee and from Galilee to Jerusalem. They do it however hardly for this, or for the same reason. Wendt gets rid of the Galilæan episodes in order that he may throw all the discourses to the end of our Lord's life, where he thinks that they are in place and in keeping with the main outlines of the narrative in the other Gospels.† There is, I confess, to me something attractive in this, though we may question whether it justifies the use of the knife quite so freely. It is a less violent method to explain the facts by what I have ventured to call the process of *foreshortening*, or anticipation of later utterances on earlier occasions, to which the mind of the aged Evangelist might naturally be liable.

Delff is not thinking of the distinction between earlier and later, but he has arrived at the conclusion that the author was a native of Jerusalem, a member of one of the high-priestly families; and it is therefore natural to him to make the range of vision bounded by the horizon of Jerusalem. He thinks that additions were made to the original document with the view of harmonizing it (1) with the Galilæan tradition, established through the other Gospels; (2) with the current Chiliastic expectations; (3) with the philosophy of Alexandria.‡ There is a touch here of the "vigour

* The earlier partition theories of Weisse and Schenkel seem to have gone on the principle of keeping the discourses and rejecting the history, or at least referring it to a disciple: *vid.* Bleek-Mangold, *Einleitung*, p. 292f.

† *Lehre Jesu*, p. 289.

‡ *Das vierte Evang.*, p. 13.

and rigour" which Matthew Arnold noted as a tendency of German criticism. Even if we believed that the author of the Gospel was a dweller in Jerusalem, it still would not be beyond the bounds of possibility that he should know—and that from personal experience—what passed in Galilee. It is also not so unheard of for the same mind to entertain trains of thought on two different planes at the same time, one it may be inherited, the other a product of its own inward reflexion and development. And lastly, we have seen it to be not so certain that the author introduces the Alexandrian philosophy at all.

These considerations go far to do away with the necessity of assuming that the Gospel has been interpolated. Still it may be of some interest in itself and may possibly serve a useful purpose in the future to compare the schemes arrived at by two different writers quite independently. As there is a still further coincidence with the older writer, Schweizer, I add his scheme from Ardeacon Watkins' *Bampton Lectures*, p. 249.

TABULAR VIEW OF PARTITION THEORIES AS APPLIED TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

Sections Supposed to be Interpolated.

Alex. Schweizer, 1841.			i. 21f., Elias or the Prophet. ii. 1–12, Marriage at Cana. iv. 44–54, Reception in Galilee ; Nobleman's Son. vi. 1–26, Miracle of 5,000. xvi. 30, "Now we know that Thou knowest all things." xviii. 9, None lost. xix. 35–37, Witness of Blood and Water. xxi., Supplemental Chapter.
H. H. Wendt, 1886.	i.	6–8, 15, Witness of Baptist.	i. 19–34, Witness of Baptist. 35, 52, Messiahship exhibited. ii. 1–12, Marriage at Cana, a Sign Messiahship. 21, Comment by Evangelist. iii. 2*b*, "None can do these signs." 5, *ὕδατος καί*. 22–iv. 3, Baptist's Discourse. iv. 10 part, 11, 15–18 (?). Samaritan Husband. 25–26, Messiahship declared. 27*b*–30, 35*b*, 39–42, Narrative Setting. 43–54, Reception in Galilee. v. 1–16, Modified from Original by Reminiscence of Mark ii. 10ff. 28, 29, Bodily Resurrection. 33, 34 (?), Deputation to John. vi. 1–26, Miracle of 5,000. 39, 40, 44, 54, "I will raise him at the last day." vi. 59, Synagogue at Capernaum. 62, Ascension a Scandal. 64*b*, 70, 71, The Traitor. vii. 1, 2, 8–14. Expanded Narrative. 20, 21*a*, "Thou hast a devil." 30–32, 35f., 37*a*, 39, 44–52, mostly Narrative Insertions. 53–viii. 11, *Pericopæ Adulteræ* viii. 20*a*, Treasury ; 30, 31, Mary Believes. ix. 1–3, 6–31, Narrative of Blind Man. x. 19–21 (perhaps), 22, 23 (perhaps), 39, 40–42, Narrative Insertions, etc. xi. 1–7*a*, 11–15, 17–20, 24, 28–46 (mainly), Raising of Lazarus (narrative portion). 47–xii. 19, Ephraim ; Supper at Bethany, etc. xii. 28*b*–30, Voice from Heaven. 37, 39–43, 47*b*, 40, "Last Day." xiii. 11, 18f., 21–31*a*, The Traitor (cf. Mark xiv. 17–21). xvi. 13, *καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν*. xviii.–xx. (except xviii. 35*b*–38*a*, xix. 9–11*a*).
Hugo Delff, 1890.	i.	1–6, The Logos as Life and Light. 9–19, The Logos Incarnate.	ii. 1–11, Marriage at Cana. 17, 20, 21, Comments of Evangelist. iv. 44, Reception in Galilee. 46–54, Nobleman's Son. v. 19–30, Judgment and Resurrection. vi. 1–30, Miracle of 5,000. [Wanting in Celsus' Copy, *Das vierte Evang.*, p. 14.]

Hugo Delff, 1890.	i.	1–6, The Logos as Life and Light.	37–40, Judgment and Resurrection.
			44, Resurrection.
			54, "
			59, Synagogue at Capernaum.
		9–19. The Logos Incarnate.	vii. 39, Comment.
			xii. 16, Comment.
			26–31, Voice from Heaven.
			33, Comment.
			xiii. 20, "He that receiveth whomsoever I shall send."
			xx. 11–19, Mary at the Sepulchre.
			xxi., Supplemental Chapter.

We have seen that the arguments *for* the hypothesis of interpolation are far from convincing. It remains to ask whether there are not also valid arguments *against* the hypothesis. The weight of opinion is clearly against it. Schürer must be reckoned on the adverse side.* On the same side we might for once quote Pfleiderer, though the second half of his sentence contains an unpardonable exaggeration, abundantly refuted in Wendt's recent volume :

"These Johannean discourses are so much of one piece (aus einem Guss), form and substance are so inseparable, and the discourses again are so entirely one with the narratives which introduce or illustrate them that it is impossible to separate the one from the other ; if one does eliminate from these discourses all that does not suit the personages of the history because it belongs to later theological reflexion, what then will be left of them still remaining ?" †

But the most weightily expressed opinion is that of Holtzmann :

"However, all attempts to draw a clearly distinguishable line of demarcation, whether it be between earlier and later strata, or between genuine and not genuine, historical and unhistorical elements, must always be wrecked against the solid and compact unity which the work presents, both in regard to language and in regard to matter. Apart from the interpolations indicated by the history of the Text (v. 4, vii. 53–viii. 11), and from the last chapter added by way of supplement, the work is, both in form and substance, both in arrangement and in range of ideas, an organic whole without omissions or interpolations, the "seamless coat," which can be parted or torn, but only by a happy cast allotted to its rightful owner (so especially Hilgenfeld and Strauss)." ‡

This "solid and compact unity" alike in language, in structure, and in thought, is indeed the keynote of the Gospel, and marks the fatal objection to any theory of partition. I have little doubt that the more closely the Gospel is studied the more conclusively will this be proved. I cannot stay to go into much detail at present, but a few remarks may be made to show the general direction that the argument would take.

In the first place, it may be noted that Wendt by getting rid of so much of the narrative portion of the Gospel sacrifices just that which comes to us with the highest credentials as history. It sacrifices all the first chapter after the prologue with the admirable scene between St. John and the deputation, and the other scene hardly less graphic and natural, which shows how disciples gathered round a master. It sacrifices not all, but many features in the striking seventh chapter which takes us down among the crowd and up into the conclave of the Pharisees and lets us hear their comments. It sacrifices a fresh and lifelike sketch, full of Jewish touches, the healing of the blind man in chapter ix. It sacrifices not only much of the earlier part of chapter ix., but the last section which is on a par with chapter vii. as a picture of the surroundings among which Jesus moved. It sacrifices the hearing before Annas, so probable and so characteristic ; it sacrifices many characteristic details in the hearing before Pilate, and indeed leaves but little remaining of the story of the Passion. Along with these larger pieces of narrative it cuts out a number of smaller particulars on which we rely, and have seen reason to rely : Bethany beyond Jordan, Ænon and Salim, the pool of Bethesda or Bezetha with its five colonnades, the treasury, the feast of dedication, perhaps Solomon's porch, Kedron, and so on. All these are points which, it seems to me, that a historian with an eye for facts would be least willing to let go.

Delff does not make this mistake, and less exception can be taken to his procedure on a broad view of the case. But he cuts off the prologue which forms such a fitting and majestic vestibule to the rest of the Gospel. He inverts the view of Baur and his school, which made all the rest of the Gospel a dramatizing or embodying in action of the great leading ideas of the prologue. And yet stripped of its exaggeration, there was too much truth in that view for it to be lightly abandoned. It is impossible to take up Delff's version of the Gospel without a sense of mutilation.

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* *Vortrag*, pp. 50, 56. † *Urchristenthum*, p. 781.
‡ *Einleitung* (2nd ed.), p. 457.

An argument like this may be thought somewhat subjective in its character. But when these supposed interpolations are examined they will be found to be full of cross-references pointing backwards or forwards and indissolubly linking the portions rejected to those received as genuine. The narrative of St. John is so direct and simple that characteristic expressions are less easily detected in it; but even so the passages which are alleged to be interpolations yield too many to be safely set aside. It would be wearisome and I confess I think unnecessary to go over the whole ground, but a few specimens may be given from the first two chapters.

Cross-References

FROM PASSAGES SUPPOSED TO BE INTERPOLATED TO	PASSAGES RETAINED AS GENUINE.
DELFF.	
i. 4. "In Him was life."	xi. 25, xiv. 6. "I am the life:" *cf.* v. 40, vi. 35, x. 10, etc. ζωή *occurs* 36 *times and is very characteristic.*
i. 4. "The light of men."	viii. 12, ix. 5. "I am the light of the world." φῶς 22 *times in the Gospel.*
i. 5. Light in darkness.	xii. 46. Light and darkness: *cf.* iii. 19, viii. 12, xii. 35. σκοτία *also characteristic.*
i. 5. ἡ σκοτία οὐ κατέλαβεν.	xii. 35. μὴ σκοτία καταλάβῃ.
i. 10. "He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not."	xvii. 25. "The world hath not known Thee, but I have known Thee, and these have known that Thou hast sent Me."
The structure in triplets which is very marked in this context, also underlies many other passages.	
i. 10. "He was in the world."	iii. 19. "The light is come into the world:" *cf.* ix. 5, 39, xi. 27, xvi. 28, etc. κόσμος 77 *times in the Gospel*, 3 *times each in St. Mark and St. Luke.*
i. 10. "The world knew Him not."	xiv. 7. "The world cannot receive . . . neither knoweth Him:" *cf.* xiv. 19, xv. 18, xvii. 14.
i. 11. εἰς τὰ ἴδια.	xvi. 32, xix. 27. εἰς τὰ ἴδια; viii. 44, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.
i. 11. οἱ ἴδιοι.	xiii. 1. τοὺς ἰδίους; *cf.* xv. 19.
i. 12. τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι.	1 John iii. 1. ἵνα τέκνα Θεοῦ κληθῶμεν; *cf.* John xi. 52. [Dr. Delff *would probably refer the Ep. not to the author but to the redactor of Gospel: still the c incidence is interesting.*]
i. 13. "Born not of blood," etc.	iii. 5. "Except a man be born . . . of the Spirit," etc.
i. 14. "Was made flesh."	viii. 40. "A man (ἄνθρωπον) that hath told you the truth."
i. 14. "We beheld His glory."	xi. 40. "Thou shouldst see the glory of God;" *cf.* ii. 11 [*rejected*], xii. 41, xvii. 5, 22, 44.
i. 14. μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός.	iii. 16. τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ; *cf.* iii. 18.
i. 17. "The law was given by Moses."	vii. 19. "Did not Moses give you the law?"
i. 17. "Truth by Jesus Christ."	xiv. 6. "I am the truth;" truth *a characteristic word, 25 times in all.*
i. 18. "No man hath seen God."	v. 37. "We have not . . . seen His shape."
i. 18. "Only-begotten."	*See on* i. 14.
i. 18. "He hath declared him."	xiv. 9. "He hath seen the Father;" *cf.* xii. 45.
i. 18. ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.	*Characteristic form of phrase; cf.* i. 33, ὁ πέμψας . . . ἐκεῖνός μοι εἶπεν, v. 11, ix. 37, x. 1, xii. 48, xiv. 21, 26, xv. 26.
ii. 4. "Woman, what have I to do with thee?"	xix. 26. "Woman, behold thy son!"
ii. 4. "Mine hour is not yet come."	*Characteristic phrase; cf.* vii. 30, viii. 20, xii. 23, xiii. 1, xvi. 21; also vii. 6, 8.
ii. 9. "But the servants which drew the water knew."	*This mode of parenthetic qualification or restriction is characteristic; cf.* iv. 2: "Though Jesus Himself baptized not," [vi. 23: "Howbeit there came other boats," etc., *is rejected.*]
	vii. 22. "Not because it is of Moses."
	xii. 6. "This he said, not that he cared for the poor," etc.
ii. 11. "This beginning of signs."	"Signs" *in this sense is well known as a characteristic word, occurring* 17 *times in the Gospel.*
ii. 11. "Manifested forth His glory."	i. 14. "We saw His glory" [*rejected by* Delff, *not by* Wendt].
	vii. 4. "When [*rather* Because] he saw His glory."
	xvii. 5, 22, 24.

ii. 11. Glory *coupled with* manifestation.	xvii. 4–6. The son glorified, the Father's Name manifested.
ii. 11. Glory *in juxtaposition with* belief.	xvii. 21–25 *similar juxtaposition.*
WENDT.	
i. 19. ἡ μαρτυρία.	*Characteristic idea and word ; 29 times in Johannean writings (incl. Apoc.), only 7 times besides in N. T.*
i. 20. "Confessed and denied not."	*For emphatic combination of positive and negative, cf.* i. 3, iii. 16, vi. 50, 51.
i. 28. "These things," etc.	[Wendt *excises all historical notes, or we might compare for mode of introduction,* viii. 20, *and for place,* x. 40.]
i. 31. φανερωθῇ.	*Characteristic word ; 9 times in* St. John, *only* 3 *times in Synoptics (including disputed verses of* St. Mark).
i. 32, 34. "Bare record."	*See above on* i. 19.
i. 33. ἐκεῖνος.	*See above on* i. 18.
i. 38, 50. "Rabbi."	*Standing title* (8 *times*) in St. John, *not in* St. Luke.
i. 39. "Tenth hour."	[*Notes of time are characteristic of the Johannean narrative, but are struck out by* Wendt.
i. 44. "Now Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter."	xii. 21, 22 [*left by* Wendt]. "The same came to Philip which was of Bethsaida . . . Philip . . . taketh Andrew."
i. 46. "Any good thing out of Nazareth."	vii. 41. "Shall the Christ come out of Galilee ?" [*left by* Wendt, *though not* vii. 52.]
i. 50. "Greater things than these."	v. 20. "Greater works than these :" *cf.* xiv. 12.
ii. 1–12. *See above.*	

In view of this evidence, which it is clear might be extended indefinitely, I do not think that many of us will hesitate to reject decidedly all the partition theories before us, and indeed to go a step beyond this, and assert with Holtzmann the essential and indissoluble unity of the Gospel.

But now the further question arises : Is not Holtzmann also right in refusing to share the contents of the Gospel between disciple and Master ? The vertical dividing up of the Gospel is found to be untenable ; is the horizontal dividing of it any more tenable ?

We saw in our original survey that this was the direction in which many of the best critics were tending. We may exclude writers like Ewald who does not seem to want any more extensive editing by the Ephesian Church than most of us would be ready to grant. We also need not go back to writers like Schenkel and Tobler.* But Schürer himself is in favour of this hypothesis. Reuss and Renan are both in favour of it. And above all it is strongly supported by Weizsäcker in a very able piece of constructive criticism.† Can we yield to the authority of these certainly important names ?

The object is, as has been said, a compromise. The writers in question are so much impressed by the signs of historic accuracy in the Gospel, that they are compelled to regard it as embodying a good tradition ; and they find no valid reason against, but rather every reason for, referring that tradition to St. John. Both Schürer and Weizsäcker quietly put aside the doubts which have been raised as to the Apostle's residence in Asia Minor. "For this," says Weizsäcker, "we have in fact proof which cannot up to the present time be regarded as shaken." * For the supposition of a confusion between the Apostle and any other John, Schürer thinks that there is no good ground.† Assuming the truth of this Ephesian tradition, it is then natural to draw the picture which Weizsäcker draws of the school which gathered there round the Apostle, and produced under the influence of his teaching first the Apocalypse and afterwards the Gospel. Between these two works, whatever their difference, there is one great connecting link, the doctrine of the Logos. In the Apocalypse this is put forward as a new and mysterious revelation. The rider on the white horse, Faithful and True, who judges and makes war in righteousness, has a name written that no man knew but He Himself . . . "and His name is called the Word of God." ‡ The solemnity with which this revelation is made marks its importance. At the same time in the Apocalypse its

* Bleek-Mangold, *Einl.*, p. 293f.; Watkins, *Bampt. Lect.*, p. 248ff.
† *Apost. Zeitalt.*, pp. 531–558.

* *Apost. Zeitalt.*, p. 498.
† *Vortrag*, p. 71 : for a list of authorities for and against the traditional view see Holtzmann, *Einl.*, p. 475f. (ed. 2).
‡ Rev. xix. 11–13.

meaning is undeveloped ; its further development is reserved for the Gospel. Taking this central point with the others which surround it, though the differences may be so great as to involve a difference of authorship, yet the affinity is also great enough to locate them in the same home and in the same school. The Gospel belongs to a later stage in its history. That is all.

By keeping upon these lines, the writers I have mentioned desert the ecclesiastical tradition as little as possible. They only carry down the Gospel a little lower in the stream of time ; they make it a work of the second and not of the first generation ; and they obtain room in it for a greater freedom of handling.

I think we may say that if the Fourth Gospel is not by St. John, then distinctly next, in order of probability, is this theory of Weizsäcker's, very much in the form in which Weizsäcker has stated it. It seems to me however that even this theory is incompatible with the facts. It fails to satisfy the conditions which our previous inquiry has laid down. The arguments on which we have hitherto relied, and which have indeed a very great mass of detail behind them, prove, if they prove anything, that the author of the Gospel himself was a Jew, a Jew of Palestine, a contemporary, an eye-witness, an Apostle. Their force is not met by the supposition that some Gentile or even Jewish Christian of Ephesus made use a generation later of knowledge derived at second-hand from one who possessed these qualifications. For the striking thing about the Gospel is that its characteristics are not those of a second-hand work. The kind of details which it contains is not such as would survive in a tradition. What tradition could do we see in the Synoptic Gospels, especially in St. Mark. There we have tradition seen to great advantage—jottings from the occasional teaching of a leading actor in the events—St. Peter, *ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας*. Accordingly we find a good and faithful report of a number of incidents in the life of our Lord, dialogues, sayings, brief discourses, parables. But the setting in which all this is placed is loose and vague ; notes of time and place are very indistinct ; some expression of surprise and emotion on the part of the speaker is almost the only transient and subordinate detail that is noted. The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, is full of these accessories. The scenes there described are such as the author has clearly and vividly presented before him. Two alternatives only are possible. Either these scenes derive their vividness and particularity from the fact that the author is reporting what he had himself heard and seen, or in which he had stood in connexion so close that it is as if he had heard and seen them, or they are the product of pure imagination. A middle link, like tradition, does not help us. The author might as well be six generations removed as one. For instance, we can understand how tradition might hand down the five barley loaves and two small fishes, the two hundred denarii worth of bread, the five thousand people and the twelve baskets of fragments of the miracle of healing, because all these have a direct bearing on the magnitude of the miracle. We can understand even the six water-pots of stone at the marriage feast, because the water-pots at least were essential, and that might cause their number to be remembered and transmitted. These are all details of the same type as those in the Synoptics. But why should it be noted that it was the tenth hour when the disciples left John to follow Jesus, or the sixth hour when He sat down by the well? Why should we be told that John baptized in Ænon because of its plentiful springs? Why that such and such a speech was made in Solomon's porch at the feast of dedication in the winter ? Why that Jesus retired to the place where John at first baptized ? or that He went to Ephraim while the Jews were going up to purify themselves before the Passover ? Why that the Sanhedrists would not enter Pilate's house for fear of defilement ? or that the purpose with which Judas was supposed to have made his exit was to buy necessaries for the feast ?

It would be instructive to work out continuously some of the ideas which these passages suggest—all of a character which in the second century, when the primitive entanglement of Christianity and Judaism had been forgotten, and when Judaism itself had changed its complexion through the fall of Jerusalem, would have lost their interest. Take for instance an idea like that of Levitical purity. What had Christians of the second century to do with that ? Can we believe that allusions to it would have been preserved in passing from mouth to mouth ? Yet first we have the water-pots at Cana ; then the dispute between the disciples of John and a Jew (in the correct text) on some question of purification—naturally arising, as we might suppose, out of the practice of baptism ; then we have that singular touch, the mustering of the pilgrims in the country before

the Passover, that they might go up to Jerusalem in good time and get their purification over (ἵνα ἁγνίσωσιν ἑαυτούς) ;* and lastly, the scrupulous avoidance of defilement by the Sanhedrists.

Or take another set of points, which would also have passed out of remembrance —the baptism of John, not in its relation to any possible survival, like that of Apollos and the disciples at Ephesus, but in its relation to the Jewish conception of Messiah —the necessity of an Elias-ministry and of the moral reformation which it was to work before the Messiah could come. Hence such verses as "Why baptizest thou them if thou art not the Christ, neither Elijah, neither the prophet?" Or "but that He should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water." Would a second-century tradition, even that of a disciple, have preserved touches like these ?

Many similar points might be taken—the Jewish sects and parties, priests, Levites, Sanhedrists, Pharisees, the two high priests Annas and Caiaphas, all in their mutual relations delicately and accurately delineated ; the Jewish feasts in regard to which the Evangelist mentions so many characteristic particulars—all, be it remembered, belonging to a state of things which had entirely passed away.

We have already seen how consistently the Gospel maintains the standpoint of the first disciples ; how it repeats the kind of thoughts which would actually pass through their minds ; how it describes the debates and discussions and controversies which went on around them. We can see that those debates and controversies were exactly such as must have gone on, and yet what we can see must have been by no means so obvious to a Christian in the second century. All that we know of early literature, Christian or pagan, leaves it, I cannot but think, in a high degree improbable that so consistent a picture could have been painted out of pure invention. There would inevitably have been far more serious flaws to be found than any which criticism has discovered.

This is my first reason for not being content to refer the phenomena of the Gospel simply to tradition. They include a number of points which tradition would not have preserved. My second reason is that tradition would almost necessarily be a series of fragments, as the Synoptic Gospels are. In St. John it is true that we have a selection of narratives, but it is a selection taken from a continuous history. They are strung, so to speak, upon a single thread. We feel that there is a duly articulated history, precisely mapped out both in time and place, lying behind them. In the one case the narrator looks back over the scene as a whole, and selects what incidents he pleases out of it ; in the other case the narrator has no such survey, no such command of his materials, but must needs put together the incidents as they come to him, as best he can. This means that in the one case there is, and in the other case there is not direct personal contact with the facts.

Thirdly, when we look at the Gospel we see that it is not the product of a dry intellectual light. It palpitates throughout with warm emotion. The keynote of it is love : first the love of the Master for the disciple calling forth the love of the disciple for the Master, and then that love implanted as a principle of the Christian life, and become the dominant motive which binds one Christian to another. Where was all this emotion generated ? It is by far the most natural to attribute it to the relation in which the author of the Gospel stood to his subject. A personal feeling like this is not easily transmitted. That St. John, the beloved disciple, should be animated by it is just what we should expect. That an unnamed disciple in the second century who had not "seen Christ in the flesh" should be as impressible, is less likely. I speak here only of competing probabilities.

Weighing these probabilities side by side. they are to my mind irresistibly in favour of the direct apostolic authorship. Let us think, by way of recapitulation, what the problem demands. It demands one who is firmly planted at the point of view of the immediate disciples of Jesus ; one who looked at things as they looked at them ; who was familiar with the expectation which they entertained and which those around them entertained before they came to recognise Jesus as the Messiah ; one apparently taken from the very *entourage* of the Baptist ; one who treads with a sure step among all the intricate conditions of the time ; one who is at home in all the scenes and places and customs and ways of thought of Palestine when Christ lived ; one who has caught truly the main lines of Christ's teaching ; who understands the relation in which He stood to the Old Testament, based upon it and yet exercising command over it, mingling the old and new in that wonderful way and with that wonderful

* St. John xi. 55.

balance which the first generation of Christians possessed, and which their successors seemed so soon to lose. We must think of the author as one who stood directly under the influence, the close personal influence, of Jesus, who took in deep draughts from that "living water," and who, if he in after life sought to impart to others something of the impression which he had himself received, did so not so much through any process of intellectual speculation as through strong and deeply stirred emotion wrought into the inner self by years of vitally realized religious experience.

We cannot wonder if a mind like this, not discursive but concentrated, not given to wandering over a wide field of impressions, but content with a few of singular power and intensity, and letting these sink into it as far as ever they would go, should yet, as the Church moved on, let itself move with it, applying its own great ruling principles to the progressive phases of the Church's history, and to a certain extent interpreting those principles by the teaching of fact and by their practical realization. We cannot wonder if in this way, when the time came to give out as well as to drink in, there should be some infusion of all this later reflexion and experience with the original material of objective fact. We are dealing with a strong, creative personality which could not help acting upon the deposit committed to it, not a mere neutral medium through which it might pass without alteration. A smaller nature might have reproduced its first impressions more exactly; a more flexible and many-sided nature would have had a weaker or less tenacious grip upon them; but a mind like this acts powerfully in proportion as it acts slowly, and transmutes what it retains the more surely, because the lines on which it works are not many but few.

At the same time all the phenomena that are characteristic of the Fourth Gospel may be got well within the compass of the time assigned to the life of the Apostle John. May be, and indeed *must* be. As to the possibility there can be no question. It is a simple rule of proportion. If the Epistles to Corinthians and Romans could be reached by the years 57, 58; if Philippians by the year 61; if Hebrews by about 68 or 69;* then certainly the Fourth Gospel could be reached some fifteen or twenty years later. And on the other hand we have seen that it cannot be cut loose from the apostolic age and from immediate contact with the life of Christ. Those are the limits within which the Gospel ranges. The *terminus a quo* is not the schooling of a second generation, but the living experience of the first; the *terminus ad quem* is not the region of Gnosticism or Montanism, but the seed-plot out of which those developments grew as more or less abnormal growths. It is the first generation in its fullest extent, the richest generation which the world has ever seen.

There have been great ages, "spacious times," up and down the world's career—the age of Pericles, the age of Augustus, the years which date from the Hegira of Mahomet or from the Fall of Constantinople, the outburst of genius and national life under our own Queen Elizabeth. But in internal significance, if not in external splendour, there is no age to compare with that which began in the fifteenth year of Tiberius with a set of obscure events in an obscure corner of Judæa, and which came to its close with the death of the last apostle, St. John.

* I do not pledge myself absolutely to this date, though I think it on the whole probable; in any case the Epistle was written during the lifetime of Timothy (Heb. xiii. 23), and well before the date at which it is quoted by Clement of Rome. This one fact seems to me to be a landmark of great importance in the history of Christian Doctrine.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD IN PREDESTINATION AS CONTAINED IN THE SYSTEM OF STRICT CALVINISM.

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V.

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It is our purpose in this article to apply to the case of infants dying in infancy and of the congenitally idiotic the positions of the Calvinistic system already discussed.

The Calvinistic Position.

The question of the fate of those dying in infancy is one of vast theologic as well as of practical interest. For a large proportion—probably a distinct majority—of the human race pass out of the world before reaching the age of moral accountability. As to the future condition of this class there are three and only three positions which can be taken, viz.: 1. Either all are lost. 2. Or all are saved. 3. Or some are lost and some are saved. It does not seem

worth while to consider a fourth position which was held by Dr. Watts. "In pure desperation, in the struggle between the necessities of his system and his feelings of pity and compassion, he embraced the theory that reprobate infants are probably annihilated at death." He says: "The salvation of all children . . . has no countenance in the Bible . . . no foundation in reason. The Scripture brings down the infants of wicked parents to the grave, and leaves them there, and so do I. The Scripture has not provided any resurrection for them, neither can I do it."—Ruin and Recovery of Mankind. Quest. XVI.

Augustine held that infants dying before baptism are lost. The Romish church has always taught that infants who pass out of the world without baptism cannot attain to eternal life. The canons of the council of Trent, which are an authoritative declaration of the faith of the church of Rome, teach: "If any one denies that newborn children must be baptized, or says that they do not derive from Adam anything of original sin which makes the laver of regeneration necessary to cleanse them for an entrance into everlasting life, let them be accursed."

Roman Catechism II. chap. II. Quest. 25—"Unless they are born again by the divine grace of baptism, they are brought forth by their parents, whether believers or unbelievers, for eternal misery and perdition."

The Augsburg Confession, the earliest doctrinal statement of the Lutheran church, says,—Part First, Art. IX.—"Of baptism they teach that it is necessary to salvation. They condemn Anabaptists who allow not the baptism of children, and affirm that children are saved without baptism."

In his pamphlet on "The Development of the Doctrine of Infant Salvation" Dr. Warfield says, p. 38 sq.,—that the five following views were early current among Calvinists: 1. "That death in infancy is a sign of election, and hence that all who die in infancy are the children of God and enter at once into glory." 2. "That the only sure sign of election is faith with its fruits, and therefore, we have no real ground of knowledge concerning the fate of any infant; as, however, God certainly has his elect among them too, each man can cherish the hope that his children are of the elect." 3. "That faith and the promise are sure signs of election, and, accordingly, all believers and their children are certainly saved; but that the lack of faith and the promise is an equally sure sign of reprobation, so that all the children of unbelievers, dying such, are equally certainly lost." 4. "That faith and the promise are certain signs of election, while the lack of the promise only leaves us in ignorance of God's purpose; nevertheless, there is good reason for asserting that both election and reprobation have place in this unknown sphere." 5. "That faith and the promise are marks by which we may know assuredly that all those who believe and their children, dying such, are elect and saved, while absence of sure marks of either election or reprobation in infants, dying such, outside the covenant, leaves us without ground for inference concerning them, and they must be left to the judgment of God, which, however hidden from us, is assuredly just and holy and good." Dr. Warfield adds, "that this cautious agnostic view has the best historical right to be called the general Calvinistic one."

It is certain, however, that Calvin himself and many of the early Calvinists did not occupy an agnostic position as to the fate of uncovenanted infants dying in infancy. Institutes Bk. III. Chap. XXIII. 7,—"I inquire, again, how it comes to pass that the fall of Adam, independent of any remedy, should involve so many nations with their *infant children* in eternal death, but because such was the will of God. It is an awful decree, I confess, but no one can deny that God foreknew the future final fate of man before he created him, and that he did foreknow it because it was appointed by his own decree."

Commentary on Ezekiel XVIII., Opera IV. 167—"As to infants they seem to perish not by their own fault but by the fault of another; but there is a double solution. Though sin does not yet appear in them, yet it is latent; for they bear corruption shut up in the soul, so that before God they are damnable."

Heidegger: "For original sin the penalty is eternal death; it is the penalty both of loss and of sense, the sense both of the worm and of the fire, though in some, as for example *in infants*, it is milder, in others it is severer."

Cocceius—"Elect infants . . . are not conceived and born as are the children of the Gentiles, concerning whom the *presumption is certain*, that they with their mother's milk drink in godlessness unto destruction."

Marckius—"As to the infants of unbelievers, we ought *utterly to reject not only their salvation*, but also the theory *that their penalty is one of privation, without*

sensation. The terminus to which these are predestined is *eternal death*, destruction, *damnation.*" The above and numerous other similar Calvinistic testimonies are given in Dr. Krauth's "Infant Baptism and Infant Salvation." "The utterances of the divines at the Synod of Dort," says Dr. Krauth, "were of the most decided kind. Infant reprobation and the actual damnation of infants, were asserted in manifold shapes, and in all the public discussions of that body no Calvinist of any land uttered a word of doubt or of mitigation."

The late Dr. Van Dyke illustrated the revolution which has taken place in the views of Calvinists, and especially of Presbyterians, in regard to the future condition of infants, dying such, by two quotations; one from Dr. Twiss, moderator of the Westminster Assembly, and the other from Dr. A. A. Hodge.

Dr. Twiss—"If many thousands, even all the infants of Turks and Saracens, dying in original sin, are tormented by him [God] in hell-fire, is he to be accounted the father of cruelties for that?" Dr. Hodge—"In the history of the world since Adam, all the souls who have died before birth, or between birth and moral agency, have been redeemed in Christ. Through all ages,—from Japan, from China, from India, from Africa, from the islands of the sea,—multitudes, flocking like birds, have gone to heaven of this great company of redeemed infants of the church of God."

The question of the future condition of infants, dying in infancy, according to the strict Calvinistic system, must be determined by the essential positions of that system, viz.: 1. Mankind are by nature burdened with guilt and depravity—exposed to the everlasting displeasure of God. 2. In dealing with infants as with those who reach the age of moral responsibility, God acts as a sovereign, determining the destiny of each and every one in the exercise of an optional power. 3. Regeneration is the exclusive work of God and is wrought in those and in those only who are embraced in the purpose of election. 4. In choosing men to eternal life God does not take into account as a reason or condition of his action *any thing* foreseen in them. 5. The decrees of election and preterition are, in the logical order, antecedent to and independent of the personal action of those embraced in them. 6. These decrees are eternal and immutable, and the number included in each is "so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished."

Two Important Questions.

The universal Protestant church agrees with Dr. Hodge in the view above expressed, and rejects with horror the dogma of infant damnation. This fact suggests two important questions to the discussion of which we invite special attention.

I. What proof, or even *presumption*, can the Scriptures afford, on the theory of strict Calvinism, that *all* infants dying in infancy are saved?

II. How can the *assumption* of universal infant salvation be reconciled with the Calvinistic theory of predestination?

These questions we will take up in their order.

Infants as Such.

I. What proof, or even *presumption*, can the Scriptures afford, on the theory of strict Calvinism, that *all* infants, dying such, are saved? The Calvinistic argument in support of the view that all infants, dying in infancy, are saved is, in substance, the following:

1. The language of Christ respecting little children as a *special class*, Luke xviii. 15, 16—"They brought unto him infants that he would touch them. . . . And he said, Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." (Matt. xviii. 10, 14.) The argument from this passage is thus stated by Dr. Shedd—Proposed Revision, etc., 89—"The Redeemer says this of infants *as such* and *because* they are infants, and, consequently, of *all* infants. When he says 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven,' he means that this kingdom belongs to them *as* poor in spirit, and consequently belongs to *all* the poor in spirit. No such declaration is made concerning the other classes of mankind. Infancy is the only age that is singled out by which to prove a membership in the kingdom of God from *the very age itself.* . . . With this teaching of revelation concerning the salvation of infants the Confession agrees. By positive assertion, it declares that there are 'elect infants dying in infancy;' and by total silence concerning non-elect infants dying in infancy it implies that there are none."

Upon this argument of Dr. Shedd we remark: (1) That the salvation of infants, as of adults, depends upon their election, and election according to Calvinism is, and must be, particular and individual. "Classical election is now, and ever has been, an Arminian doctrine, whether we think of

classes of babes or classes of adults. The divine election is an election of individuals in both cases, according to the conception of old Calvinists and the Westminster divines." (Briggs)

2. That if the language of Christ proves that infants *as such*, and, consequently, *all* infants are members of the kingdom of heaven, it proves that infants *as such*, and, consequently, *all* infants are elect, for election is the fundamental condition of the possibility of membership in the kingdom of heaven.

But the theory of strict Calvinism in teaching that the decrees of election and non-election are, in the logical order, antecedent to and independent of the action of men, as foreseen, necessarily teaches that the non-elect are such always, *such unborn, such at birth, such through infancy*. It is, then, impossible that Christ, according to this theory, could have taught that infants *as such*, and consequently, *all* infants are members of the kingdom of God.

3. That if all who die in infancy are saved their early death, as foreseen, was, or was not, a reason or condition of their election. If it was a reason or condition of their election, then the Calvinistic dogma that there is *nothing* in men which determined God to choose one man rather than another is annihilated. If it was not a reason or condition of their election, then those Calvinists who regard election as classical, in the case of infants dying in infancy, must hold that God chose unto eternal life an enormously large class of persons,—one-half the human race,—and yet, that, in including them all in the purpose of salvation, he did not take into account, as a reason or condition of his action, the only circumstance which belongs to them as a class, and which distinguishes them from the rest of the world, viz.: their early death. But if their early death as foreseen was not a reason or condition of their election, we would inquire, what possible ground there can be for the presumption, either that *all* of this class are elect, or that it contains a *larger number* of the elect than of the non-elect. If infants are under condemnation and exposed to eternal death; if God determines the destiny of each and every one of them in the exercise of an optional power; if those and those only who are elected can be saved; if *nothing*—not even early death—foreseen in those elected—had a place in the divine mind among the reasons or conditions of their election, *then it is morally certain that some, and in the highest degree probable that one-half of those dying in infancy perish*. Since, then, all the non-elect are such in infancy, the language of Christ which is applicable to all infants, cannot furnish even the slightest presumption of the salvation of all infants dying such. Strange as it may seem, some strict Calvinists regard Jesus' words as including infants as a class "among the number of those who have a *right* to the blessings of the atonement." The Scriptures teach that those who believe on Jesus Christ have a *right* to the blessings of the atonement, for they have fulfilled the condition upon which God has graciously promised to bestow these blessings. And so elect infants who are regenerated in infancy might be said to have a *right* to the blessings of justification and eternal life. But what possible warrant can there be for saying that infants, *as such*, all being burdened with guilt and depravity on the ground of which they are under condemnation to eternal punishment, have a *right* to regeneration, pardon and the felicity of the heavenly world?

4. Another argument is based on what the Bible teaches of the analogy between Adam and Christ in Rom. v. 18, 19;—"So then, as through one trespass the judgment came unto all men to condemnation; even so through one act of righteousness the free gift came unto all men to justification of life. For as through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous."

If this passage were held to teach that the condemnation which came upon all men through the disobedience of Adam was removed through the obedience of Jesus Christ, it could be urged as furnishing decisive proof of the salvation of all dying in infancy. But strict Calvinism denies this to be the teaching of the passage, and holds that all men are, before moral agency, in the same state of condemnation in which they would have been had no atonement been made; that those and those only are saved who are included in the purpose of election; that election, in the case of every individual, is a *secret* act of God's sovereignty as an optional power, and that the only *sure* sign of election is faith. It can find, therefore, in the analogy between Adam and Christ, not only no evidence that *all* infants dying in infancy are saved; it can find no evidence that *any* of them are saved.

5. Again, it is urged "that it is more congenial with the nature of God to bless than to curse, to save than to destroy."

(Charles Hodge.) But strict Calvinism teaches—at least a large part of the ablest representatives of this theory teach—that though it was optional with God to save all men, though he could have saved all without prejudice to the glory of any of his attributes, he nevertheless decreed, in the exercise of his sovereign pleasure, notwithstanding "it is more congenial with his nature to bless than to curse, to save than to destroy," to curse and destroy forever a large part of the human race. A sovereignty of this kind self-evidently precludes all warrant for confidence as to the salvation of those who die in infancy, as based on the teaching of Scripture respecting the compassionate and merciful nature of God.

6. It is further urged that "since Christ died for all, we have reason to believe that provision is made for the reception of Christ by infants in some other way than by personal faith—this being a condition which they are incapable of fulfilling." But according to the theory under consideration the non-elect who reach the age of responsibility are as incapable of exercising faith, by their own strength, or of doing anything that will secure the grace necessary to enable them to exercise faith, as they were at the age of infancy. God decreed from eternity, irrespective of any action on their part, as foreseen, to withhold from them, during the first hour, the first day, the first year,—during the whole period of their responsible agency,—the assistance without which it is impossible for them to escape from their inherited bondage which is "as terrible and remorseless as any imprisonment behind iron bars." If non-elect *adults* perish, notwithstanding their *utter inability* to repent and believe, or to do anything that will render the bestowment of regenerating grace—not certain, or probable—not even *possible*,—an inability not due to personal wrong-doing, but inborn, there can be no reason whatever for inferring that those who die in infancy are saved without personal faith, because such faith is *impossible* to them.

With Respect to the Doctrine of Predestination.

II. If, now, strict Calvinism assumes, as it does assume in our day,—an assumption, however, let it be remembered, in support of which it cannot, consistently with its own principles, produce any Scriptural evidence—that *all* dying in infancy are saved, the question will arise, how can this assumption be reconciled with the view that God elects an exceedingly large class—not one of the non-elect dying in infancy—and yet, excludes from among the reasons or conditions of his action the only circumstance which marks them as a special class—their early death? There is but one conceivable or supposable method of reconciliation, viz.: the death of those who die in infancy must be regarded, like regeneration and its immediate antecedents, as a divinely appointed result, or consequence, of their election.

According to this conception the purposes of election and non election, being in the logical order subsequent to the purpose to create the members of our race, must be viewed as embracing the individuals of each class (the elect and the non-elect) from the beginning of their existence in the womb,—since some die the very hour in which they begin to live,—and must be viewed as determining all the acts of God by his providence and spirit in relation to them. Of the *elect* it was determined: (1) That some—one-half the human race—should die before or soon after birth. (2) That others, numbering many millions, should be born idiotic, and should live beyond the age at which responsibility begins in the case of those who are mentally competent at birth. (3) That the rest—few as compared with those who die in infancy—should live for a period, longer or shorter, after reaching the age of accountability. Of the *non-elect*, however, it was determined that *all* should be born in a condition of mental soundness, and should live beyond, or up to, the commencement of moral agency.

In this conception we have a clear and adequate solution of the problem in hand—the reconciliation of the assumption that all who die before or soon after birth, are saved, with the position that in decreeing to save a part only of mankind God did not take into account as "conditions," or "moving causes" of his action, "*any thing* foreseen in them"—"*any thing* by which they were distinguished from other men." This idea renders the whole subject before us luminous. Of the *elect* some die in infancy, and some are congenital imbeciles—their early death and congenital imbecility being due to their election, which is the determining principle of all God's acts in relation to them from the first moment of their existence; but of the *non-elect* none are appointed to die in infancy, or to be born idiotic—their exemption from early death and from congenital idiocy being rendered certain and *necessary* by the decree of preterition.

This view we suppose to be the one most commonly held by strict Calvinistic theologians at the present time, as it is the only view which can reconcile the assumption of the universal salvation of infants with their theory.

Dr. Warfield—"That they die in infancy is not the *cause*, but the *effect* of God's mercy towards them."

Dr. Candlish—"It is on account of his atonement that infants die. Their salvation is therefore sure. Christ has purchased for himself the joy of taking them, while yet unconscious of guilt and corruption, to be with him in paradise. That any little children at all die,—that so many little children die,—is not the least among the benefits that flow from his interposition as a Saviour."

This opinion was held by Zwingli, Bishop Hooper, Toplady, and many others among the earlier Calvinists, and "has of late," says Dr. Warfield, "become the ruling view."

This conception gives the adherents of Calvinism who assume that *all* infants dying in infancy are saved, a way of escape from two otherwise insuperable difficulties: 1. The hopeless task of attempting to find evidence of the salvation of *all* infants, dying in infancy, in the representations of Scripture which apply to infants *as such*, that is, to *all* infants, a vast number of whom are non-elect, and whose salvation is, therefore, impossible. 2. The equally hopeless task of rendering it conceivable, or credible, that God included in the purpose of election *all* who die at an early age, and yet, excluded from the "conditions" or "causes" of his action in their election, the *foresight* of their early death. That all infants dying in infancy are saved, and that their early death is due to their election, are of necessity *pure assumptions*, admitting, on the Calvinistic hypothesis, no proof either rational or biblical. But since the first assumption is made by all Calvinists at the present time, and since the second one is rendered logically necessary by the first, it will be instructive to consider, in the light of these assumptions, the doctrine of sovereign predestination in its *mildest form*.

The Accepted View Examined.

God purposed to create, mediately or immediately, the individuals of the human race, and then, regarding them from the first moment of their existence as burdened with guilt and depravity, and condemnation to eternal death, on the ground of their union, real or constructive, with Adam, and excluding from the reasons of his action all points of difference between them (of moral difference there can be none, while unborn, or before the age of responsible action, and foresight of any difference resulting from personal action being consequent to and dependent upon the divine purposes), he decreed to bring some of them to the blessedness and glory of the heavenly world—which decree determined all his acts in relation to them, before and after birth, their discipline before regeneration, their regeneration, sanctification, glorification, etc.; and on the other hand, decreed to reject the rest—to withhold from them that almighty and effectual grace which is necessary in every instance to the production of repentance and faith, —the essential conditions of eternal life,— which decree is, in like manner, the determining principle of all his acts in relation to them from the beginning of their existence until and after death. The chief logical conclusions of this doctrine have been indicated, but they may be stated more fully as follows:

1. All infants are regarded by God as elect or non-elect (reprobate) from the first moment of their existence.

2. The decree of election rendered all included in it liable to be appointed to an early death—a liability which becomes a fact in the case of one-half of the human race.

3. The purpose of election also rendered all included in it liable to be appointed to be imbeciles—a liability which also becomes a fact in the case of many millions.

4. The decree of election also rendered those included in it liable to be appointed to live beyond, or up to, the beginning of moral agency—a liability which becomes a fact in the case of a number vast, indeed, but small as compared either with those who die in infancy, or with the non-elect.

5. The decree of preterition *necessarily* frees all embraced in it from liability to an early death, or necessarily involves their appointment to live to the age of moral action.

6. The decree of preterition also frees all embraced in it from liability to congenital imbecility. It is true that most of those included in the purpose of election are appointed to be born in a condition of mental soundness; but the difference between the two decrees, in this particular, is, that while the elect may, or may not be free, the non-elect *must* be free, from congenital imbecility, that is, if all infants are to be saved.

7. The decree of non-election renders it impossible for God himself to do anything, at any period of their life, for the salvation of those who are included in that decree; for the non-elect are such always, such unborn, such at birth, such in infancy, such through their whole life.

8. The decree of preterition, since it presupposes original sin, and has respect to, and is justified solely on the ground of, original sin, *necessarily* involves the decree to punish the non-elect for that sin, "which deserves eternal damnation."

Questions Suggested.

The consideration of this scheme suggests, among other questions, the following:

1. Does it not seem extraordinary, that, though more than half the human race are elected, all, or nearly all, the elect in heathen lands, and the vast majority of the elect in Christian lands, are appointed to an early death, and appointed to an early death *because* of their election.; whereas if they had been appointed to live to the age of adults, by far the larger part of the world's population, from the beginning of history, would have consisted of regenerate persons?

2. Does it not seem most extraordinary that that which of all calamities is universally regarded as the most terrible—congenital imbecility—should be due to the blessing of election?

3. Does it not seem most extraordinary that *all* the non-elect should be appointed to live to the period of responsibility, considering the fact that their damnation is not only certain, but *inevitable*, do what they can to secure eternal life, even in the way appointed in the gospel, and the further fact, that their guilt cannot but increase with the increase of the years of their life, thus rendering their final doom infinitely more dreadful than it would have been if they had been sent to hell on the day of their birth. See our last article in The Standard of April 14.

4. Is the early death of infants—of one-half of the human race—due to their election, or may not this result be due to the fact, infallibly known to God, that he could not save them, under the wisest method of providential and gracious action, in case they were appointed to live to the years of responsibility? According to this supposition their early death would be the indispensable condition of their participation in the mercy of God, and not an effect of his mercy already bestowed upon them in their election.

5. Is there any Scriptural warrant for the application of the doctrines of election and non-election to infants? Or are infants, *as such*, and consequently, *all* infants, being freed from condemnation through the atonement, embraced in the infinite love of God in the sense that had any of those who perished in the years of responsibility been appointed to die in infancy they would have been saved?

There is but one passage of Scripture [Rom. ix. 10–12] which affords any apparrent support to the dogma of infant reprobation; but the great body of the most competent interpreters do not teach that eternal results are involved in the original prophecy concerning Jacob and Esau. Dr. Hovey—Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans ix. 12—"To the question whether God's elective purpose regarding Jacob and Esau had reference to their temporal condition or to their eternal state, we should answer that, according to the apostle's representation, it had primary reference to their temporal state, and not so much to them as individuals as to their descendants. Paul certainly does not affirm in the next verse that Jacob was elected to eternal salvation and that Esau was reprobated to eternal death, but 'the elder shall serve the younger.' . . . We do not feel called upon to settle the eternal state of these individuals." Godet—Commentary on Romans ix. 13—"In speaking of Jacob and Esau, either as men or nations, neither Genesis nor Malachi nor St. Paul has *eternal salvation* in view." Schaff, Creed Revision, p. 26—"What is said in the same chapter about God loving Jacob and hating Esau, refers to their representative places in the history of Israel, but not to their eternal destination."

In this series of articles we have discussed in the main the following propositions, either avowed or logically involved in the theory of strict Calvinism.

1. That the sovereignty of God is a prerogative in the exercise of which he is absolutely free to will the exact opposite of what he does will in regard to the destiny of every member of our race—free to decree the salvation or the damnation of all, to elect those reprobated and reprobate those elected.

2. That there is *no difference* between men to which God has respect as a reason or condition or occasion of his action in

choosing or rejecting one man rather than another; in other words, that in this matter "God acts without reason or motive and simply from a blind impulse or unintelligent caprice."

3. That the decrees of election and preterition are, in the logical order, antecedent to and independent of the personal action of men as foreseen—a position which virtually involves the abhorrent doctrine "that God creates men in order to damn them."

4. That the perdition of a part of mankind—the non-elect—is not only certain but inevitable, do what they can to obtain eternal life, even in the way appointed in the gospel.

5. That God does not have love and compassion for all men in the sense of desiring to save each and every one of them, and therefore, that he is not dealing with all men in good faith.

6. That there is a class of "non-elect," "reprobate" infants; and that some of this class—in fact as many as of the "elect"—do not die in infancy is an assumption in support of which there can be no evidence rational or biblical according to the theory of strict Calvinism.

These difficulties which have been considered as involved in the system of strict Calvinism can neither be removed nor lessened by that type of Calvinism which recognizes the universality of the design of the atonement, affirmed *plenary natural ability* and *utter moral inability*, but denies the removal by the atonement of Jesus Christ of the sentence of condemnation brought by Adam upon his posterity.

I will add, in conclusion, that it is my purpose to prepare for THE STANDARD an article containing a series of propositions embodying my views on the subjects criticised in the preceding papers.

PROFESSOR DRIVER ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE BISHOP OF COLCHESTER.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), May, 1892.

I.

THE publication of Dr. Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" may be said to mark an epoch among English Christians in the history of the subjects of which he treats. It is, if not the first, at least the most complete attempt to popularise those conclusions which Dr. Driver claims to set forth as settled and established on the composition and dates of the books of the Old Testament. These conclusions are those of the school which is sometimes known as the "higher criticism," though Dr. Driver does not use this name, and which Bishop Ellicott ("Christus Comprobator") terms "analytical criticism." It will be convenient if in the present article we designate that school as rationalistic, and its exponents as rationalists; terms which, on their own principles, will be regarded by them as of honourable significance. In the volume before us, the rationalists, in the person of their champion, Dr. Driver, have descended from the *edita doctrina sapientum templa serena*, in which "analytical criticism" reigns supreme, and from which "non-experts" are rigorously excluded; they have come down into the world of ordinary intelligence, in which acquaintance with the niceties of Hebrew scholarship and ingenuity in literary dissection are not the only qualifications recognised, but reason and common-sense, and the power of judging fairly from evidence clearly put before us, can claim to be taken into the account as factors which cannot be ignored in the ultimate verdict to be pronounced.

If that verdict should turn out to be on the whole unfavourable to the rationalists, it will not be from any deficiencies in Dr. Driver, but from the inherent untenability of the conclusion which he seeks to establish. The criticism which disintegrates the Old Testament is not likely to obtain any exponent more acceptable to English readers than Dr. Driver. His style is singularly clear and forcible, free alike from obscurity and from affectation; his summing up of the contents of the various books, or, where necessary, of individual chapters, is a model of accurate statement, and will be found of great use to Biblical students, entirely apart from his speculations as to date or authorship. It cannot indeed quite be said that his book, as a whole, is interesting or attractive. The literary magician has yet to be born who could invest with grace or charm the minute dissections, microscopic grammatical analyses, and strange algebraical formulæ, of which a large part of the work consists. But at least he has presented even these in a form as little repulsive as possible. His tone is throughout respectful and even reverent; he is anxious to show that, though the tendency of much of his book is to impair the authenticity and credibility of the Old Testament Scriptures, he still leaves to the

believers in those Scriptures something—though *what*, it would not be in many cases easy to say. He is what is called a "moderate" critic. It is not clear, at first sight, what "moderation" has to do with a criticism which professes to be entirely scientific. We are not accustomed to hear of moderation in other departments of knowledge or investigation. A moderate physiologist or a moderate metaphysician would not be, at least to the present writer, an intelligible term—except, indeed, in a sense uncomplimentary to the person spoken of. But, as applied to Dr. Driver, the expression seems to mean that, though advocating rationalistic views, he yet writes as a believer and a Christian. He does not deny, but affirms, albeit in a non-natural sense, the "inspiration" of Holy Scripture; he does not deny, though he seeks to limit and minimise, the power of actual prediction possessed by the Hebrew prophets; he indicates (the nature of his subject did not require him plainly to exhibit) what may be called a reserve fund of substantial orthodoxy on the main points of the Christian faith, however inconsistent that position may logically be in one who cuts away all that part of the groundwork of the faith which is to be found in the Old Testament Scriptures. The well-known saying of St. Augustine, *Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet, Vetus in Novo patet*, has no meaning for Dr. Driver;* yet he does not deny, even in the Old Testament, a real divine element, a true "revelation."

On the other hand, there are certain noticeable features in Dr. Driver's book which materially detract from its value, and diminish, as it must be frankly said, his authority on controverted questions. The first of these is the grave defect, for which he excuses himself by want of space, that in a great many instances *he states his conclusions without stating his reasons for them.* It is not enough for us to be told that he has considered all that has to be said on the other side, and has found it to be insufficient. We want to be told *why* he considers it insufficient, in order that we may ascertain, not only what effect the evidence has had on Dr. Driver's mind, but what effect it will have on our own. We gladly allow the Regius Professor of Hebrew to be the highest authority in his own department, although even here we are not bound to consider him absolutely infallible; but in other matters, in which knowledge of Hebrew is not necessary for a decision, we cannot allow even Dr. Driver to be plaintiff, judge, and jury in one. When it is added that in many cases in which Dr. Driver has given his evidence, that evidence will be found (when examined) insufficient to bear out the conclusions he has based upon it, it will be seen that we are justified in protesting mildly against the unassuming arrogance, the dictatorial humility, with which Dr. Driver hints, rather than asserts, that arguments which have seemed conclusive to him must, without further discussion, be accepted by the rest of the world.

It is further to be noticed that, while Dr. Driver states the main conclusions of rationalistic criticism—such as the nature of the documents out of which the Pentateuch has been composed, or the bisection of Isaiah—with confident dogmatism, in the innumerable particulars which are required either to establish those conclusions, or to round them off and give them symmetrical completeness, he speaks with a hesitation and uncertainty which, if his subject were any other book than the Bible, would be regarded as materially detracting from the value that should be attached to his lucubrations. It would not be easy to find another work in which such terms as "it seems," or "it seems probable," occur so frequently. But this is not all. We descend from the probable to the possible. We are introduced to four different degrees of possibility: "it is not impossible;" "it is possible;" "it is quite possible;" "it is very possible." We have heard of a "low degree of probability"; all that Dr. Driver seeks to establish for many of his speculations and conjectures is a high degree of possibility. "It has been contended that probability is the guide of life; Dr. Driver will contend that possibility is the stay of his critical existence."* Stress is frequently laid on the "cumulative" force of the arguments by which the Old Testament is disintegrated; but this will depend, not on the number, but on the quality of the particles which form the cumulation; and if these have no more solid substance than such as Dr. Driver himself has ascribed to many of them, they will not count for very much. Grains of sand will never make a mountain, though they be numbered by thousands of millions.

It is perhaps no peculiarity of Dr. Driver as a controversialist that he often seems quite unable to appreciate or rightly to esti-

* He says (p. xv.): "Critical conclusions imply no change in the general position (apart from the interpretation of particular passages) that the Old Testament points forward prophetically to Christ." By the words in brackets the rest of the sentence appears to be rendered unmeaning.

* Rev. G. Ensor in *Record*, Feb. 19, 1892.

mate the arguments, or what is called the "standpoint," of his opponents. A writer who maintains the "traditional" view of any part of the Old Testament against the rationalists, may be dismissed by saying that he misses the point, or "beats the air," though no further information as to this fruitless labour is vouchsafed to us; or he is "unable to distinguish between a good argument and a bad," *i.e.*, between one which seems conclusive to Dr. Driver and one which does not: a theory differently constructed to his own "does not account for all the facts"; it being the very essence of the contention of Dr. Driver's opponents, that in numberless instances *there are no facts to be accounted for*, the place of facts being supplied by conjectures and imaginations.

Before proceeding further it may be well briefly to state the present position of the question as it is viewed by those who are bound by no preconceived theories as to the nature or extent of the inspiration of Holy Scripture, but who, as members of the Church of England, regard those Scriptures as the rule of faith and the ultimate test of doctrine.

No question can reasonably be raised as to the fact that the *fons et origo* of the disintegration of the Old Testament, which has been now for so many years attempted, is the determination of a large number of Continental scholars to reject the whole of the supernatural element which its books contain—with which, indeed, most of them are saturated and imbued. "We do not deem it unfair to say that the whole system of Old Testament criticism, as set forth at least by some of these foreign expositors, is based upon rejection of special revelation, miracles, and prophecy; in a word, the supernatural in all its relation to the chosen people." * Dr. Driver himself admits that Kuenen, the eminent Dutch scholar recently deceased, views Hebrew prophecy "from an avowedly naturalistic standpoint." †

Now, with writers not prepared to maintain that the supernatural or miraculous is *a priori* incredible, and unable to eliminate that element from the Old Testament, the only course left is to impugn the credibility of the books which compose it. And to this end, accordingly, all the labours of rationalistic critics, at home or on the Continent, have been directed. It was not enough to point out that many of the books had apparently, or even evidently, been compiled from various sources; these sources themselves must be shown to be of such late date as to invalidate their testimony to the events they narrate. Hence the attribution of the books of the Pentateuch to writers who lived centuries after the period treated of, and the dealing out of the fragments of those books among a variety of imaginary authors or documents, labelled respectively P. J., JE., &c., with a number of supplementary combinations. These documents are so frequently spoken of as though they had a real, substantial existence, like the acknowledged works of well-known authors, that it is well to remind ourselves, once for all, that they exist only in the speculations of German or Dutch scholars and their English followers, having no atom of proof except that which comes from what is called "internal evidence"—*i.e.*, the examination of the books themselves.

It may be asked, then, Have we no *external* evidence on the subject of the Old Testament Scriptures? We have, though it is only of one kind—the unbroken tradition of twenty-five centuries, which, as is well known, is on many points in direct conflict with the conclusions of rationalistic critics. This tradition cannot be ignored, but it may be rejected as worthless, and accordingly Dr. Driver rejects it, but, as usual, without assigning any reasons for doing so. He says (p. xxvii.): "On the authorship of the books of the Old Testament the Jews possess no tradition worthy of real credence or regard, but only vague and uncertain reminiscences, intermingled often with idle speculations." And again (p. xxxv.): "The age and authorship of the books of the Old Testament can be determined (so far as this is possible) only upon the basis of the internal evidence supplied by the books themselves, by methods such as those followed in the present volume; no external evidence worthy of credit exists." It would be interesting to know on what grounds the Jewish testimony on this head is to be entirely put out of court. Meantime, until this information is vouchsafed to us, it may be well to listen to the sober judgment of the Bishop of Durham ("Bible in the Church"):

> "The account given of the formation of the Old Testament appears to be in substance of the most venerable antiquity, and probably contains the most ancient opinion of the Jews upon the subject which has been preserved. In estimating its historical value, it is well to bear in mind the tenacity with which Orientals retain a definite traditional record; and yet more the special repugnance of the Eastern Jews to committing their

* Bishop Ellicott: "Christus Comprobator," p. 15.
† "Introduction to the Old Testament," p. 194.

opinions to writing, till the successive persecutions and destruction of their schools made this the only method of saving them from oblivion."

That the credibility of the historical Scriptures is in direct proportion to their nearness to the events recorded, is a principle stated by Dr. Driver himself (p. xvii.) : "While in the Old Testament there are instances in which we can have no assurance that an event was recorded until many centuries after its occurrence, in the New Testament the interval at most is not more than thirty to fifty years." The inference intended to be drawn is obvious enough. The Gospels are credible because they record events soon after they happened : the critics have proved that the Old Testament Scriptures were not written till many centuries after the events which they describe ; therefore the Old Testament Scriptures are not credible. In plain words, many of the events recorded in Genesis or Exodus *never happened ;* in some cases the persons spoken of *never existed.*

It will be well for Christians seriously to consider what they are giving up, if they adopt those views of the Old Testament to which Dr. Driver's book points the way, though he seldom openly advocates them. All the familiar figures and events of the childhood of the world disappear at once. No such beings as Adam or Eve, Cain or Abel, Seth or Enoch, Methuselah or Noah, ever existed. No ark rested on Mount Ararat, for no flood on which that ark could have floated ever happened ; no Tower of Babel was ever built or destroyed ; no rainbow ever shone on the world as a sign from heaven ; how could it to the legendary survivors of an imaginary Deluge ? With Abraham, even the critics of the rationalistic school allow us to find ourselves on historical ground. "History," we have often been told, "begins with Abraham." But, it is hardly necessary to state, the mere outspoken rationalists eliminate in the later history, as in the earlier, everything which savours of the supernatural or the miraculous. With them, the "Heroes of Hebrew History" (to borrow Bishop Wilberforce's alliterative title), even when historical personality is allowed to them, are robbed of everything which speaks of a divine mission or divinely bestowed powers. Take the greatest, after Moses, of the Hebrew prophets—Elijah, and see what remains to him after the "supernatural" element has been got rid of. No fire from heaven descended on Elijah's sacrifice at Carmel ; no ravens fed the prophet morning and evening at the brook Cherith ; no widow's cruse was miraculously replenished, no widow's son was raised from death, at his word ; no spare meal "baken on the coals" supported him for forty days and forty nights ; no "still small voice" thrilled through him in Horeb ; no chariots of fire carried him from Elisha's gaze into heaven. Elisha himself, it need hardly be said, fares much worse than his master at the hands of the critics. Even with the cautious and "moderate" Dr. Driver the narratives of Elisha's miracles "exhibit the traditions respecting Elisha as they were current in prophetic circles in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C."

In this general disappearance of the greatest saints and prophets of the Old Testament, it is not easy to say who remains. *Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.* Here and there the figure of some sage or hero, reft indeed of its historical clothing, but not of its actual personality, is still to be seen clinging to some emergent fact, too solid and stubborn to be washed away by the waves of rationalistic criticism. Thus Moses is spared to us : "It cannot be doubted," says Dr. Driver, "that Moses was the ultimate founder of both the national and religious life of Israel." * He is careful to inform us in a note that in this rehabilitation of Moses he has the support of Wellhausen, and that the verdict of both is "endorsed by Kuenen." Nothing like this, surely, has been heard of since the days of the first French Revolution, when the National Assembly "decreed the existence of the Supreme Being." One trembles to think what might have become of Moses if his historical existence had not been "endorsed by Kuenen." Would the great Prophet and Lawgiver have remained in a state of suspended animation, or conditional existence, until some fresh shifting of the critical kaleidoscope should bring together again the elements which go to make up his personality ?

The discrediting process to which the historical books of the Old Testament have been subjected culminates in the treatment which Deuteronomy has received. This book, according to Dr. Driver and the authorities whom he follows, is the work of an unknown author, living probably in the reign of Josiah (more than eight hundred years after the date commonly given for the death of Moses), who was anxious to impress on the people the duty of more strictly observing their national religion, and for

* Daniel is also spared, though the writings ascribed to him are pronounced to be spurious : "Daniel, it cannot be doubted, was a historical person" (p. 479).

this purpose, to use Dr. Driver's words, "gave articulate expression to the thoughts and feelings *which it was presumed that the person in question would have entertained.*" Thus the undoubted literary merit and high spiritual tone of the author of Deuteronomy are acknowledged, but at the expense of his moral character. For it is useless for Dr. Driver to endeavor to rebut the charge of forgery. This can only be done by the assertion that the author, "in framing discourses appropriate to Moses' situation, especially if, as is probable, the elements were provided for him by tradition, would be doing nothing inconsistent with the literary usages of his age and people." This is a characteristic instance of Dr. Driver's audacity in assertion. He knows, and can know, nothing whatever of the "literary usages" of the times of Josiah, except what he learns from the books themselves which he is examining, and which profess to have been written in, or to give an account of, those times. He assumes, therefore, the very point which has to be proved, namely, that a pious Jew in the reign of Josiah would have felt himself justified in putting into the mouth of Moses a series of discourses, not one of which, as he was well aware, Moses ever uttered; the only semblance of proof being that in other books—Joshua, Kings, and Chronicles—ideas and idioms are ascribed to the characters introduced which, in Dr. Driver's opinion, could not have in fact belonged to them. The statement that Deuteronomy "does not claim to have been written by Moses," because Moses is spoken of in the third person, is one which, in the author's own opinion, "may seem paradoxical." Paradoxical does not seem quite the right epithet. The same argument applied to the Book of Jonah has been characterised as "utterly trivial."* It can hardly be seriously maintained that the real authorship of a book depends on the question whether the writer does or does not speak of himself in the first person. Some editions of Virgil contain four lines appended to the fourth book of the Georgics, "Illo Virgilium me tempore," &c., and four more prefixed to the first book of the Æneid, "Ille ego qui quondam," &c., which directly claim those poems for Virgil as their author. Can it be seriously argued that because those lines have been generally pronounced to be spurious there is any doubt that the Georgics and the Æneid were the work of Virgil? Moreover, this suggestion is an endeavour to throw the inquirer off the scent. The real question is not, who wielded the pen by which Deuteronomy in its original form was written; but, did Moses, or did he not, say and do the things which in Deuteronomy he is alleged to have said and done? If he did not, then the book is a forgery, and its author is a forger.

If a modern literary man discovered a few fragments, possibly a scene or two, which could be proved almost beyond doubt to be the genuine work of Shakespeare; if from these fragments he proceeded to construct a five-act play, in which almost the whole of the plot, the characters, the dialogue were entirely his own; and if he were then to publish his work as a newly discovered play of Shakespeare, by what name, if not by that of forgery, would his action be properly characterised? And in what respect would such a literary fraud differ from the action of the "Deuteronomist," who, on the slender foundation of a good deal of floating tradition, and possibly a very small amount of written record, proceeded to build up Deuteronomy as we now have it—a lengthy record of what Moses might have said and done, but for his saying and doing which the writer had very little authority, save his own imagination and sense of historical fitness—in what respect, save in the infinitely graver issues which are involved, when the deception touches the region of the moral and spiritual so widely and so profoundly as does the fifth book of the Old Testament?

Indeed, the "pious fraud" ascribed to the writer of Deuteronomy is, to ordinary minds, hardly distinguishable from what, in the common business of life, would be called by a much plainer and uglier name. "It is supposed that in the later days of Israel's history, some prophet, or priest, or scribe, having the benevolent wish to provide his people with better laws than they then possessed, composed some parts of those now contained in the Pentateuch; but fearing lest his own name should prove of insufficient weight to secure the accomplishment of his wish, he thought it wiser to affix to his composition the venerable name of Moses. A process strikingly similar to what sometimes takes place nowadays, when some clerk, or manager, or secretary, having a benevolent wish to provide his creditors with just payment for his debts, writes out a cheque upon a bank; but fearing lest his own name should not commend itself sufficiently to the bankers, affixes to his cheque his master's name in-

* "Speaker's Commentary," p. 583.

stead. Such transactions are commonly denoted by a rather ugly name; nor is the goodness of the end in view considered in any way to justify the use of such means." *

Space will hardly allow us to do more than to notice one assumption which underlies the whole of Dr. Driver's book, and which cannot be permitted to pass without challenge. We are frequently told that on the conclusions which Dr. Driver supports relating to the date and authorship of the books of the Old Testament "critics are agreed," or that there is "no substantial difference of opinion" among critics. And this agreement is regarded as definitely closing the questions at issue. *Roma locuta est, causa finita est.* If Continental and English scholars of one school—others of a different school being on that very account regarded as a *quantité négligeable*—are agreed that the writers of Exodus, or Deuteronomy, or Isaiah xl.–lxvi., lived some centuries after the dates formerly assigned to them, it will be as absurd hereafter to maintain the contrary opinion, as to maintain that the sun revolves round the earth, not the earth round the sun.

Now, the *fact* of this agreement need not be questioned. The contraditions of rationalistic critics are, no doubt, considerable. If they have been exaggerated by others, they have been minimised or concealed by Dr. Driver, though even his own pages bear witness to their existence †; nor can we forget the fact that on so important a point as what is called the *Grundschrift* of the "Hexateuch" there is a direct conflict of opinion among foreign critics, some counting as latest in date the same document which others hold to be the earliest. Still, we are not concerned to deny that, on many points, some of them of great importance, Dr. Driver can claim the *consensus* of a large number of Continental scholars, and those, perhaps, of greater eminence than their opponents; though it must always be remembered that no small part of this eminence is derived from the fact that they are the party of attack, not of defence. It is much easier to be brilliant and acute, to display "critical tact," &c., when demolishing than when defending a time-honoured position. But, the fact of the agreement being granted, what we desire to protest against is the assumption that that agreement settles finally and for ever the questions debated. The history of German rationalistic theology as it concerns the New Testament, the oblivion or discredit which has overtaken, one by one, theories supported by the most ponderous learning and the most ingenious speculation, might have made Dr. Driver less confident in the finality of the views which he now advocates. Of many of those theories and speculations it may be said *etiam periere ruinæ*. Why should we suppose that the fantastic fabrics which we have now been considering are destined to a longer duration?

But this is not all. The glorification of the agreement among rationalistic critics is not only belied by past experience; it is vicious in principle, for it is an appeal not to reason, but to authority.* We are referred from one scholar to another, each repeating (except when he contradicts) the opinions of his predecessors, but seldom supporting those opinions by arguments which, on any other subject, would be considered to be of any weight or value; and when a sufficiently long *catena* has thus been established, we are bidden to hold our tongues in the presence of so much collected and unanimous wisdom. What we shall do, on the contrary, is to examine these opinions and arguments by the light of ordinary intelligence, and to give them just as much or as little weight as that intelligence allows us, without being in the least frightened by a long array of the names of learned Germans or Dutchmen. If we find in Dr. Driver himself unsound argument, unwarrantable inference, suppression or perversion of inconvenient facts, we shall not hesitate to say so in the plainest and most unmistakable manner.† Why should he expect us to pay greater deference to others whom we have no reason to suppose his superiors in learning or acumen? Graf, and Kuenen, and Wellhausen, and the rest, are to us no objects of superstitious veneration, but simply learned and acute scholars, whose labours, like those of others before them equally learned and acute, may in some cases be found to have made valuable additions to the "ample page" of human knowledge, while in other cases they may after a while be consigned to the limbo of the obsolete and the forgotten. *Opinionum commenta delet dies; naturæ judicia confirmat.* The mediæval Schoolmen possessed erudition and industry not to be surpassed even in a modern German professor, and would certainly have claimed to be considered "scientific," had that term been known in their days. Yet the world has acquiesced

* G. Warington: "When was the Pentateuch written?"
† *E.g.*, pp. 47, 68, 77. 91, 134, 165, 446.

* See article in *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1892.
† The writer may be allowed to call attention to the article in the *Church Quarterly*. to the papers by the Rev. J. J. Lias, now appearing in the *Churchman*, and to "The Low in the Prophets," by Prof. Stanley Leathes.

in the verdict of Dean Milman on the Schoolmen: "The tomes of scholastic divinity may be compared with the pyramids of Egypt, which stand in that rude majesty which is commanding from the display of immense human power, yet oppressive from the sense of the waste of that power for no discoverable use. Whoever penetrates within finds himself bewildered and lost in a labyrinth of small, dark, intricate passages and chambers, devoid of grandeur, devoid of solemnity; he may wander without end, and find nothing!" * Or, to take a modern instance: who denies the learning or the acumen of Bishop Warburton? Yet who now reads or cares for the "Divine Legation?"

It may be worth while to quote here the words of an authority whom all will regard with respect—the late Bishop Lightfoot; words spoken by him, in his criticisms on the work entitled "Supernatural Religion," specially of the rationalistic critics of the New Testament, but equally applicable when we are considering the Old Testament.

"There is [he says] at least a presumption (though in individual cases it may prove false on examination) that the historical sense of seventeen or eighteen centuries is larger and truer than the critical insight of one late half-century. The idols of our cave never present themselves in a more alluring form than when they appear as 'the spirit of the age.' It is comparatively easy to resist the fallacies of past times, but it is most difficult to escape the infection of the intellectual atmosphere in which we live. I ask myself, for instance, whether one who lived in the age of the Rabbis would have been altogether right in resigning himself to the immediate current of intellectual thought, because he saw, or seemed to see, that it was setting strongly in one direction. . . . The comparison is not without its use. Here were men eminently learned, painstaking, minute; eminently ingenious also, and in a certain sense eminently critical. In accumulating and assorting facts—such facts as lay within their reach—and in the general thoroughness of their work, the Rabbis of Jewish exegesis might well bear comparison with the Rabbis of neologian criticism. They reigned supreme in their own circles for a time; their work has not been without its fruits; many useful suggestions have gone to swell the intellectual and moral inheritance of later years; but their characteristic teaching, which they themselves would have regarded as their chief claim to immortality, has long since been consigned to oblivion. It might be minute and searching, but it was conceived in a false vein; it was essentially unhistorical, and therefore it could not live. The modern negative school of criticism seems to me equally perverse and unreal, though in a different way; and therefore I anticipate for it the same fate."

Before proceeding to give a few specimens of the untrustworthiness of Dr. Driver's citations, when he is seeking to discover a plurality of authors, or different "strata" of documents, in the narrative portions of the Old Testament, it may be well to remark generally that this kind of criticism, unless the divergences indicated are very plain and unmistakable, is necessarily unreliable, because it imports the habits and usages of modern "literature" into the writings of ancient authors, whom we have no reason for supposing to have grasped even the idea of literature, much less to have been acquainted with its rules and canons as they are now established and observed. Much of this dissection amounts to no more than this—that the writer criticised has produced a work palpably loose, unartificial, and inexact; deficient in order—logical or chronological—in method, sequence, arrangement, and coherence; traversed and, as it were, veined by large sections of repetition, omission, or even contradiction; whereas, if the modern critic had had before him the same materials as the writer whom he is dissecting, he would have produced a work free from all or most of the defects which have been enumerated. But we have no right, because a writer of two or three thousand years ago, living and writing, as we are often reminded, in an "uncritical" age, observed none of the principles which govern modern composition, therefore to assume that every blemish, "quas aut incuria fudit, aut humana parum cavit natura," implies a patchwork of different authors or documents. Some of the writers may have had some vague notions of writing as an art, of what Dr. Driver calls "literary form"; but in the case of others we have no reason for supposing that they were more than what the Jews called two of the writers of the New Testament, St. Peter and St. John, *ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται*, "unlearned and ignorant men." Such learning as they may have possessed knew nothing of modern literary criticism, its limitations or its models. The critics have laboured hard to prove a composite *authorship;* they have not been able to conceive the idea of a composite *mind.* Yet there is abundant evidence that the mind of many writers of all ages is of that character. This is observable as much in the writers of the New Testament as in those of the Old. The same peculiarities — the inconsistencies, repetitions, digressions, the return, in the narrative or the argument, to the point which we have reached long before, so that we seem to be going over the same ground twice—all or some of these are as observable

* "History of Latin Christianity," bk. xiv. ch. iii.

in the four Gospels, or in the Epistles of St. Paul and St. John, as in any of the older Scriptures. Yet the genuineness and the authenticity of those Gospels and Epistles have stood the most searching tests which hostile criticism has been able to apply to them. Why should we expect to find in the older writers that literary exactness, the absence of which detracts in no degree from the authority of the newer?

But in truth the features in the Old Testament Scriptures which have furnished rationalistic critics with so much material for dissection are not peculiar to writers who, whatever their dates, lived confessedly in times and under conditions as different as possible from those of modern Europe; they are found equally to characterise all untrained, amateur authors, even at the present day. Let Dr. Driver try the experiment of assigning to any one of ordinary intelligence and education, but unskilled in writing as an art, the task of composing a narrative even of events which have come immediately under his own cognisance. It will be contrary to all experience if the result does not exhibit in one writer the very same peculiarities which make the critics distribute Samuel or Kings among several writers. Nay, the same thing is observable even in writings which aspire to the dignity of "literature." I transcribe the following from "Palmerston," in the Prime Ministers of Queen Victoria series: "Canning died in August 1827, and was succeeded by Lord Goderich as Prime Minister, to be soon succeeded by the Duke of Wellington. His Ministry lasted only four months, but it marks the starting-point of English progress in the nineteenth century. Troublous times followed. Canning was succeeded by Lord Goderich, whose Ministry lasted only eight days longer than Canning's, and on January 25, 1828, the Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister."

Here the writer twice informs us, within a dozen lines, that Goderich succeeded Canning, and Wellington Goderich, as Premiers. Moreover, the words in the second sentence, "his Ministry," though grammatically referring to Wellington, are clearly intended to refer to Goderich. It is too early as yet to discern here a dual authorship; but a "higher critic" of the future may well discover that these sentences could not have been written by the same man; and his conjectures may be assisted by the mysterious suggestiveness which will be given by the titles of the author, "The Marquis of Lorne, K.T." It is no exaggeration to say that, on the principles of rationalistic criticism, if a writer, in describing the politics of the present day, should speak sometimes of the Tory party, sometimes of the Conservative party, sometimes of the party of Lord Salisbury, it would be held, either that three different parties were described, or that the book was the work of three different hands. The minutest and most microscopic differences are laid hold of, in order to give some plausibility to the theory of the composite nature of the narrative. A reasonable consideration of many of the passages adduced will, I think, lead us to the conclusion—unacceptable perhaps to the upholders, if any such there be, of verbal and mechanical inspiration, and of course rejected as insufficient by critics of the destructive school—that while the writer always knew what he had to tell, he did not always know how to tell it.

We proceed to take a few specimens of the grounds on which Dr. Driver disintegrates the narrative portions of the Old Testament.

I. *The narrative of the spies* (Num. xiii. xiv.). "The double character of the narrative," says Dr. Driver, "is very evident;" and the remainder of the paragraph shows his meaning to be, not only that the narrative is derived from two sources, but that these two sources contradict each other. A careful examination of the passage shows that this contradiction can only be maintained on three assumptions: first, that the same writer can never repeat himself; second, that Caleb and Joshua must have said exactly the same thing on every occasion, and could not have said *one thing to Moses, and another to the people;* third, that when Caleb alone is mentioned without Joshua, or *vice versâ*, such mention of the one excludes the other; the writer being thus credited with acquaintance with the legal maxim, "Expressio unius est exclusio alterius." It is submitted that without these assumptions nothing is proved except the loose unartistic character of the narrative.

II. *The craft of the Gibeonites* (Josh. ix.). Probably no more simple, straightforward narrative than this could be found in the whole of the Old Testament. The most attentive perusal fails to discern the place where the dissecting-knife of the critic is to enter. It will hardly be believed that in this passage Dr. Driver discovers *three* different sources, marked respectively P., JE., and D. The force of analytical absurdity could hardly go further than this. Even the usual assumption, that a writer can never repeat himself, will not help the

critic here. Vv. 22, 23, 26, 27 are not, as Dr. Driver assumes to be evident, "a narrative *parallel* to that of vv. 17–21"—*i.e.*, another account of the same facts; they relate different facts—viz., first the announcement by Joshua, and then the carrying out, of the sentence on the Gibeonites which had (v. 21) been determined on or suggested by the "princes."

III. *The oppressions of Solomon* (1 Kings v. ix. xi.). Dr. Driver asserts that ix. 22 conflicts with v. 13 and xi. 28. Let us examine the passages. The first named states that "of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bondsmen"—*i.e.*, slaves; the second states that Solomon raised a "levy" or tribute of forced labour "out of all Israel," 30,000 men being required to labour at Lebanon one month in every three; the third passage states that Solomon made Jeroboam "ruler over all the charge (or burden) of the house of Joseph." There is not even the semblance of justification for saying that these statements conflict with each other. To be a slave is one thing; to be subject to the obligation of forced labour is quite another thing. No one has maintained that military conscription is slavery. The third passage has no relevance whatever. The word for "charge" or "burden" is a perfectly general one, as much applicable to the compulsion of paying tax or tribute, as to that of slavery or forced labour. It is difficult to characterise as it deserves a criticism which on such grounds as these seeks to prove the composite origin, and thereby (it must always be remembered) to impair the authenticity and credibility, of the Old Testament Scriptures.

IV. *The date of Joel.* In every case where no indications of the date of a work are unmistakably given, Dr. Driver apparently feels it his duty to assign to every book as late a date as possible. In bringing down Joel to the post-exilic period—a conclusion, it is fair to say, which Dr. Driver himself asserts with some appearance of hesitation—he does not seem to find much support even in the theories of Continental critics. He devotes what, in proportion to the limits imposed upon him, is a large space, to an examination of the opinion of one scholar (Credner) that Joel belongs to the reign of Joash; and a somewhat shorter space to the indications which, in his view, the book itself furnishes of a post-exilic date. To the arguments of Credner he applies the epithet "specious," while those upholding the later date are described as "forcible." Two observations may be made here. Dr. Driver says that Joel's figure (iii. 18) of the "fountain that shall come forth of the house of the Lord, and shall water the valley of Shittim," and the prediction of the outpouring of the Spirit (ii. 28–32), quoted by St. Peter on the Day of Pentecost, are "based" on two passages of Ezekiel. Here, therefore, as in other places, he *assumes the very point at issue*—viz., that Joel is of a later age than Ezekiel. Secondly, Dr. Driver entirely ignores the view that the date of Joel is that of the reign, not of Joash, but of Uzziah. This view, according to Mr. Meyrick in the "Speaker's Commentary," is supported by nineteen different critics or commentators, including the names of Rosenmüller, Eichhorn, De Wette, Knobel, Hengstenberg, Davidson, &c. Dr. Driver, therefore, could not have been unaware that this view has met with very large support from competent critics. Was it fair to suppress all mention of it, and present to the reader only the alternatives of a date in the reign of Joash, or a post-exilic date?

The above are only specimens of passages in which Dr. Driver's conclusions are not borne out by the data which he himself furnishes; others of similar character will be easily found by any reader who compares the numerous references to passages of Scripture with the passages themselves.

It should be added, in concluding the present article, that the position which the writer would desire to maintain respecting the character and composition of the books of the Old Testament by no means ignores the extent to which, in the phrase of the Bishop of Gloucester,* the traditional view has been "rectified" by the criticisms and researches of modern scholars. Their labours, as Bishop Lightfoot says of those of the Jewish Rabbis, "have not been without fruit": they have at least compelled us to take a more rational view of the nature and extent of inspiration. No one now denies that many of the books of the Old Testament are in the nature of compilations, or that (as in the well-known case of the double account of David's introduction to Saul) the compiler has sometimes embodied in his work narratives the details of which are inconsistent with each other. But this is not the same thing as to bring down the sources of the compilation to so late and uncertain a date as to impair their trustworthiness. No one, again, doubts that in the Old Testament as we have it there are many omissions, repetitions, additions,

* "Christus Comprobator," pp. 25, 45.

glosses, corruptions and falsifications of the text. This admission is rejected as insufficient by Dr. Driver, because it does not square with his theory of the late date of the original documents themselves; yet he does not hesitate to make use of it when it suits his purpose. With this admission, we need not scruple to agree with Dr. Driver that it is "not easy to reconcile with historical probability" the narrative of Numbers xxxi., in which it is recorded how "12,000 Israelite warriors, without losing a man, slew all the males and married women of Midian, took captive 32,000 virgins, and brought back 800,000 head of cattle, besides other booty;" or that the figures in Jud. xx. 17, *seqq.*, as in many other places of the Old Testament, are "incredibly large." No one considers the attribution of Proverbs or Ecclesiastes to Solomon, or of many of the Psalms to David, as a matter to be determined only by tradition. Nor would the assignment of Isaiah xl.–lxvi. to a pseudo-Isaiah be in itself a point of much importance, were it not clear that the bias which has influenced the rationalistic critics is the determination that Isaiah *must not be allowed to have predicted anything which happened long after his own time.* He foresaw events which were to take place in a few years, just as Horace Walpole and other observers foresaw the impending Revolution from the corruptions of French society under Louis XV.; but the outlook of any more distant prophetic prevision must be denied to him at all hazards. Thus, in treating of one of the earlier chapters which it is proposed to detach from Isaiah, Dr. Driver informs us that certain critics agree in supposing the prediction to refer to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, "and ascribe it accordingly to a prophet living towards the close of the Exile." The *naïveté* of that "accordingly" is wonderful. The events referred to occurred nearly 200 years after the time of Isaiah; therefore he could not have predicted them. No further argument is needed.

That these admissions, and the fullest and freest discussion and examination both of the books themselves and of all that has been written about them by critics of all schools, will in the end establish the authority of the Old Testament on a yet firmer basis, the present writer does not for a moment doubt. The suggestion that such discussions should be carried on in Latin, so that those who compose our ordinary congregations should know and hear nothing about them, does not seem a helpful one. By all means let us have any amount of "free handling" of the sacred records, and let it be open as well as free. To suppress or to conceal is not to answer. There is a story in Livy, told also with variations by Pliny, and referred to by St. Augustine in the "De Civitate Dei," to this effect: In the year after the founding of Rome 571, on the land of a certain L. Petillius, a plough struck against some object, which proved to be two stone chests with inscriptions. One, which professed to have contained the body of King Numa Pompilius, was empty; the other contained fourteen books, in two bundles of seven each, written by the same king, and still intact 450 years after his death. These books, when examined by several persons, and eventually by the Senate, were judged to contain dangerous matter concerning the origin and meaning of the religious rites which Numa had established: "pleraque dissolvendarum religionum esse." It was accordingly decreed that these books should be publicly burnt, and this sentence was carried out: "libri in comitio, igne a victimariis facto, in conspectu populi cremati sunt." It is not desirable that the clergy of the Church of England should have the will, even if they had the power, to act as the *victimarii* in committing to the flames of condemnation any work, however crude or fantastic, however hostile to received faith, by which earnest and often even devout men have endeavoured to elucidate, even when they have only succeeded in obscuring or evaporating, the meaning and use of those venerable writings which the Church of Jesus Christ has received as among its chief treasures from the Church of Moses and of Abraham.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY AND THE DELUGE.

BY THE REV. J. LANGTON CLARKE.

From *Good Words* (London), June, 1892.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1890,* which article he has followed up by a somewhat similar one, entitled "Hasisadra's Adventure," in the June number of last year, makes great fun of the idea that a partial deluge, that is to say, a deluge in the Mesopotamian valley, may have taken place as the Bible describes the occurrence. Let it be clearly understood that it is not the miraculous element in the Biblical account

* Reprinted in THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE for October, 1890, with a reply by Sir J. Wm. Dawson, LL.D.

which is the present object of his ridicule, but his contention is that a great deal at any rate of what happened is clearly stated to have happened by natural means; that the account clearly represents God as working out His design by natural laws; whereas criticism, based on assured physical knowledge, can show that any one who refuses to allow that the Biblical record is devoid of all historical truth is constrained to admit that various monstrous and absurd violations of well-established natural laws must have taken place. The object, then, of the writer of this article is, while by no means presuming to assert that the Deluge *did* take place in the Mesopotamian valley, to show that not only is it quite unnecessary for any one who wishes to reconcile the Bible with science to take his seat on either horn of the dilemma which Professor Huxley has proposed, but that, on the contrary, if the Deluge did take place in the Mesopotamian valley, then those very phenomena, on the supposed occurrence of which he pours such a flood of ridicule, might not improbably occur.

I must begin by quoting that part of his article (July, 1890) which deals with the hypothesis of a partial Deluge. He says—

"I, for one, fully agree with Professor Diestel that the motive, or generative incident of the whole story, is to be sought in the occasionally excessive and desolating floods of the Euphrates and Tigris. Let us, provisionally, accept the theory of a partial deluge, and try to form a clear mental picture of the occurrence. Let us suppose that, for forty days and forty nights, such a vast quantity of water was poured upon the ground that the whole surface of Mesopotamia was covered by water to a depth certainly greater, probably much greater, than 15 cubits, or 20 feet (Gen. vii. 20). The inundation prevails upon the earth for 150 days; then the flood gradually decreases until, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, the ark, which had previously floated on its surface, grounds on the mountains of Ararat (Gen. viii. 34). Then, as Diestel has acutely pointed out ("Sintflut," p. 13), we are to imagine the further subsidence of the flood to take place so gradually that it was not until nearly two months and a half after this time (that is to say, on the first day of the tenth month) that the tops of the mountains became visible. Hence it follows that, if the ark drew as much as 20 feet of water, the level of the inundation fell very slowly—at the rate of only a few inches a day—until the top of the mountain on which it rested became visible. This is an amount of movement which, if it took place in the sea, would be overlooked by ordinary people on the shore. But the Mesopotamian plain slopes gently from an elevation of 500 to 600 feet at its northern end, to the sea at its southern end, with hardly so much as a notable ridge to break its uniform flatness for 300 to 400 miles. These being the conditions of the case, the following inquiry naturally presents itself; not, be it observed, as a recondite problem, generated by modern speculation, but as a plain suggestion flowing out of that very ordinary and archaic piece of knowledge that water cannot be piled up in a heap like sand, or that it seeks the lowest level. When, after 150 days, 'the fountains also of the deep, and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained' (Gen. viii. 2), what prevented the mass of water, several, possibly very many fathoms deep, which covered, say, the present site of Bagdad, from sweeping seaward in a furious torrent, and, in a very few hours, leaving, not only the 'tops of the mountains,' but the whole plain, save any minor depressions, bare? How could its subsidence, by any possibility, be an affair of weeks and months? And if this difficulty is not enough, let any one try to imagine how a mass of water, several, perhaps very many, fathoms deep, could be accumulated on a flat surface of land rising well above the sea, and separated from it by no sort of barrier. Most people know Lord's cricket ground. Would it not be in absurd contradiction to our common knowledge of the properties of water to imagine that, if all the mains of all the waterworks of London were turned on to it, they could maintain a heap of water twenty feet deep over its level surface? Is it not obvious that the water, whatever momentary accumulation might take place at first, would not stop there, but that it would dash like a mighty mill-race southwards down the gentle slope which ends in the Thames? And is it not further obvious, that whatever depth of water might be maintained over the cricket ground, so long as all the mains poured on to it, everything which floated there would be speedily whirled away by the current like a cork in a gutter when the rain pours? But if this is so, then it is no less certain that Noah's deeply laden, sailless, oarless, rudderless craft, if by good fortune it escaped capsizing in whirlpools, or having its bottom knocked into holes by snags (like those which prove fatal even to well-built steamers on the Mississippi in our day), would have speedily found itself a good way down the Persian Gulf, and not long after in the Indian Ocean, somewhere between Arabia and Hindostan. Even if, eventually, the ark might have gone ashore, with other jetsam and flotsam, on the coast of Arabia or Hindostan, or of the Maldives, or of Madagascar, its return to the mountains of Ararat would have been a miracle more stupendous than all the rest. Thus the last state of the would-be reconcilers is worse than the first. All that they have done is to transfer the contradictions to established truth from the region of science proper to that of common information and common sense. For, really, the assertion that the surface of a body of deep water, to which no addition was made, and which there was nothing to stop from running into the sea, sank at the rate of only a few inches, or even feet a day, simply outrages the most ordinary and familiar teachings of every man's daily experience. A child may see the folly of it."

And after some additional remarks which it is not necessary to quote, Professor Huxley proceeds—

"Thus in view, not, I repeat, of the recondite speculations of infidel philosophers, but in the face of the plainest and most commonplace of ascertained facts, the story of the Noachian Deluge has no more claim to credit than that of Deucalion; and whether it was, or was not, suggested by the familiar acquaintance of the originators with the

effects of unusually great overflows of the Tigris and Euphrates, it is utterly devoid of historical truth. That is, in my judgment, the necessary result of the application of criticism, based on assured physical knowledge, to the story of the Deluge."

Now if we condense Professor Huxley's argument and put it in the form of a syllogism, his major premiss is—"All vast bodies of water, under such and such conditions, behave in such and such ways."

His minor premiss is—"This is a vast body of water under such conditions."

His conclusion—"Therefore, this vast body of water must have behaved in such and such ways."

But if either major or minor premiss is untrue or unproven, then Professor Huxley's conclusion is either untrue or unproven. I add "unproven," because it is obvious that when he comes forward to charge reconcilers with worse than childish folly in holding that a partial deluge may have taken place in the Mesopotamian valley, substantially as the Bible describes it in its physical features, the onus lies upon him of proving his charge up to the hilt. And indeed he appears to be aware of the obligation, for on page 11 of his article he says—

"Now, when those who put their trust in scientific methods of ascertaining the truth in the province of natural history find themselves confronted or opposed on their own ground by ecclesiastical pretensions to better knowledge, *it is, undoubtedly, most desirable for them to make sure that their conclusions, whatever they may be, are well founded.* And if they put aside the unauthorised interference with their business, and relegate the Pentateuchal history to the region of pure fiction, *they are bound to assure themselves that they do so because the plainest teachings of nature* (*apart from all doubtful speculations*) *are irreconcilable with the assertions which they reject.*"

Let us, then, examine Professor Huxley's premisses, both major and minor.

And first, as regards the major premiss. I am fain to confess at once that it is perfectly unassailable. Not even a "reconciler" could hope to shake it. The amount of assured physical knowledge upon which it is based is simply portentous!

1. Water will run down hill when there is nothing to prevent it.

2. When water runs down hill in vast quantities it is pretty sure to destroy any perishable article that gets in the way of its furious torrent.

3. Neither arks, nor any other sailless, oarless, rudderless craft will make their way hundreds of miles *against* a tremendous current.

4. Water will subside in a tank, say, 400 miles long by 150 broad, a good deal quicker than 20 feet in two months and a half, *when one end of it is out.*

I was not aware that it had been reserved for modern science to make these discoveries. Why "criticism based on assured physical knowledge" should have waited till close upon the end of the nineteenth century to detect these fatal flaws in the hypothesis of a partial deluge, it is hard to see.

Having then been so unsuccessful in our examination of Professor Huxley's major premiss, let us now turn to the minor, to which he seems to have given so little attention, and which, nevertheless, is the hinge on which his whole argument turns. And when I look for proofs of the minor premiss, not only do I find none, but, on the contrary, he appears to have entirely overlooked considerations which, though I cannot find that they have hitherto been noticed in connection with the question, would yet seem to force themselves upon the attention of any one studying it so exhaustively as Professor Huxley professes to have done.

If any one will look at the new Relief Atlas published by Messrs. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., or at Plate 7 of Keith Johnston's School Atlas of Physical Geography (of which our cut on page 293 is a reproduction), or, better still, at his Wall Map (physical) of Asia, they will see at a glance that the whole of the Mesopotamian valley and the Persian Gulf *is entirely surrounded by high ground, except at one point—the Strait of Ormus.*

Plate 7 of Johnston's Physical Atlas and his Wall Map show that the brown line, which indicates table-lands and mountains from 2,000 to 5,000 feet high, *runs entirely round this most remarkable basin, the only outlet from which is the Strait of Ormus.*

That extraordinary barrier, which stretches almost entirely across the southern end of the Persian Gulf, is stated in the new "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. ii., page 238, to be composed of mountains averaging from 2,000 to 3,000 feet in height, and terminates in Cape Musandam, which is not more than about thirty-five miles from the opposite coast.

Now all we have to suppose is that, at the time of the Deluge, this Strait of Ormus either did not exist, or was temporarily blocked to the same height as the rest of the barrier, or even to half the height, and it will be seen that the whole of Professor Huxley's argument is swept away as clean

as, according to him, the ark ought to have been.

I. The Persian Gulf may, at the time of the Deluge, have been *an isolated body of water like the Caspian Sea*, cut off from the closely adjoining waters of the Indian Ocean by the continuation to the opposite mainland of that barrier range which is now broken through at the Strait of Ormus.

This barrier range may easily have been broken through at Ormus since the Deluge. De la Beche (*Geological Observer*, p. 640) says, "Contemporaneously produced ranges of mountains, *and even portions of them*, may have been acted upon very variously." An eminent geologist whom the writer consulted told him that this barrier, if it ever stretched right across, would undoubtedly be what geologists call "a line of weakness." It also lies in that great region which, as a reference to Plate 5 of Johnston's School Physical Atlas will show, is specially liable to earthquakes. Many extracts might be quoted to show that earthquakes are quite competent to produce such a rupture. I will only give one from Hughes' "Physical Geography," which is amply sufficient.

On page 216, speaking of the effects of the Calabrian earthquakes of 1783—1786, he says—

"The changes consequent on this lengthened period of disaster were of the most striking description. *Mountains were cleft asunder*, high cliffs tumbled down, rivers turned from their beds or dammed up in their courses, lakes formed, valleys elevated into hills, deep chasms opened, the physical aspect of the country changed."

It is also to be observed that on each side of this barrier there is powerful water action, which would soon clear away the shattered débris left by repeated earthquakes of great severity. And it is, besides, extremely improbable that the waters on each side would be at the same level when the breach was made, in which case the scouring effect at first would be tremendous.

My first supposition, then, is that at the time of the Deluge the Persian Gulf was an isolated body of water, like the Caspian or the Dead Sea, shut off from the Indian Ocean by the barrier range which is now broken through at Ormus.

2. But a second fair and reasonable supposition is, that the Persian Gulf may have been at the time of the Deluge, as it is now, connected with the Indian Ocean by the Strait of Ormus, and that at the time of the Deluge it was temporarily separated from it by a dam thrown up from the floor of the Strait by volcanic action, all traces of which dam may have long since been removed by the powerful water action on both sides of it, and by other causes, even without taking into account a possible subsequent subsidence of the whole mass.

That this is no wild supposition many facts will testify. De la Beche, *Geological Observer*, p. 70, says—

"We have had evidence in our time, so lately as 1831, of the uprise of a volcano through the sea between Pantellaria and Sicily, and from deep water. . . . The upper part above the sea at least, seemed to have been solely composed of ashes, cinders, and fragments of stone, commonly small. . . . An island so composed could not long resist the destructive action of the breakers, and thus, as soon as the supply of ashes, cinders, and fragments of rock ceased, it was cut away by them and reduced to a shoal."

De la Beche, p. 100, says—

"A submarine volcanic eruption in 1811 off the Azores formed an island 300 feet high, and about a mile in circumference, and the island subsequently disappeared; but whether simply by the action of the breakers alone, *or by the subsidence of the main mass beneath*, or from both causes, accounts do not enable us to judge."

Dr. Geikie, in his "Text-Book of Geology," p. 250, says—

"In the year 1796 the island of Johanna Bogoslawa in Alaska appeared above the water, *and in four years had grown into a volcanic cone the summit of which was* 3,000 *feet above sea-level.*"

There are abundant signs of volcanic action in the Persian Gulf itself and in the neighbourhood. It is well known that volcanoes throwing up vast quantities of mud exist on the shores of the Caspian Sea, and these mud volcanoes are also found just outside the entrance to the Persian Gulf. There is recorded in the Geological Society's Journal a discussion on a paper by Lieutenant Stiffe on the mud craters which are found along the northern coast of the Arabian Sea outside the Persian Gulf. He mentions that he found off Jashak, which is near the entrance to the Gulf, a *submarine* mud-crater *composed of clay so tenacious that the lead could hardly be disengaged when let go on it.* It is true that he himself was inclined to attribute these mud craters to hydrostatic pressure rather than volcanic action, but he did not speak positively, and the meeting was decidedly of opinion that they *were* due to volcanic action. And he himself says that although he had observed no traces of volcanic action *on that coast* (*i.e.* between the Persian Gulf and India) yet "*within the Persian Gulf, a similar formation, which extends along the entire north coast and forms all the*

large islands, has been much disturbed by the protrusion of recent volcanic matter."

I have not the space, nor the time, nor yet the knowledge or capacity, to deal with such questions as they ought to be dealt with; but enough has been said to show that there is no outrageous and more than childish folly in supposing that, without any violation of natural law, the Strait of Ormus may, at the time of the Deluge, have been blocked either permanently or temporarily, to the height of say, 1,000 feet, which is quite enough for my purpose, though it may easily have been blocked to double the height. And if the Strait of Ormus *was* blocked, how harmless do all the shafts of Professor Huxley's ridicule fall, and how wonderfully does the description given in the Bible agree with what would probably occur!

It seems impossible to doubt, when we read the plain statement of Gen. vii. 4, that *rain* was the principal, at any rate, if not the sole cause of the Deluge. It is true that in Gen. vii. 11, when the commencement of the Deluge is described, the expression is used, "the same day all the fountains of the great deep were broken up"; but that expression is too vague and poetical to allow of any argument being built upon it; and therefore, though it might easily be made to lend itself to the support of either of the hypotheses suggested in this paper, it will be better to leave it out of account, at all events for the present.

It will probably surprise most readers of this periodical, as much as it surprised me, to learn from Symons' *British Journal of Meteorology* that, on one occasion, rain has fallen in this country *at the rate* of 12 *inches per hour*. There was one half-minute during the storm of July 23, 1878, when that enormous rate was recorded by competent observers.

The same journal, giving a summary of violent torrential rainfalls in this country in recent years, says, "One inch has fallen in less than ten minutes. Two inches have fallen in twenty minutes. Three inches have fallen in less than an hour" (the exact figures are 3.28 inches in 58 minutes).

It is also stated in the new "Encyclopædia Britannica," that "At Joyeuse, in France, 31.17 inches fell in 22 hours; at Genoa, 30 inches in 24 hours; at Gibraltar, 33 inches in 26 hours; on the hills above Bombay, 24 inches *in one night;* and on the Khasi Hills, India, 30 inches *on each of five successive days.*"

The Surveyor-General, in his report of damage done by a storm at Hong Kong, May 29 and 30, 1889, says, "In designing works in which it is necessary to provide for a maximum fall, it would, in my opinion, be unsafe, in the light of recent experience, to calculate on a smaller fall than four inches per hour."

Now the account in Genesis implies that the rainfall which caused the Deluge was the most tremendous that ever has been since man was on the earth, or that ever will be. I am going, then, to assume that rain, at the rate of 4 inches per hour, fell for 40 days and 40 nights over the whole of the area which drains into the Persian Gulf. The *rate*, of course, has over and over again been far exceeded; it is the continuance of such a rate for so long a time that has never been approached; but I have yet to learn that any scientific man of the present day would venture to pronounce it physically impossible that such a rainfall should take place over a circumscribed area; or that Professor Huxley would, on the occurrence of such a phenomenon, thenceforth profess himself a believer in miracles. Also it is not necessary that the rate of 4 inches per hour should have been uniform throughout the 40 days. At one time the rate may have been much more than 12 inches per hour; at another it may have been much less than one inch. There may have been a succession of what are known as "cloud-bursts," of which an United States Official Report says, that the amount of water poured down during the occurrence of these phenomena can be described by no word less emphatic than the word *enormous*. Again, I should wish it to be observed that I am leaving out of account the enormous volume of water which would descend into the Mesopotamian valley from the melting of the snows in the highlands and on the mountains that would be caused by the continued downpour of rain. Professor Huxley, in his article entitled "Hasisadra's Adventure," in the June (1891) number of the *Nineteenth Century*, says—

> "But when the snows accumulated in the upper basins of the great rivers (Euphrates and Tigris) during the winter melt under the hot sunshine of spring they rapidly rise, and at length overflow their banks, covering the alluvial plain with a vast inland sea interrupted only by the higher ridges and hummocks which form islands in a seemingly boundless expanse of water."

Taking the rainfall, then, at the rate of 4 inches per hour, let us make a little calculation. Four inches per hour is 96 inches, or 8 feet, every 24 hours. Multiplying this by 40, we find that the entire

rainfall during the 40 days and 40 nights was 320 feet on every square inch of ground that drains into the Persian Gulf. I do not pretend to speak with anything approaching to accuracy, but I think I am understating rather than overstating, when I estimate the drainage basin of the Persian Gulf at four times the area of the gulf itself. All this water, leaving out some small deductions which are not worth taking into account, would find its way into the Persian Gulf; and as the rain fell not only on the dry land, but also on the Gulf, its level would be raised 5 times 320, or 1,600 feet, supposing, that is, the Gulf to remain its original size; but as, when it rose, it would overflow the Mesopotamian valley, and besides, cover a larger area, its rise would be proportionately diminished. The calculation is far beyond me; but it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that there would be a depth of water at the southern end of the Mesopotamian plain of, say, 800 feet, and at its northern end, if Professor Huxley is correct, of from 200 to 300 feet. This would be more than sufficient to drown all the inhabitants, even if they lived not only on the fertile southern part of the plain, as is most likely, but also at its unfertile northern end.

But we must return to the commencement of the Deluge, and we shall see what has become of every one of Professor Huxley's objections.

The water begins to run down hill in furious torrents; it does not stop at any imaginary or miraculous barrier at the southern end of the plain, but runs into the Persian Gulf, as well-behaved water should do. But *then* it *does* begin to run *up* hill; for as the Gulf, from which there is no outlet, rises, the horrified dwellers on the Mesopotamian plain, who have taken refuge on the eminences to which they were wont to betake themselves in "the occasionally excessive and desolating floods of the Euphrates and Tigris," see the waters of the Gulf backing up on the dry land, and slowly but surely advancing upon them.

But what has become of Noah all this time? Has he, with his ark and all that it contained, been swept away to destruction, as criticism based on assured physical knowledge declares positively he must have been? Nothing of the sort. Even apart from divine instruction, it seems reasonable to suppose that, considering his age and experience, he was not quite such a simpleton as to build his ark right in the channel of any probable or possible furious seaward torrent. All he had to do was, either by divine instruction, or from his own knowledge of the country and common sense combined, to build the ark in such a position that no seaward current could reach it, whether from the Euphrates and Tigris, or from any of their affluents.

Suppose, then, the ark to be built in such a position on some ridge or rising ground in the plain, and the downpour to begin. No seaward current, however furious, could touch it; but after a time, as the level of the Persian Gulf rose, the waters, not being able to escape either at its southern end or at the sides, would begin to back up upon the plain; and it is very easy to imagine the ark placed in such a position that if it was calm weather, as the account certainly seems to imply (not a word being said about wind during the rising of the waters), the description of the Bible might be exactly true. "And the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth. And the waters prevailed, and increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters."

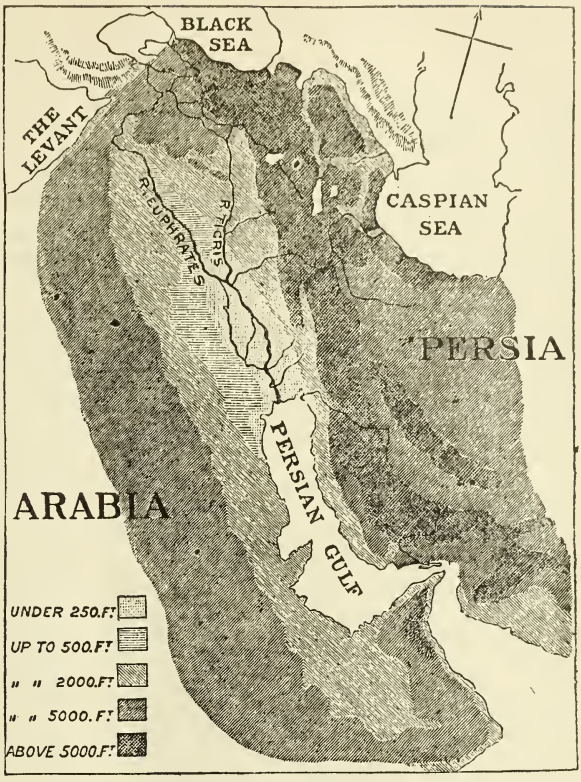
And which way would it go?

If we try to form a mental picture of this stage of the Deluge, we shall see a vast inland sea, some 150 miles, or far more, in breadth, with a tremendous stream pouring into its northern end about the centre, and perhaps 60 miles or more of quiet water, only disturbed by smaller affluents and mountain torrents on either side of the great central stream. Taking the total rise of the Persian Gulf to be 800 feet, this would be a rise of 20 feet per 24 hours for 40 days, which would be about the same rise as a very mild tide; and I presume that, even in the absence of any wind, the rising water, when it reached the ark in sufficient depth to float it, would drift the ark with it, just as the rising tide tends to bring floating things towards the shore. And if it is allowable to suppose that, without any violation of natural laws, there may have been a southerly or south-easterly breeze blowing, then the ark would drift decidedly towards the northern end of the plain, where it afterwards grounded.

And, now, as regards the very slow subsidence of the flood waters, which Professor Huxley thinks so absurd. What else *could* happen if the view that I am taking is correct? If, at the time of the Deluge, the Persian Gulf was unconnected with the Indian Ocean, then *evaporation* would be the sole cause of the subsidence.* If, on the

* In case some readers might think that if the Persian Gulf were shut off permanently from the Indian Ocean, the influx

other hand, there was only a temporary obstruction of the Strait of Ormus by matter thrown up from the floor of the ocean, then this dam, tenacious perhaps (see above) in its own nature, and strengthened, as it would be, on the Persian Gulf side by the enormous amount of floating and other drift brought down by so tremendous a rainfall, might only very gradually succumb to the action of breakers ; and so two causes would be at work to lower the waters, namely, evaporation and the gradual lowering of the dam.



The language of the Bible seems strongly to point to extraordinary evaporation as a principal, if not the only cause of the subsidence of the waters—"*And God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged.*" Almost the first words in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" article "Evaporation" confirm this view—"The rate at which evaporation takes place depends on the temperature of the liquid or solid, the extent of the exposed surface, and the facility with which the gaseous particles can escape from the neighbourhood of the surface, either by diffusion through the air, or by the motion of the air itself. *Hence a strong wind will generally accelerate the process of drying.*" To determine the rate of subsidence from the data in Genesis would seem to be a most difficult and complicated problem. Indeed, I very much doubt whether anything is there recorded which would enable us to determine it, even approximately. Also it is far beyond my powers to attempt to calculate what rate of subsidence could be brought about in such a body of water by extraordinary evaporation alone. The only point it appears necessary to notice in connection with the question is this :—It seems to be generally taken for granted that by the seven-and-twentieth day of the second month of the following year, the waters had returned to the same level they were at before the Deluge ; but the Bible does not say so ; it does not say that the *whole* earth was dried, but only that "The earth was dried." And this expression, connected as it is with the command to go forth from the ark, may reasonably mean only that enough of the earth in the immediate neighbourhood of the ark was dried to furnish room and sustenance for its inhabitants. Evaporation, or the continual lowering of the dam in the Strait of Ormus, or both causes combined, would continually increase this area ; but it may have been many years before the Persian Gulf returned to its former level (if it was, and continued to be for any length of time, an isolated body of water), or to the level of the Indian Ocean. All such questions as these are, of course, debatable ; but one thing is perfectly clear, viz., that if the basin of the Mesopotamian valley and Persian Gulf was entirely surrounded, whether permanently or temporarily, by high lands at the time of the Deluge, the subsidence of the waters must have been very slow and gradual, as the Bible represents them to have been.

Here, then, my argument proper with Professor Huxley ends. But there is still one sentence of his which it is desirable to notice. He says : "The necessary assumption of a partial Deluge—that the Hebrew writer must have meant low *hills* when he said 'high *mountains*,' is quite untenable." It would appear from this that Professor

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of two great rivers would prevent any subsidence of the waters from evaporation, let me remind them that even in the more northerly Caspian Sea, evaporation consumes a far greater influx of waters ; so that the level, if it changes at all, is sinking rather than rising. And de la Beche (*Geological Observer*, p. 104), speaking of the Persian Gulf, says :—"From existing information we should anticipate that the supply of water would not equal the evaporation."

Huxley is not aware that our distinction between hills and mountains does not exist in Hebrew; and that the Hebrew word translated "mountains" in Gen. vii. 20 is precisely the same word as that translated "hills" in the previous verse. It is indeed astonishing to find that one, who has lately posed before the world as competent to judge between opposing theories of Old Testament criticism, does not himself possess an elementary knowledge of Hebrew; but an accomplished Hebrew scholar, whom I consulted as to whether I was justified in charging Professor Huxley with ignorance of the Hebrew language, writes to me—"I think you are fully justified in assuming that no Hebrew scholar would feel himself at liberty to assert, as Huxley has done, that the writer of Genesis, when he speaks of mountains, could not have meant what we should call hills, and, consequently, that the sentence you have criticised betrays ignorance of the Hebrew language." He also says, "You are unquestionably right in maintaining that our distinction between hills and mountains does not exist in Hebrew." And he concludes in a sentence which puts the matter in an admirably clear light to the English reader; "In short," he says, "the signification of הר (har) is as elastic as that of the French 'Mont,' which designates alike the highest mountain in Europe (Mont Blanc), and a certain hill in the environs of Paris (Montmartre)."

There is a passage in the *Contemporary Review* for May, 1891 (article, Sedgmoor, p. 698), which most strikingly shows what a "hill" may mean in the estimation of a dweller in the plains:—

"It has always been the vital point, in building a cottage on the moor, to find a site on a 'hill.' 'Do you call *this* a hill?' said a traveller to a native of the Zoyland, *surveying the apparently unbroken sweep of level land about him.* 'Well, sir, *we call it a hill, because it is never under water in the winter.*'"

It is obvious that a very insignificant eminence would be a "high hill" in the estimation of this dweller in the plain.

Want of space obliges me to omit some matters of interest, and also to deal very briefly with those that have been mentioned; and it only remains for me to express a hope that readers will take notice of the points at issue. What Professor Huxley has to do is to make good, if he can, his own words:—

"Thus the last state of the reconcilers is worse than the first. All that they have done is to transfer the contradictions to established truth from the region of science proper to that of common observation and common sense."

What he has to do is to show, if he can, that what is here said—

"Simply outrages the most ordinary and familiar teachings of every man's daily experience. A child may see the folly of it."

What he has to do is, not to convict me of some slip here and there, as he may easily do, for I make no pretensions whatever to accurate, or even to "parochial," knowledge in matters of science, being only a humble and purblind dweller in that region of common sense and common observation which Professor Huxley, much to my surprise, tells us lies apart from the region of science proper; but what he has to do is, either to show that my main position, together with the inferences I draw from it, is absurd, involving monstrous improbabilities and violations of natural law, or else to acknowledge that in coming forward to charge with worse than childish folly those who believe that the Deluge may have taken place in the Mesopotamian valley substantially as the Bible describes it, he has, to put it as mildly as possible, made a very serious mistake.

CHURCH FOLK-LORE.

BY J. EDWARD VAUX.

From *The Newbery House Magazine* (London), June, 1892.

V.

Funeral Customs.

It is, as everybody knows, a very usual thing now for Church-folk to have choral funerals. There are, however, still amongst us persons who regard such functions as mere modern "Ritualistic innovations." It will be well for them to know that chorally conducted funerals were common in times long gone by.

Any one who would have confirmation of this could scarcely do better than turn over the pages of the most curious and valuable "Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen & Merchant Taylor of London." In these modern days we should style him "undertaker." I will quote three entries in his diary, which occur in the same page of the Camden Society's edition of the volume. They relate to the year 1560—*i.e.*, Queen Elizabeth's third year. It will be observed that

"spellynge" was not one of the diarist's strong points.

"The xij day, the wyche was the vj day of January, was bered in Sant Benettes at Powlles warff master Antony Hyll, on of the quen('s) gentyllan of —— and a xvj clarkes syngyng to the chyrche, and to the berehyng."

"The xvj day of January was bered at St. Aus(tin's) Jakobe the husser of Powlles skolle; at hys berehyng wher a xx clarkes syngyng ym to the chyrche, and (there) was a sermon."

This second extract shows that funerals with choral adjuncts were not at that day confined to persons of social standing or of municipal importance, but were accorded even to the usher of a boys' school.

The next entry is rather different in type, but for that reason is perhaps the more valuable.

"The xvij day of January was bered in Sant Peters in Cornehylle master Flammoke grocer, and he gayff mony gownes of blake, and he gayff to pore men—and he was cared to the chyrche without syngyng or clarkes, and at the chyrche a sphalme song after Genevay, and a sermon, and bered contenentt."

This last word is rather puzzling. Machyn probably meant "incontinently"—that is to say, "without delay," in which sense it was used at that period, as, *e.g.*, by Spenser.

The ringing of the "Passing Bell" on the event of a parishioner being moribund was a very old custom. So far as post-Reformation usage is concerned, we find the practice enjoined by the advertisements of 1564, wherein it is prescribed that "When any Christian body is in passing, that the bell be tolled, and that the Curate be specially called for to comfort the sick person: and after the time of his passing to ring no more than one short peal; and one before the burial, and one after the burial."

It is worth noting that the substance of this direction is embodied in the sixty-seventh Canon of 1603.

"Passing," of course, signifies "departing," and the bell was intended as a warning to those alive and well that one of their neighbours was passing from life to death. No doubt the original design was to ask the prayers of all who heard it in behalf of the departing soul. As Shakespeare says in "Henry IV.":

> "And his tongue
> Sounds ever after as a sudden bell
> Remembered knolling a departed friend."

The custom of ringing the Church bell in connection with the death of a parishioner is now a much less religious custom practically than it formerly was. It has degenerated into the mere announcement to the people that one of their neighbours has gone to his last account. Hence it should now be called the "Passed" rather than the "Passing" bell. Wheatley, whose famous commentary on the Book of Common Prayer first appeared in 1710, takes the high religious view of the object of the Passing Bell. He says: "Our Church, in imitation of the Saints in former ages, calls on the minister and others who are at hand, to assist their brother in his last extremity. In order to this she directs that when any one is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, &c."

There is a passage in Bourne's "Antiquitates Vulgares," which shows that in the Puritan days the tolling of the Passing Bell was regarded as superstitious, and was consequently given up. The dates in the extract below should be carefully noted. Everybody knows that Charles I. was beheaded in 1649, and that until 1660, when the Restoration took place, the Puritans reigned supreme.

In a Vestry book belonging to the parish of All Saints, Newcastle-on-Tyne, it is observable that the tolling of the bell is not mentioned in the parish accounts from the year 1649 to 1655, when we find orders in a Vestry holden January 21, 1655, that it shall again be tolled. The order stands thus:

> "Whereas for some years past the collecting of the duty for bell and tolling hath been foreborne and laid aside, which hath much lessened the revenue of the church, by which and such like means it is brought into delapidation, and having now taken the same into serious consideration and fully debated the objections made by some against the same, and having had the judgment of our ministers concerning any superstition that might be in it, which being made clear, it is this day ordered that from henceforth the Church officer appointed thereunto do collect the same, and bring the money unto the Churchwardens, and that those who desire to have the bells may freely have them as formerly, paying the accustomed fees."

Bourne seems to have had a very distinct idea as to the elasticity of the Puritan conscience, for he humorously adds:—"It is certain they laid it aside because they thought it (the bell-ringing) superstitious, and it is probable, if they had not wanted money, they had not seen the contrary."

It is well to notify what these fees were in amount. Strutt, in his "Manners and Customs," quotes from the parish books of Wolchurch thus:

"The Clerk to have for tollynge of the passynge belle for manne, womanne, or childes, if it be in the day, fourpence; if it be in the night, eightpence for the same."

The next point to deal with is the garb which of yore was commonly used at funerals.

At Ballintoy, County Antrim, it was customary to wear white linen scarves, or, in case of poverty, white calico. These were gathered into a shoulder-knot, and worn diagonally across the breast. This custom was observed by rich and poor alike, and both at men's and women's funerals. The clergyman, who always received one of these scarves, hung it over the side of the reading-desk.

In Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and the West Riding, it was, and perhaps still is, the custom for the friends of a deceased person to provide a broad black silk scarf, with a shoulder-knot, to be worn by the officiating clergyman across the surplice at the funeral, and also on the Sunday following when the mourners were present at service. These scarves were regarded as the perquisite of the priest's wife, who stored them up till she had enough material to make a silk dress or mantle.

Black or white "frocks" were formerly worn at Arundel by men of the poorer class when they attended funerals. Of late years these have been gradually going out of use. The last funeral at which all the bearers wore white frocks took place, I am told, some twenty or more years ago. Black frocks, I believe, are still occasionally worn there for mourning, and are to be seen in church now and then. Fifty years ago frocks were worn by all of the labouring class—white in summer, and brown or slate-coloured in winter. The parish clerk appeared in his desk vested, like the rest of the poorer members of the congregation, in a white or slate-coloured frock.

In Cornwall, as I understand, it used to be the custom at children's funerals for little girls, dressed in light colours, to carry one of their own sex to the grave.

Next as to the construction of graves. I have met with nothing peculiar save in the southwestern part of England. The Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Wells, has told me that it was formerly the custom there to plaster the inside of the grave in the churchyard, when the deceased was a plasterer by trade. Some forty or more years ago the churchyard was closed by Order of Council, and an attempt was made to continue the old custom in the Cemetery. One such case is known to have occurred among the earlier interments there, but the practice was stopped by the Burial Board.

When I was assistant curate at St. Mary Church, near Torquay, about forty years ago, the graves there were most carefully made, and were all lined with white plaster. This must have been an ancient custom, for I remember that when an old grave in a somewhat crowded churchyard happened to be broken into by the sexton's spade, there was the white line of plaster distinctly visible. In the days I speak of the soil was scrupulously removed from the edge of the grave, and the ground made quite flat and smooth. About six inches or so of the surface round the excavation, which was always cut very clean at the edge, fine black ashes were spread as a sort of border, and very neat and nice it looked. I do not know whether this custom is still retained, but I hope so.

As regards the treatment of brick graves in South Devon I have no personal knowledge, but a resident there has told me that it is customary to whitewash the bricks in the lower part of the grave, and to colour the upper part black.

We may now go on to inquire how the body was conveyed to the grave, and the ceremonies which accompanied its removal. Some of these usages are still kept up.

Fifteen years ago the *Nottingham Advertiser* contained a description of a village funeral, and stated that "the coffin was borne by napkins, which, we may observe, is an old Nottinghamshire custom."

The use of towels at funerals was customary at Hopton, in the parish of Mirfield, Yorkshire, till about half a century ago. They used to be kept at the Hall for that purpose, and were lent to the neighbours. The custom of lending the napkins ceased, because once, when the old ones were worn out, the lady at the Hall provided new ones of cotton, and the people would not use them, linen being "the proper thing."

Hymn singing was not at all uncommon in funeral processions in days gone by, and I am told that at Tudhoe, Durham, so late as 1867 hymns were sung by the mourners on the way from the house through the village, and a clergyman, who was Vicar at Garton-in-the-Wolds from 1852 to 1859, says that at that time the custom of singing in procession was observed there. At Highclere I am told that the parish clerk used to sing Ps. xc. before the corpse on its way to the grave.

Years ago a friend told me that at Redcar, in Cleveland, in the earlier part of this century, a funeral was preceded by a public breakfast. Then the coffin was carried slung on towels knotted together, and borne by relays of men to Maroke, up the old "corpse way," and bumped upon a heap of stones three times. This was an ancient resting-place at the top of the hill. The "Lamentation of a Sinner" was then sung, and the procession moved to the churchyard, every man, woman, and child receiving a dole of sixpence as they entered.

The "Lamentation of a Sinner" may be found printed at the end of the Metrical Psalms in most old Prayer Books.

At Broadwas, in Worcestershire, it was usual at funerals for the bearers, on reaching the Church Walk, to set down the coffin, and as they stood around it to bow to it.

A gentleman at Ulverstone tells me that in the Furness district of North Lancashire, the practice of singing hymns at funerals on the way to church is still kept up. Another custom is to give to each attendant a small cake, called "Arval Bread," which he or she was expected to carry home and eat with the rest of the family. A large number of persons were usually "bidden," and it was considered a great slight if each family did not send at least one representative. In some parts, where the parish church was at a considerable distance, the body was carried on a bier, and there were stones set up at intervals along the roadside to place it on while the bearers were changing places. These were called "Resting Stones." In these districts it was common to distribute the "Arval Bread" before starting, and each person received a cake and a quarter. The quarter was usually eaten during a halt, about halfway to the church.

As to these burial repasts. In the neighbourhood of Kirkdale, Yorkshire, the cake, which is always handed round at the feast beforehand, is arranged in a peculiar manner. Should a deceased woman have had a child in her unmarried state the ceremony is omitted. I believe that in such a case the bell is not rung the usual number of times indicating the sex of the departed. In parts of Cheshire an almost invariable accompaniment to the funeral banquet was a kind of thick milk pudding with cinnamon in it.

In some parts of Westmoreland, on the occasion of a funeral, very large numbers of friends and neighbours are invited by messengers sent on what are termed "bidding rounds." One or two persons are "bidden" from each house. They are bidden for about 10 o'clock A.M., to the house of the deceased; the hour of "lifting the corpse" is also named, as well as the entertainment provided for visitors. In the case of well-to-do families there is generally dinner prepared at one or more of the village inns. Sometimes as many as from eighty to a hundred will have dinner at each. In the case of poorer families refreshment is provided at the house, generally in the shape of a substantial tea.

As regards the custom of "bidding rounds," I understand that at Penrith the town crier gives notice of funerals, after ringing his bell, thus: "I am to give notice to all friends and neighbours that are inclined, the funeral of —— of —— Street, takes place at — o'clock." Mr. Mackenzie Walcot tells us that he has twice seen the bellman precede the funeral of undergraduates at Oxford; once to a College Chapel and once to St. Mary's Church.

To south-country people the term "lifting the corpse" may seem strange. It may be well to remind those readers who are wont, from time to time, to send materials to be dyed to Messrs. Pullar's works at Perth, that the label which the firm send to their clients has the following words printed at the bottom: "Lifted at — o'clock on — day of ——." Thus the word "lift" is equivalent to "called for," or "taken up," in south-country language.

There is a curious idea lingering in some places that when the death of a person is imminent, the fastening of the doors of the room or house hinders painfully the departure of the soul from the body. Take an instance or two.

A gentleman, writing forty years ago, has stated that when he was a curate in Exeter, he called upon a parishioner who was on his death-bed. The wife told him that she thought her husband would have died during the previous night, and that consequently she had unfastened every lock in the house.

The same idea prevails in the north as well as in the west and south-west of England. In partial connection with this custom, it is interesting to note that the Jews at Gibraltar, on a death occurring at any house of theirs, pour away all the water contained therein, on the supposition that the Angel of Death may have washed his sword in it.

Although I am writing about English usages connected with death, a curious fact, in reference to what has been mentioned

above, may be worth citing. When a child is dying, the people in some parts of Holland are accustomed to shade it by curtains from the parents' gaze, the soul being supposed to linger in the body so long as a compassionate eye is fixed upon it. Thus in Germany, he who sheds a tear in leaning over an expiring friend, and does not wipe it off, enhances, they consider, the difficulties of Death's last struggle. I believe the same notion is introduced in the once popular story—"Mary Barton, a Tale of Manchester Life."

There is an odd notion in some parts of the country that a funeral procession must necessarily go "the way of the sun." A gentleman writing from Worksop tells us that, in his neighbourhood, this opinion is held strongly. To go contrary to the sun's apparent path is called "going the back way." There are people who would suffer almost anything rather than infringe the popular rule. We shall see later on that there are a great many quasi-religious ideas connected with the "course of the sun." These are evidently more or less survivals of heathenism, and as such are extremely curious and interesting.

Let us now inquire as to the question of burial fees. I have met with one or two curious facts in relation to them.

A paragraph in the *Chester Courant* of Sept. 26, 1863, refers to a custom which is perhaps peculiar to some parts of Wales. An old man was charged at the Denbigh Police-court, with having stolen three shillings from the Communion Table of the Parish Church, such money being the offertory made at the burial of a deceased parishioner. He confessed the theft, and was sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

In explanation of this, it must be noted that in many parishes in Wales the parson receives no burial fee, but when any parishioner dies his friends and neighbours, so many as attend the funeral, lay their voluntary offerings on the Communion Table for the clergyman. As these were regularly entered in the parish register, they formed some guide as to the esteem in which those departed were held by their neighbours. For instance, no less than 19*s.* 6*d.* was contributed at the funeral of Mrs. Mary Hughes, who died at Aber in 1741, and as many as eighty-five sixpenny pieces have been counted on such an occasion. On the other hand, Martha Jones, of the same place, was probably not popular with her neighbours, for a solitary penny was all that the parson received for his services.

It would, however, seem that these burial offerings were not always the perquisites of the clergyman, but that in the case of poverty they used in some places to go to the family of the deceased. Attendance at a Welsh funeral is voluntary, and not by invitation only. Everybody is supposed to put something in the plate, and thus a nice little sum is occasionally handed to the survivors.

The late Sir R. Phillimore states in his "Ecclesiastical Law," that in early times all fees for burial were forbidden as simoniacal. Then free offerings came to have been made, and in the last stage custom introduced a regular fee.

In Wales, at the beginning of the century, the sexton collected offerings on his spade at the grave's side.

There are some very curious ideas lingering in certain localities as to the times when deaths occur. Thus, for example, I am told that at Stanway, in Gloucestershire, it is believed that if a burial occurs on New Year's Day it will be followed by one in each month of the year. The population of the parish is under 300, and the usual average of deaths is six annually.

Another idea which is current is that if a corpse lies unburied over a Sunday, there will be another death in the parish within a month.

In the northern counties a somewhat similar notion prevails amongst certain of the country people. At Kirkdale, I am told, a common idea is that if a funeral takes place on a Sunday, especially if on that day the grave should have been opened, three persons will be interred within a very short space of time.

This, perhaps, will be as good a place as any for recording a very remarkable custom which prevailed up to, say, a couple of hundred years ago. There was in one of the villages adjoining Wales an old man who was called "The Sin Eater." His office was, for a trifling consideration, to pawn (so to speak) his own soul for the ease and rest of a soul departed. When a person died, notice was given to him, and he at once went to the house of the deceased. A cricket—*i.e.*, a stool—was brought, and he sat down in front of the door. A groat, a crust of bread, and a full bowl of ale were given to him, after the consumption of which he rose and pronounced the "ease and rest of the soul departed, for which he would pawn his own soul." It was believed that this ceremony would free the departed

soul from "walking" thenceforth. It is probable that this strange custom was originally connected in some way with the ceremony of the Scape Goat under the Law (Lev. xvi. 21). I believe that this institution of the "Sin Eater" was in later times mainly confined to the county of Hereford; but there is reason to believe that it once prevailed generally in Wales.

In olden times very queer things were sometimes put into graves.

Thus I find that in digging the grave for the body of one Mr. William Clements, in Knockholt Churchyard, Kent, about the middle of the last century, there were found deep in the earth several rolls of brimstone. What this could mean I am not able to guess, but there is, at least, a very disagreeable suggestiveness about it.

Equally difficult of explanation are the objects which were discovered in 1727 in the grave of a reputed hermit near Hatfield in Yorkshire. These were a peck of hemp seed and a piece of beaten copper.

In the early part of this century the Church at Old Swinford in Worcestershire had to be removed, which involved the disturbance of certain of the coffins in the churchyard. In one of these the body of a lady was found, fully dressed in ancient costume, and an enormous number of pins were in her dress, and lying strewed about.

As a curious example of what we are now considering I may mention that not so many years ago, on the occasion of a child's funeral in Hertfordshire, a Bible, a key, and a glass were placed in the coffin.

Within the memory of middle-aged people living in the locality, a certain man near Alton, Hants, who was wont to get his living by playing the violin at village frolics, begged his friends, on his deathbed, to put his fiddle into his coffin, and this, I believe, was done. No doubt many of my readers can recall similar instances. Illustrative of this I would ask them to turn to the end of Chap. II. in Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft's Memoirs.

Let us now go on to consider the coffin question, which has been brought into exceptional prominence lately through the action taken by Mr. Seymour Haden in advocating the employment of wicker coffins in place of heavy, enduring, and costly wooden ones. And this chiefly from sanitary considerations, in view of our rapidly increasing population and our crowded graveyards.

A much simpler plan was adopted in olden times—to wit, burying deceased persons in a winding sheet without any coffin at all. In the overseers' books of the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, there are to be found some curious notes respecting what must have been uncoffined burials: Thus

1562. Item, for the Chardge of a Winding Sheet for a poure woman whiche died in Thambre (The Aumbry), xij^{d}."

"Item, for bringing of straw from Mr. Worleyes for the diseased girle aforesaid, for making cleane of the house, for her winding sheete, & burieing of her, xv^{d}."

"1566. For a winding shete, & for the burial of a poore olde man dieing in the street, ij^{s}. vj^{d}."

In the "Table of Dutyes" in Shoreditch Church, dated December 11, 1664, the following items occur:

"For a buryall in y^{e} New Churchyard without a Coffin . £00 00 08."

"For a buryall in y^{e} Old Churchyard without a Coffin—seaven pence . . . 00 00 07."

"For the grave making & attendance of the Vicar and Clerke on the enterment of a corps uncoffined, the Churchwardens to pay the ordinary duteys (& no more) of this Table."

The register books of the parish of Melbourne, Derbyshire, which date back to 1663, contain an item to the effect that Ann Dolman was buried in a coffin, and that four others were also buried in coffins up to March 11 following, making five out of the whole seventeen buried in the year. The custom of using coffins for others besides wealthy people seems to have begun about this time, but not to have made much progress, for in 1698 there is only one burial in a coffin mentioned out of seventeen, and none at all in 1699 out of ten. From this time, however, the number of coffins increased, so that in 1714 there were only two burials without coffins out of thirteen. In 1718 the Vicar, who had been very careful in keeping the registers, died. Of the last eight burials by him, two were without coffins, the last being dated 1718.

It would seem that persons of position were sometimes buried in those days like the poorer folk. Thus, at the interment of Sir Robert and Lady Harding no exception appears to have been made.

George Psalmanazar, the notorious literary forger, who died 1753, earnestly requested that his body should not be inclosed in any kind of coffin, but be decently laid in a shell without a lid or other covering. Again, among the memorials of a distin-

guished West of England family, the following occurs : "April 30, 1701, died Sir N—— L—— at his house in H——, and was buried in the outer chancel of the said Church on the 3rd of May at 12 of the Clock at night, without a coffin, according to his own directions." He was then in his 88th year.

Some may not have noticed that the Burial Service in the Book of Common Prayer is worded on the apparent supposition that no coffin is employed. The term "coffin" is not used ; it is always the "Corpse" or the "Body." Here is the wording : "When they come to the grave, while the corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth, &c.;" upon which rubric, Wheatley, whose book appeared in 1710, comments thus : "When the body is stripped of all but its grave clothes, and is just going to be put into the ground, &c." And again, in a subsequent rubric, it is enjoined that "earth shall be cast upon the body," not upon the coffin.

In olden days bodies were sometimes buried in an erect position. Thus, in the north transept of Stanton Harcourt Church, Oxfordshire, the Harcourt family are buried. Tradition relates that Sir John Harcourt, who died in 1330, was buried here in a standing posture. In the pavement above is a circular stone, in which is inlaid a shield of brass bearing the family arms.

At the close of the last century one Job Oxton, an innkeeper, left instructions that he should be buried in an erect posture, and it is said that his wish was complied with. The man's motive was the hope that he would rise before his wife, who was interred in the ordinary fashion.

Ben Jonson was thus buried at Westminster Abbey, the supposition being that this was to avoid the large fee demanded for a full-sized grave. For a long time it was supposed that this story was invented in order to account for the smallness of the gravestone. The grave, however, was opened some fifty years ago, and the dramatist's remains were discovered in the attitude indicated by the tradition.

In the first canto of the "White Doe of Rylston" Wordsworth refers to erect burials thus :

"Pass, pass, who will yon chantry door,
And through the chink in the fractured floor
Look down, and see a grisly sight,
A vault where the bodies are buried upright ;
There face to face, and hand to hand,
The Claphams and Mauleverers stand."

This relates to a tradition respecting the vault of the Claphams at the east end of the north aisle in Bolton Priory Church.

Akin to this, it may be noted that when Charlemagne's tomb at Aix-la-Chapelle was opened by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa in 1165, he found the body not reclining in a coffin, but seated on a throne as one alive, clothed in the imperial robes, bearing his sceptre in his hand, and on his knees a copy of the Gospels. Murray's "Handbook to Belgium" may be consulted with reference to this.

About the strangest kind of burial that I have come across during my researches is one chronicled in the register of Lymington Church, Hampshire, where the following appears under the year 1736 :

"Samuel Baldwin, Esq., sojourner in this parish, was *immersed* without the Needles, *sans cérémonie*, May 20."

It seems that, shortly before his death, Mr. Baldwin intimated his desire to be buried at sea, in order to disappoint the frequently expressed intention of his wife that, if she survived him, she would, out of contempt for him, dance on his grave. There is a delicate vein of humorous irony conveyed in the husband's dying request, which, I should think, had rarely been equalled on such an occasion.

It is recorded that Mr. Charles Byrne, the famous Irish giant, who died at the end of the last century, urgently requested that he might be buried at sea, in order to escape the hands of the surgeons. This, however, was not complied with, for his skeleton, measuring seven feet eight inches, is now in the museum of the College of Surgeons. It is said that William Hunter purchased the body, giving £500 for it.

There are some very curious notes upon funerals, as they were "conducted" in the sixteenth century, in Henry Machyn's Diary, the original MSS. of which is in the British Museum. Judging from what we read there, the Lord Mayors of London seem to have been somewhat greater people than they are now, if one may judge from the pomp with which funerals of members of their families were conducted. Here is an account of the funeral of a Lady Mayoress in 1550 :

"The xix day of November was bured my lade Jude Ma[yress] of London, and wyffe of sir Andrew Jude, mayr of London, and bured in the parryche of saynt Ellen in Bysshopegatt street ; for he gayff mony gownes and to the powre men and women ijc gownes of mantyll . . . and the Clarkes of London had the beryng of my lade, and then came . . . with ij harolds afor with iiij baners a-bowt her borne, and after my

[Lord] mayre and ye bredurne, and alle the strete, and the chyrche wher hangyd with blake, and with schochyons of ther armes, and a gret dolle, and a gret [dinner]."

Now let us take the account of the burial of an ordinary London citizen during Elizabeth's reign :

"The xxiv day of Aprell (1560) was bered at Sant Mary Magd. Master Hansley, a grocer, and he had a dossen of skochyons of arms, and there was the masturs of the Compane of the Grocers, and prestes and clarkes synging, and Master Iuelle, the byshope of Salbere (Salisbury) did pryche, and he gayff —— gownes unto pore men, and there was at this berehyng all the masters of (the) hospetille with ther gren stayffss in ther handes."

I find that at and after this period, when any member of the City Companies died, it was the custom for a large number of his brethren to follow his body to the grave.

A note in passing as to the ceremonies with which royal personages were buried in the last century may be interesting. We are told that "The body of the Queen of George ii was buried at Westminster Abbey of Dec. 17, 1737. At the door of the Church the body was met by the Dean and Prebendaries, with masters, scholars, and choir belonging to the same, and the choir of the Chapel Royal attending in their proper habits, with wax tapers in their hands, and the Dean and Prebendaries in their copes."

And similarly with the nobility. John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, died in the year before the Queen, and the ceremonial at his funeral was very much the same as that just described.

This seems to be a suitable place for recording a most excellent custom which has been long common in places north of the Tweed. There the mourners wait at the side of the grave until it is filled up. Then they and the officials raise their hats and leave.

It has always struck me as a mistake for all the relatives and friends of a deceased person to leave the filling up of the grave, without any supervision, to mere hirelings and labourers, who, of course, are a lot of thoughtless and irreverent boys, and all sorts of abominations may go on. Some one friend of the family at least ought to stop by the grave till it is filled in, and to see that decency is observed.

There is an Irish custom which is worth notice, and this appears to be the place at which to introduce it. The Rector of Waterville, County Kerry, states that when a coffin is about to be placed in the grave, the Protestant parishioners draw out all the nails which secure the lid, and which are only partially driven in. The convenience of the deceased at the Resurrection is given as a reason.

The idea of helping Almighty God on the Great Easter Day is extremely choice ! The notion could scarcely have occurred to any but Irish Protestants.

Among the many curious tombs which might be mentioned, I select one merely as a specimen. In the "Historical Description of Wimborne Minster," by Mr. G. Yeatman, we are told that under the south-west window of the chancel aisle is the tomb of Anthony Ettrick, the first Recorder of Poole, and the magistrate who committed the Duke of Monmouth. He, having been offended with the inhabitants of Wimborne, made solemn protestation that he never would be buried in their church or churchyard, under their ground or over. To fulfil his design he obtained permission to cut a niche in the wall, where the coffin was placed during his life, and the date on the front that he thought he would die in 1691, but he lived till 1703. It is visible, but the date has been altered. The tomb is of black marble, on which is painted the coats of arms and pedigree of his family. The deed which he signed, conveying twenty shillings annually to Wimborne Churchwardens, to keep his tomb in repair, is still preserved.

There are so many published collections of epitaphs more or less quaint, that it would be waste of time and space to record them here. One, however, must be mentioned, in order to show that it is not always safe to trust to inscriptions on tombstones for historical facts. I am not thinking of the child who, in walking round a churchyard and reading the eulogistic epitaphs about perfect husbands and devoted wives, asked her mother where all the naughty people were buried, but am regarding the matter in a purely historical light.

It is noteworthy that in Chipstead Church, Surrey, on a flat stone on the floor within the altar rails, there is the following inscription :

HERE LYETH INTERRED THE
BODY OF ALCE HOOKER, ELDEST
DAUGHTER OF THE REVEREND FATHER
IN GOD RICHARD HOOKER DOCTOR
IN DIVINITY AND DEAN OF SARUM
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE
20TH OF DECEMBER ANNO DOMINI 1649

The title given here to one who was not a bishop is curious. And further it must

be remarked that "The Judicious Hooker" was never "Dean of Sarum." He was Prebendary of Netherhaven in connection with Salisbury Cathedral, and I presume, in consequence, a member of the Chapter. Lawyers and writers of history would do well to remember the above error.

The explanation of the said error is simple enough. The fact is that Hooker was appointed Sub Dean of Sarum in 1591, and died in 1600. The proper title of canons at that date was "Very Reverend," and this the Roman Church has retained, although with ourselves it has fallen into disuse. I cannot explain the exact form of the title in the above epitaph, but anybody can see that the mistake was not altogether an unnatural one.

There were some curious customs in olden times with regard to burial garlands. Early in the last century, and probably long before, maids were often buried with a garland or crown round their heads. In 1733, when a grave close to the east end of the church at Bromley was dug, one of these garlands or crowns, most carefully wrought in filagree work with gold and silver wire, in resemblance of myrtle, was found. It would seem that these wreaths were often, at the time of the funeral, carried solemnly before the corpse by two maids, and afterwards hung up in some conspicuous place within the church. Generally there were within these wreaths gloves cut out in paper, or else a representation of an hour-glass.

To this Gay refers in the following lines :—

"To her sweet memory flow'ry garlands strung
On her now empty seat aloft were hung."

In reply to inquiries which I made as regards the garlands in the Church of Minsterley, in Shropshire, a correspondent says : —"I can only give you the old tradition concerning them ; positive knowledge on the subject is, I believe, unattainable. They are seven in number, made of rosettes and streamers of ribbon on a foundation of wood, cane, or wire. In the centre of each are hung gloves of paper. Each one is suspended on a small stick, little more than a foot in length, at the end of which is a wooden heart, bearing initials and date. The latest is M.M. 1777. They are placed very high on the wall of the church. Tradition says that they are in memory of betrothed maidens, who, having lost their lovers by death in early youth, continued faithful to their first love, and led a virgin life devoted to the memory of the departed. They commemorate not the betrothed who died first but the survivor who remained faithful to the love of her youth."

In some places the periodical dressing of graves is most carefully attended to. Thus at Usk, in Monmouthshire, for some weeks before Palm Sunday the inhabitants, as I am told, are busy in the churchyard scouring the gravestones, repainting the railings, beautifying the tombs, and re-turfing the grave mounds, the churchwardens doing everything that they can to set God's Acre in order. Fences are repaired, walks and trees trimmed, and grass cut and cleared of weeds. All friends of those recently deceased who are buried there take care to get the slabs and stones set up before the great day of ancestral commemoration.

When the day arrives, early in the morning are to be seen groups of pious survivors carrying trays and baskets of flowers, garlands, floral crosses, and other devices which have been prepared from the few flowers to be obtained at that early season.

Some supplement them with exotics and plants, carefully cherished indoors to be ready for the day. The richer people send for hothouse flowers from a nursery, even from London. From early dawn the churchyard is full of grave dresses of all ranks and ages. By church time all is complete, and about half an hour before the bell stops spectators begin to arrive, and through the day there is an influx of visitors.

Much the same practice prevailed in the parish of St. Weonards, near Ross, Herefordshire, where it was formerly the custom to dress the graves in the churchyard with flowers on Palm Sunday. About 1854 "Flowering Sunday," as it was called, was altered from Palm Sunday to Easter Day. I may add that at Crickhowell, in South Wales, it has been the custom from time immemorial not only to dress the graves on Palm Sunday, but also to hang garlands on the monuments in the church.

MOVEMENTS IN THE DENOMINATIONS.

BY REV. JOHN CONWAY, M.A., EDITOR NORTHWESTERN CHRONICLE.

From *The Congregationalist*, Boston, May 19, 1892.

The Roman Catholic Church.

Howsoever closely I may be able to adhere to Herbert Spencer's famous rhetorical

rule of conveying the greatest number of ideas in the fewest number of words, I fear the editor of the *Congregationalist* imposed upon me a very difficult task when he asked me to discuss within the limits of eighteen hundred words the movements in the Roman Catholic Church along theological, sociological and practical lines. The invitation is in itself an evidence that there are many non-Catholics who still believe in the following opinion so well penned by Macaulay over fifty years ago: "There is not and there never was on earth a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church." Fortunately, the *Congregationalist* limits my study of the question to the Church in the United States.

I. Theological.

There is a marked tendency among thoughtful Catholics in this country not to continue to rattle the dry bones of heresies. Theology will grow as in the past. In the domain of dogma this is nothing more than saying that doctrinal development will continue, and in the region of ethics that changing conditions of society will present new problems for solution. Doctrinal development may be illustrated by the example of scientific evolution. As the protoplasm is said to have contained the promise and potency of the future man, so the first germ of doctrine held within it the principle of all future doctrines. Then the Apostles' Creed was drawn up, which, however, does not contain the full body of Christian teaching. Definitions are the work of time. There were none at first. They have grown up during nineteen hundred years. "The principle of development," says Newman, "is a remarkable philosophical phenomenon, giving a character to the whole course of Christian thought."

Catholics do not leave their Church for intellectual reasons. As a rule, the men, whether laics or clerics, who leave the Catholic Church are not those who are best qualified for patristic studies or for Scriptural research under the fierce light of modern equipments. Catholics have little temptation, and less desire, to drop any doctrine which has been developed to the degree of a definition by the supreme authority of their Church. They accept such doctrines very much in the same way as a scientist accepts the demonstrated propositions of Euclides. The controversies which grew out of the early heresies are dead, and like dead languages, they can never be galvanized into life again. Even the discussions which sprang out of the dispute between Dr. Luther and his ecclesiastical superiors have comparatively little interest nowadays in the United States. Catholics will go on believing the doctrines taught by their Church just as they have believed in the divinity of Christ before and after the council of Nicea. But these are not live questions, in the popular sense of the phrase, and Protestants are willing to leave the Catholic people in undisturbed possession of their belief. People prefer knowledge to mere argument. They seek irenics rather than polemics. The late Cardinal Manning used to say that controversy repels but charity unites. The leaders of Catholic thought in the United States recognize these principles. Oral religious controversy has become to a great extent unnecessary by reason of the evolution of men's minds. The generosity of disposition which the American people bring to the discussion of even the most delicate subject disarms discussion and makes men look for light. The question is not who will gain the mastery, but who will give most light. Intellectual forces are not now lavishly expended upon abstruse theological discussions, but more attention is given to a hearty co-operation in an effort to make people better in temporals as well as in spirituals. No fierce religious hatreds are ever likely to be aroused in the United States. The Catholic Church will go on untrammeled in its work here, free from state patronage and state persecution. There is no obstacle to the development of what is best in it from a divinely human standpoint as well as from a purely divine.

In matters of opinion the tendency is to the fullest toleration. Men learned in patristic theology teach that the inspiration of Scripture need not extend beyond faith, morals and the trend of thought. Leading professors, like Bonquillon and Dr. Gorman of the Catholic University of America, teach the right of the state to instruct its subjects. Devout Catholics, like Professor Mivart, hold fast by the theory of scientific evolution. There is also a disposition among the more intelligent of our hierarchy to have less recourse to the easy weapon of excommunication. When Cardinal Taschereau, a courtly prelate who lives in the past, tried to execute the condemnation of the Knights of Labor, a few American prelates successfully demonstrated that a society should not be censured because it had taken the precaution not to publish its secrets from the house-tops, or because its mem-

bers had organized for protection against grinding monopolies.

II. Sociological.

The Catholic Church in the United States is not afraid to denounce destructive socialism which deals with riots and bloodshed, to discourage obstructive socialism which embitters class against class, and to promote constructive socialism which tries to bring all sections into harmony. Priest and prelate, pulpit and press, are all giving attention to the social questions indicated by Leo XIII. in his encyclical on the Condition of Labor. The powers mentioned see clearly that social obstructions to the application of Christianity must be removed. They realize that the donning of the cassock does not mean the doffing of humanity. They have learned that for the multitude it is a strong motive of the credibility of Christianity to see its teachers alleviating the condition of the poor and bringing to the surface the "submerged tenth." Though Pope Leo's words are those of love and warning, of peace and sympathy, still many of the sentiments of his famous encyclical had been voiced by American prelates years before its appearance.

The Catholic Church in the United States has already recognized that Demos is the ruler of the world. The scepter is no longer a magic wand; the electoral urn holds the motive power. Leo XIII. has given a pronounced impetus to this policy by his statement that our first concern should be to save workingmen from the "cruelty of grasping speculators who use human beings as mere instruments for making money." Such words uttered twenty years ago would have been set down as those of a dangerous demagogue. The Catholic Church has to deal, not with princes and parliaments, but with the masses of the people. The late Rev. Isaac T. Hecker, the founder of the most American society of priests in this country, used to say it is in the United States that the union of the Catholic Church with democracy must first take place. And here it has taken place. The leading members of our hierarchy have the courage of their convictions. Cardinal Gibbons, for instance, did not hesitate to undertake the enormous task of getting the Propaganda to reverse one of its own decisions in reference to the Knights of Labor. He told its prefect that not only had workmen a right to protect themselves, but the whole people were bound to aid them under existing conditions. There is no danger of any surrender of principle on the part of the Catholic Church in the United States; there is an opportunism at once enlightened and advanced. There is a growing appreciation of the policy which would place no stumbling-block in the way of an eminently practical people, whose tendency is to demand a reason for everything.

III. Practical.

The Catholic Church in this country has adapted itself to the intelligent requirements of the most powerful nation on earth. Whenever any obstacle to this adaptation presents itself there are within the fold of that Church enough men of patriotically Christian intelligence to remove any such hindrance. Thus, when an attempt was made lately to use the Catholic Church for the purpose of keeping alive an offensive foreignism and of spreading a language to the detriment of the vernacular, men within that Church dragged the infamous intrigue to its death in the light of public opinion. With a rare delicacy of taste, worthy of the noblest and best civilization, our representative non-Catholic fellow-countrymen looked on in silent yet eloquent approval of the good work that was done by Catholic ecclesiastics. They knew the relative strength of the men engaged in the fight and they had no fear for the outcome. As citizens we do not want to hear of the "German vote," or the "Irish vote," or the "Bohemian vote," or of any other vote save that of the American people. As Catholics we despise such phraseology as the "Irish Catholic Church," the "German Catholic Church," the "Bohemian Catholic Church," but we welcome the expression the "Catholic Church of America." Intelligent Catholics are making strenuous efforts to solve the school problem. Their task, however, is by no means easy, not because of the inherent difficulties of the question, but because of reactionaries from within and bigots from without.

Even in the form of her public services the Catholic Church here shows a desire to be in complete harmony with the requirements of modern life. Congregational singing has become popular. An observing clergyman of New York says that in every instance where congregational singing has been introduced the attendance at evening service has increased by twice, and sometimes by three times, the number. It is a matter of history that the patriot prelate of the United States, Archbishop Carroll of Baltimore, suggested that mass be celebrated in the vernacular, such as is done in certain countries of the Orient. The Catholic

Church here insists more upon sacraments than sacramentals, and its efforts are directed to bring out the leading principles of Christianity rather than its phylacteries.

Here, also, the leading men of the Catholic Church have grappled, not unsuccessfully, with the saloon. An American prelate induced the head of the Catholic Church to issue a brief declaring that total abstinence is a chief remedy against intemperance. The Council of Baltimore tells the priests of the United States to advise Catholic saloon keepers to seek a more honorable business. Catholics have done their share in forming that public opinion which is adverse to the saloon.

The Catholic Church in this country insists strongly upon the civic virtues. The comparative absence of pronounced antagonism between the Christian denominations permits the Catholic Church to apply itself to a greater sphere of usefulness here than elsewhere. There is not, and there never will be, an agreement upon dogma. There is a basis for unity as well as for union of all in that invisible element called the soul of the Church. "I have got two great advantages," wrote the late Cardinal Manning to his Protestant friends, "I can hope and embrace you all in the soul of the Church, and I can rejoice in all and gladly share in many of your good works." The Catholic Church in this country does its own part in the strangling of political vice, in the promotion of civic virtue, and in the inculcation of patriotic principles.

EDITORIAL.

From *The Congregationalist* (Boston), June 23, 1892.

UNDER the above title a series of nine articles was concluded in our columns last week which have deservedly attracted wide attention. They will repay a rereading for purposes of comparison between these leading denominations and to note the great trends and tendencies, which they all share, which characterize the whole Christian Church of the present day. Some of the most important, on which nearly all the writers have dwelt, will impress the reader with the growing influence and conquering power of the church, its deepening sense of its mission to lift the whole race into the unity of the faith, unto the perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.

The movement toward Christian unity, not in outward forms, but in spirit and sympathy, is evidently uppermost in every denomination. Even those denominations which recognize in their own creeds the highest authority are reaching out eagerly for larger fellowship. The Presbyterian Church, on the one hand, while it is in constant ferment over its standards, has within itself a growing party which desires a new, much briefer and simpler creed as representing its present belief, while promising steps are being taken toward the union of all Presbyterian bodies on the essentials of a common faith. Beyond this goal the real union of all churches on the same broad basis seems to be attainable. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church is showing signs of genuine catholicity, both within itself and to those without. The writer on that body sees a basis for unity as well as for "the union of all in that invisible element called the soul of the church." Even Unitarians seem to be moving toward the recognition of Christ as the supreme manifestation of God to men. The center of this great movement may be characterized as a growing disposition in each body to recognize all the others as genuine branches of the one Church of Christ, that is, to acknowledge in each evidences of the indwelling and guidance of the Holy Spirit.

An increasing, more definite and practical interest in the present welfare of the whole human race naturally accompanies this growing desire for Christian unity. All denominations are discussing economic and sociological questions. They are seeking how to bridge the gulf between the rich and the poor, the cultivated and the ignorant. They are, more or less consciously, emphasizing their belief in the infinite fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of men. Most of them have believed and do believe that man is lost and that he can find redemption only in Christ. But they are giving more attention to his redemption from present ills and are coming to regard such redemption as a most important step in securing his eternal salvation.

It was to be expected that this tendency toward Christian unity and toward broad, humanitarian efforts would lead to a deeper interest of the churches in affairs of government. They are finding, what a Massachusetts pastor declared more than two hundred years ago, that "democracy is Christ's government." Liberty within the church and the state under the simple principles of love and unselfish service is coming to seem less a dream and more an object to be realized. The development of this conviction in the Catholic Church is one of the most remarkable illustrations of the reflex influence of Protestantism and democracy on a great

body trained under foreign monarchical ideas, both in church and state. Evidently the churches of all denominations are exercising a growing influence in the affairs of our government, not as churches but by reason of a profounder sense of the obligations of Christian citizenship.

With these movements the missionary responsibilities of Christian churches must become constantly greater and more vividly realized. Salvation means more than it did a century ago, when Christians first began to awake to the idea of carrying the gospel to the heathen. It is coming to mean not only deliverance from future punishment, but present renovation of society and of government, the reviving and rebuilding of effete nations on the broad basis of a Christianity which is for the redemption of the whole world. Larger plans, larger gifts and larger triumphs are predicated for this last decade of the century than for all the years before it.

The greater employment in Christian service of those who have heretofore been limited in their opportunities while foremost in their devotion is another promising sign brought out in these articles. The Methodist Church has for several years past been chiefly interested in the position which women should have in that body. It is moving toward giving them a place in its legislative work. It has allotted to them the office of deaconess and is enlarging rapidly the ministries of that office. All the denominations are giving greater attention to young people and aiding them to great and inspiring enterprises at an age in which a little while ago they were not believed to be capable either intellectually or spiritually of such service. The churches are enlisting them in the great reforms against intemperance and every kind of oppression, and are in consequence putting forth higher ideals of education, putting nobler meanings of Christian service upon all callings and pursuits.

It is especially to be noted that independent bodies of churches, like the Baptists and Congregationalists, are moving toward greater organization and closer fellowship as they realize the extent of their opportunities and the necessity of systematic efforts to meet them. We think, also, that those who carefully study these articles will see that in none of these important movements is the body which we represent lagging behind the others, and that none are more alive to the great and manifold triumphs for the kingdom of Christ in which all in friendly rivalry aspire to lead.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE PLACE OF AUTHORITY IN MATTERS OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF. By VINCENT HENRY STANTON, D.D., Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. xiii., 229, $1.75.

This is an excellent and timely book by a competent and broad-minded Anglican scholar. He writes because he has the conviction "that a fuller perception of the true bearings of this question would prove a very powerful agent in the reconciliation of differences among Christians, and in a general advance in spiritual knowledge and life" (p. 12). He passes lightly over the authority of the Reason, and devotes his attention to the authority of the Church and the Bible. The authority of the Bible is found essentially in "the Divine characteristics of the Holy Scriptures and of the revelation which they contain," which "appeal to the heart and conscience" not only of the individual, but of the Church, so that they become "the common faith of Christians." This "common judgment remains quite unshaken by modern controversies." The differences among Christians, the revision of traditional opinion by criticism will not materially change this common judgment of the whole Christian consciousness.

As to the authority of the Church, the author's opinion appears in the following summary statement: "An authority proceeding from the declared faith and the life of virtually the whole church, or of greater or smaller portions of it—not as something homogeneous, infallible, and absolute throughout, but as varying indefinitely, in strength, from cases in which it is practically impossible that it should be wrong to others in which its apparent utterances may yet need much confirmation before it can be relied on, or may require much correction, or in which it ought perchance to be altogether rejected" (p. 187).

The author makes the following wise remark, which presents a principle of vast importance: "The individual must think and judge, but he should do so with the consciousness that he is but one member in a vast organism. He must live in a larger life; he must think as one whose own weak and narrow thoughts should be guarded and controlled by the worthier, truer thoughts of a master mind" (p. 190).

An incidental merit of the book is the large-heartedness with which the author considers the non-Anglican churches. He calls attention to the fact that they are not unchurched by the formularies of the Church of England; that the ablest Anglican divines of the sixteenth century recognized the validity though irregularity of non-episcopal ordination of the continental divines of the Reformed Church, while they insisted at the same time upon episcopal ordination within the realm of England itself. He paraphrases this position thus: "We will not take upon ourselves to unchurch you. We will waive the question of the *esse* of the Church, using language in our definition of it which may possibly include you; but we know what belongs to her *bene esse*, and that we will scrupulously guard. Moreover, we maintain the principle that the Christians of the same place, the same race, the same nation ought not to be divided among themselves, and this is the Church of the English nation" (p. 205).

This little book deserves a wide circulation. It

is an important contribution to the cause of Church unity.

C. A. Briggs.

Union Theological Seminary.

Bubastis (1887–89). By Edouard Naville. Eighth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Volume for 1889–90. With fifty-four plates. Published by order of the Committee. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1891. Folio, pp viii., 71; plates, 54.

The latest publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund is the largest yet put forth, with possibly a single exception. In the number and execution of the plates and photographs it stands first. Twenty-five of the latter are full-page pictures, while the other six contain twenty-three representations of smaller objects more in detail. The plates contain linear reproductions of the inscriptions from Bubastis found during parts of three seasons. The fragmentary character of the records thus presented illustrate in a most exasperating way the vandalism with which these interesting relics of Egyptian antiquity have been treated throughout their history. Scarcely a complete line has been found in any of the objects here represented. Even the records of the "Festival Hall," which have been reserved for separate treatment in a special volume, are by no means complete; but in spite of these mutilations (certain of which unquestionably are to be ascribed to the later kings), and in some degree in direct dependence upon them, the excavator has been enabled to trace the history of the buildings and their fate under the successive dynasties.

A specimen of the outrageous habit of the second Ramses to take to himself the glory of his predecessors as well as his own is here illustrated in a remarkable way. Ebers has said that the Delta is strewn with the monuments of Ramses II.; and so it is to all appearance. While there are many such inscriptions which are genuine, and while Ramses erected the monuments upon which they were inscribed, yet the number of those which he usurped by the erasure of another name and the simple insertion of his own is very large and exceedingly shameless; but not only so, the work was often done in so slovenly a fashion that no one can be imposed upon by the forgery.

The history of the city has been found to be unexpectedly long. Monuments have come to light which lead to the belief that building was done upon the site of Bubastis as early as the fourth dynasty by Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid. The sixth dynasty was represented by Pepi I.; the twelfth, thirteenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-second, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, twenty-ninth, thirtieth dynasties, the Hyksos and Ptolemy Epiphanes were also represented. Evidence has been discovered which shows a wonderful development in artistic skill and material wealth under Osorkon I. of the twenty-second dynasty. Whether this evidence of great wealth is to be ascribed to profound peace and industrial prosperity, as suggested by the author, or to the booty of conquest, may be an open question. This is the king who is supposed by some to be the same with "Zerah the Ethiopian" (2 Chron. xvii.) whom Asa overthrew; the difficulty in the case being connected with the assigned nationality of the king.

One of the unsolved problems of Egyptology has been as to the origin and monuments of the Hyksos, the shepherd invaders of the Delta. The view that the sphinxes of Tanis were the work of these unknown conquerors has found both advocates and opponents. Apepi's name has been found scratched upon the shoulders of them, a place which was by no means the appropriate one. Why it was put in that position has never been explained, unless by a supposition similar to that now given by M. Naville. The breast is the proper place for the name of the king who caused the erection of the sphinxes; but that place has been usurped by a king of the twenty-first dynasty. If Apepi spared the name of the original maker of the sphinx and put his own in a secondary place, it must have been because that name was one entitled to great respect; but beneath all other questions was the more fundamental one, whether, in fact, these sphinxes were really of Hyksos origin. That question has now received an answer which is at least plausible. The so-called "Bagdad Lion" has long been known. It contained a name upon the breast, in the place of honor, which had been read *Ra-Set-nub*. The character of the monument was identical with that of the Tanis sphinxes which bear a forged name upon the breast. In the course of the investigations at Bubastis the name of a king has been found, which is clearly written and which corrects the erroneous reading of the name on the Bagdad Lion. It now turns out to be the name of a king which reads User-en-Ra in the first cartouche, with the name Ian-Ra in the second. The formula of dedication is unlike that of any Egyptian king, and hence the probability that we have to do with a Hyksos monument is increased. The inferences drawn are that the other sphinxes found in the Delta are genuine memorials of the shepherd-kings, and that Ian-Ra was one of the earlier in the line. It was due to this discovery of the name therefore that another step was taken toward the settlement of the problem of the Tanis sphinxes, and that another Hyksos king has become known by name at least. It is conjectured that he is to be considered as the same person with *Ἰανιᾶς* or *Ἀννᾶς* (*Ἰανρᾶς*) named by Josephus.

It is impossible in a notice such as this to tell much about this noble volume. It is a monument to the continued enthusiasm of the persons who in England and America have subscribed to the expenses of the Fund. Unfortunately there are few readers who have sufficient knowledge of the graphic system of Egypt to appreciate some of the nicer points in the series, but there remains much to interest and instruct. These eight volumes, which compose the series thus far published, are a remarkable example of what can be done in the interest of science and investigation as a result of private effort. M. Naville says that he is now convinced that Bubastis has been exhausted; but who knows? Mariette pronounced it an unpromising field years ago.

In closing, let the hope be expressed that the Fund will find ample and willing support in its latest adventure, the Archæological Survey of Egypt, which will be of incalculable benefit to coming students of Egyptology.

New York. Charles R. Gillett.

Praktische Theologie von Dr. E. Chr. Achelis, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Marburg. Zweiter Band. Freiburg-i. B.: G. C. B. Mohr; New York: Steckert, 1891. 8vo, pp. xx., 450, 11 marks.

The second volume of this comprehensive work on practical theology is marked by the same characteristics and maintains the same order of excellence which distinguished the first volume.

Four branches of the general subject are discussed: 1. Liturgics; 2. The doctrine respecting Common Worship; 3. Voluntary societies in the

service of practical Christianity; and 4. Church Government.

Each branch is studied historically and under all its aspects. The author's method may be shown by a partial survey of his treatment of liturgics. Opening with an introduction on the name and definition of the discipline as prevalent, first, before the Reformation, then during the Reformation, he proceeds to describe the place of worship (Kultusraum): the place before the age of Constantine; the ancient basilica; the Byzantine style; the Roman style; the Gothic style; the Renaissance; the style of church building of the evangelical churches. From the general he passes to the particular: the font (atrium); church spires and church clocks; hours for devotion; the pulpit and pews; the sanctuary or altar space. This description is followed by the consideration of times of worship: Sunday; Sunday observance during the first five centuries; legal observance of Sunday of the Roman Catholic Church since the sixth century; the evangelical conception of Sunday. From the observance of Sunday the author passes to the Christian year, inquires into its origin, studies the festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, Epiphany, and Christmas. Afterward he takes up the parts of the Christian year: from Advent to Easter; the Easter season; and the period from Easter to Advent. Pursuing the same exhaustive method, he discusses the principles on which liturgical offices were constructed; the use of formularies; and the administration of ordinances: baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Roman mass, the Lutheran office, and the office of the Reformed Church for the Lord's Supper. Then he contemplates the person of the liturgist: his manner; speech and action; vestments; the connection of art with worship; sculpture; the crucifix, and music.

This brief sketch of topics will illustrate the method of Dr. Achelis—a method which he follows in the treatment of every branch of practical theology, and every subordinate part of each branch. All topics are developed historically, and the historical view embraces in compact form the entire field, from the first centuries onward down into the modern age. The work thus becomes as well a handbook for the study of the history of all branches of practical theology, as an able, independent treatise on all departments of ministerial service.

The judgment and counsels of the author are throughout evangelical and spiritual. In the second as in the first volume there are no traces of German scepticism. Dr. Achelis shows himself a true and faithful servant of the Lutheran churches; but he is not blind either to the faults of his own denomination or to the excellences of the Reformed churches. The office for the baptism of infants prevalent in Germany is severely criticised, especially the practice of exorcism. "Is there any one in Christendom," he asks, "who is of the opinion that his unbaptized child is possessed of the devil? If not, then exorcism is a lie (eine Luege), and a sin against Mark x. 13–16 and 1 Cor. vii. 14" (p. 174). He gives precedence to the principles and practice of the Reformed churches regarding the relief of the poor and ministries to the sick. The doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism on "good works" is quoted and commended. In answer to Question 86, Why must we do good works? the Catechism gives as a reason, among others, "that we ourselves may be assured of our faith by the fruits thereof." Maintaining that this idea is undoubtedly scriptural, Dr. Achelis adds: "But the appropriation of this scriptural principle and the assigning of it so prominent a place in the life of faith is distinctively Reformed" (p. 296).

The learned and masterful production of Dr. Achelis is a truly valuable contribution to theological literature, and is deserving of a translation into English.

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NOT ON CALVARY. A Layman's Plea for Mediation in the Temptation in the Wilderness. New York: Dillingham, 1892. Pp. 46, 12mo, leatherette, 35 cents.

We have learned from the immense circulation and wide influence for good which Professor Drummond's little books have reached not to despise a book because it is small. By some of the pamphlets issued of late years themes were so presented as to stir thought far more deeply than more pretentious treatises. The anonymous booklet before us is likely to take its place among these. Within its forty-six pages are suggested such modifications of the accepted Christology, Soteriology, and Anthropology as, carried out, would come little short of revolutionizing those departments of Systematic Theology. The principal thesis maintained is that redemption was secured "Not on Calvary," not by the crucifixion of our Lord, but by His complete subjection while in the flesh to the dominion of Satan. The crucifixion was only "the last exercise of malignant power by the . . . fallen one." The "mediation" of Christ is found "in the temptation in the wilderness," and in the constant submission to Satan's assaults and power while Jesus was on earth. The doctrine of atonement by blood sacrifice is definitely rejected.

The author does not go outside of the sayings of Christ for his scriptural basis, but he appeals constantly to reason and to our conception of the character of God.

A further conclusion drawn is that the origin of evil and of suffering is to be sought not in man, nor in God, but in Satan.

The author's aim is apologetic. He desires to answer the objection "How could the Divinity, if it is a unity, sacrifice a part of itself to itself, and was this sacrifice a sacrifice to itself as a whole or only to a part of itself? and if to a part, to what part?" Certainly the theory of the writer relieves the subject of grave difficulties. The exegesis of passages given is admissible, and not improbable.

The study is independent, and suggests that we have not heard the last word on the atonement. We should like to have a more exhaustive study of the subject from the same hand, and meanwhile heartily commend what we have here to the impartial judgment of the reader. The book will bear careful study and much thought.

BROOKLYN, N. Y. GEORGE W. GILMORE.

FUTURE RETRIBUTION. By Rev. GEORGE W. KING, Pastor of the Broadway M. E. Church, Providence, R. I. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1891. 12mo, pp. 267, $1.

The author of this treatise is a Methodist pastor, whose mind has been thoroughly stirred with a sense of the importance of his theme, and whose studies and experience have led him to discuss it in a very practical and effective way. Avoiding largely the *a priori* method of argument so current, and seeking simply to ascertain the facts as these are brought out in the Scriptures, he has succeeded in making a really valuable contribution to

the current literature on this grave subject. It would be well if his method were more fully adopted by those who are undertaking, whether on the right side or the wrong side, the discussion of a doctrine so solemn and so vital.

The first chapters of the volume are concerned altogether with the testimony of the Bible, as to the fact and especially as to the endlessness of retribution after death. Assuming that all who believe what the Bible declares will admit the fact that some form and degree of future punishment occurs in the intermediate life, the author passes in careful review the several texts and passages which serve to illustrate the nature of that punishment, and to confirm our faith in its limitless duration. We have nowhere seen a better grouping of this biblical evidence. Following the positive proof, he traverses with vigor the various arguments and objections of Restorationism and Universalism, whether based on Scripture or on reason, showing clearly the invalidity of the larger hope in either form. An instructive chapter on the New Testament terminology, such as Hades, Gehenna, Tartarus, Aion and Aionios, Death, Destruction, and the like, closes this part of the discussion.

In treating the more strictly doctrinal question respecting the grounds of future punishment, the author undertakes a task for which apparently he is not so fully qualified. His acquaintance with other types of theology than that in which he has been schooled is obviously defective. Calvinistic authorities, for example, would by no means accept his interpretation of their system at this point. He ignores the fact which ought to be strongly emphasized on all hands, that evangelical Protestantism is substantially one as to the desert of sin, and the general ground and reason for its punishment. While this or that aspect of the matter may be made more or less prominent by particular schools of thought, yet as to the body and substance of the doctrines all evangelical schools are agreed.

The chapters on the number of the last and on the nature and necessity of future punishment are valuable, though more brief than is desirable in such a discussion. The strong chapter in refutation of the dogma of the annihilation of the wicked, and the vigorous discussion of the several lines of argument advanced by restorationists, will be found to be specially interesting and instructive to the general reader. The former dogma has, indeed, had extensive currency, and cannot hope to maintain any permanent place among Protestant beliefs, while the testimony of the Bible so decisively condemns it. The latter appears now to be declining from view for the same reason, and seems unlikely even in its best forms to secure numerous adherents among those who are loyal to the Word of God as the final authority in all matters of faith; but the author may congratulate himself on having made a real and timely contribution to the completer overthrow of both the first error and the second also. E. D. Morris.

Lane Theological Seminary.

The School of Calvary; or, Laws of Christian Living Revealed from the Cross. A Course of Lent Lectures. By the Rev. George Body, M.A., D.D., Canon Missioner of the Diocese of Durham, Vice-President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891. 16mo, pp. xxx., 403.

It is difficult to criticise what is virtually a book of devotion. Nobody, at any rate no earnest-minded person, can read this book without profit. It is transparently sincere, and shows abundant evidences of a rich personal experience. Its counsels are undoubtedly needed, and in a great degree eminently wise. Its very subject, however, brings it into the most direct and the closest contact with that inexplicable mystery of the humiliation of the Son of God which St. Paul calls His self-emptying. It is next to impossible to deal with such a subject without confusion, and we cannot help thinking that Mr. Body has not wholly escaped it. Thus, for instance, when the Son had consented—if we may dare so to speak—to become incarnate and true man, it is difficult to suppose a separate and deliberate act of self-emptying will in each detail of the life He had chosen. No one would speak of the circumcision of a Jewish boy or the baptism of a baby as an act of *obedience* on the part of the children themselves. If it is a proof of Christ's obedience that "at the age of eight days He was circumcised, and at the age of forty days presented in the Temple," it would seem that His human infancy was overpowered and, so to speak, obliterated to that extent by the Divine nature. So, again, in *the Law of Mortification*, having chosen a human life at all, it was no true "mortification" to endure its ordinary and inseparable incidents. That He was born in a limestone cave and cradled in a manger not only involved, so far as we know, no suffering, but—except on the hypothesis mentioned above—it involved no act of will. It was no humiliation for a Jewish youth to learn and practise a trade, nor for a peasant to "grow up in a village home, where luxury was unknown." Indeed *the Law of Mortification*, as distinguished from *the Law of Obedience*, is of doubtful validity, and certainly not of universal obligation. Perhaps we misunderstand Mr. Body, but he seems to us to teach that, in order to secure obedience to the Divine law, we must devise a number of other laws, beginning our discipline much earlier than God has positively required of us; but it is at least possible—we believe it to be the fact—that the law of God stops short at human capacity: that we *cannot*, in the long run, do more than He bids us; and that if we make the attempt the overstrained bow will break. The history of asceticism is full both of pathetic and appalling illustrations. However, these are matters into which we cannot here enter. No large number of persons are likely to attempt too vigorous a mortification; but we think it even more difficult and far more truly Christian to realize and apply the full meaning of the words, "in the joy of the Lord is your strength." Notwithstanding some serious differences of opinion, we heartily commend this little book. William Kirkus.

Baltimore, Md.

Dr. S. G. Howe, the Philanthropist. By F. B. Sanborn. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1891. 5x3, pp. 370, $1.50.

This volume belongs to the series of "American Reformers," and fitly takes its place by the side of Martyn's "Wendell Phillips." The author was a lifelong and intimate friend of Dr. Howe, edited a memorial volume printed by his friends in 1876, just after Dr. Howe's death, and has prepared this volume with reference to a larger work which the family of Dr. Howe are soon to publish. There is given here a compact outline of the salient features of his life and character, accompanied and illustrated by unusually full citations from his writings, and everywhere interpreted by the ap-

preciative sympathy of friendship and kindred aims. The result is a clear, firm, consistent, and vivid conception of a unique and noble type of man, in stirring and eventful times living his own life truly, fearlessly, generously, and adding a specific and high quality to an epoch adorned by many men of power and renown.

Book First, devoted to Dr. Howe's youth and chivalric service in behalf of Greek liberty, is less interesting than any of the other three books and less interesting than we might naturally expect it to be, whether from the remoteness of those events or from some infelicity in the editor's work, it is not easy to determine. Book Second, describing Dr. Howe's philanthropic efforts in behalf of the blind, and the marvellous story of Laura Bridgman, and Book Fourth, devoted to his attitude in the Civil War and the high and varied services of his later years, are full of stirring incident and reveal high character and special gifts. They present Dr. Howe in a most attractive light; but the interest of the volume culminates, and the work of the editor reaches its highest point in Book Third, in which Dr. Howe's share in the political life of the times that intervened between the Annexation of Texas and the attack on Fort Sumter is narrated in vigorous style and with striking quotations from contemporary writings. The Seventh Chapter, on "The Kansas Conflict and John Brown," makes a positive contribution to the history of those "brave days of old."

Boston, Mass. Judson Smith.

Brief Reviews, by the Editor.

Pew Rents and the New Testament. Can they be Reconciled? By *Robert C. Ogden.* Introduction by J. R. Miller, D.D. (New York and Chicago: Revell, 1892, 16mo, pp. 40, 35 cents.) A question destined to come more and more to the front till finally one of the obstacles to a "free Gospel" has been abolished. The discussion here presented was an address before the Presbyterian Social Union of Philadelphia, setting forth the grounds which move the writer to favor the abolition of the system now almost universally in vogue.

Practical Reflections on the Book of Ruth, by Rev. *M. C. Horine,* A.M., pastor of St. James's Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa. With an introduction by Rev. Eli Huber, D.D., pastor of Messiah Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, Pa. (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1892, 16mo, pp. 122, 50 cents.) An amplified and extended paraphrase of the biblical narrative with added notes and comments, interspersed with moral, religious, and practical suggestions of more or less pertinence and applicability to the present day and its needs. The style is plain and easily intelligible, but without any such degree of originality in diction or insight as to call for special remark.

The Pastor's Ready Reference Record of Sunday Services for Fifty Years. Designed by Rev. *William D. Grant.* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., large 4to, pp 106, $1.50.) A volume measuring 14½ by 11¼ inches is too large to be convenient, and yet in spite of its size the pages, according to the present arrangement, are not large enough to contain mention of all of the things which a pastor finds it profitable to note. The idea and purpose of the book are excellent, but the form is not one which commends itself to us as calculated to accomplish all the good possible of attainment. An octavo could be arranged to contain more rubrics while being much more convenient, even if it did not cover fifty years.

Credo and Credulity. An Exposition of the Apostles' Creed. By a Believer. (New York: Charles T. Dillingham. No date. 16mo, pp. vi., 290, $1.50.) Written by one who has "never read any of the many expositions of the Creed, extant or forgotten;" who starts with the statement that seven stanch defenders of the faith have been driven from the field by one infidel with whom complete victory rests so long as the defence is conducted along the old lines. The new means of defence by which victory must be obtained are to be found in the deliverances of the Apostles' Creed and by a "hearty return to the one creed God has given." This course is advocated with much vigor and enthusiasm in italics, small caps., large caps., and capitals. The exposition is much as might be expected, though not by any means lacking in many good points well put and forcibly stated.

The Cause of an Ice Age, by Sir *Robert Ball,* LL.D, F.R.S., Royal Astronomer of Ireland. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1891, 12mo, pp. xii., 180.) All science and knowledge, from the Christian standpoint, must be supplementary, part to part, on account of the common author of all things. In this volume we have an illustration of this dictum. Astronomy comes in to explain the causes of phenomena, the effects and proofs of which have been sought out by geology. "The Great Ice Age," by Geikie, is a standard upon the one side of the subject, and the present volume supplies the explanation of the astronomical reasons for its occurrence. This cause is found in the proposition, demonstrated in the appendix, that the amount of heat derived from the sun by a single hemisphere of the earth is divided between summer and winter in the proportion of 63 and 37 per cent respectively. The work is entertaining and instructive, for the most part not requiring more than ordinary general information for its comprehension.

Samson and Shylock; or, a Preacher's Plea for the Workingmen, himself a Day Laborer, by the Rev. *John Merritte Driver,* pastor of Simpson M. E. Church, Fort Wayne, Ind. (Published by the author, 1891, 12mo, pp. xii., 271, $1.50.) The motto of the title-page is very suggestive of the spirit of the book: "Put yourself in his place.—Golden Rule condensed." The volume consists of sixteen sermons or addresses upon as many topics connected with the labor question or allied subjects. They have already appeared in the columns of some of the Western daily papers, and are now presented in more permanent form. The author writes out of a depth of conviction and with great earnestness and force. He can scarcely claim to be a "scientific" political economist, but he has succeeded in presenting very forcibly some considerations which should have weight with all classes, employers and employed, based upon the principles of the law of love.

The Well-Spring of Immortality. A tale of Indian life, by *S. S. Hewlett,* Superintendent of St. Catherine's Hospital, Amritsar, North India. (New York: Randolph & Co., 1892, 8vo, pp. xvi., 223, $1.50.) A departure from the ordinary form of missionary literature, but one which makes an excellent addition to it, and one particularly adapted to cause a more vivid realization of what missionary work is and what its results are. It is adapted not only to children, but may be read with profit by adults. One is led to see the actual condition of affairs much more plainly than in the usual pres-

entation. The story is told in a pleasing style, and the book itself, barring only the pictures, is handsome. The story is woven out of actual occurrences.

SYNOPSES OF LEADING ARTICLES FROM PERIODICALS.

THE June number of *The Expository Times* contains an interesting symposium concerning the usefulness of the Revised Bible, the discussion being by Bishop Westcott, Dr. Bruce, Dr. Taylor, and the Rev. Messrs. Dale, Bull, Hackney, and others. Dr. Westcott, who spent "a considerable part of the ten most vigorous years" of his life in the revision of the New Testament, says the revision has brought the words and thoughts of the apostles before English people with a purity and exactness never attained before. The revisers strove to follow the aim and pattern of their predecessors, whose style and vocabulary and rhythm they strove to preserve with the most scrupulous care. Their duty was, however, to place the English reader as nearly as possible in the position of the reader of the original text; it was not for them to leave or to introduce differences or identities in the English which were not in the Greek; to hide parallelisms in cognate narratives, or to create them. Students have not found any commentary so fruitful as a concordance, and their desire was to enable the English student to use his concordance with like effect. It was no wonder, then, if on thorough many-sided investigations seventy-five changes grew to one hundred and twenty-seven. As to the charge of trivialities, made so frequently against the revisers, Dr. Westcott says that some of the changes, taken separately, may seem trivial, but they are not trivialities as links in a chain, and as faithful applications of an acknowledged principle. The spelling of a name, Colossæ or Colassæ, may give important testimony. "The two thieves" became "two robbers," thus avoiding the obscuring of the significant trait which indicated the social state of Palestine; avoiding also the destruction of the tragic contrast between the lawless violence of the *brigand* and the self-surrender of the true King. So with the use of the preposition "in." No one would propose to alter the "In Him we live and move," etc.; so it is not a matter of indifference whether we say "In Him were all things created," or "by Him." Have we a right to limit a Divine relation? Is it a matter of indifference whether we say "the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus," or "through Christ Jesus"? To the writer it makes a fundamental difference in the whole conception of Christianity whether we regard life as something which Christ has won for us apart from Himself, or something which is absolutely bound up with Himself and only realized in vital fellowship with Him; and he shall hold ten years of his life well spent if he has been enabled to help in any degree in bringing this thought home to the English-speaking people. Dean Burgon made merry over the rendering (2 Pet. i. 7), "adding, in your love of the brethren, love." But this rendering gives us the characteristic truth of Christian morality; it sets out plainly what was put out of sight before, that love, the feeling of man for man as man, can only find its true foundation in the feeling of Christian for Christian, realized in and through the incarnation of the Word. Such illustrations could be multiplied indefinitely. "The body of His humiliation" is a Hebrew idiom, more pregnant with meaning than "our vile body." "The Son of His love" is not the same as "His dear Son," nor is "the Gospel of the glory of the blessed God" the same as "the glorious Gospel." A review is said to have killed the revision, but Bishop Westcott can see no signs of death. Its influence spreads silently and slowly, but surely. It is habitually used in Bible classes; scarcely a sermon in which it is not quoted. Its acceptance has been beyond the acceptance of the revision of 1611 in the same time.

Suitably to the season, Dr. Francis E. Clark has an important paper in the June *Andover Review* on "An Organized Revival Among the Young." Dr. Clark modestly traces the history of the origin and growth of the now enormous congregation known as the "Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor," of which he was the sole founder. The underlying features are the prayer-meeting pledge, intended to give stability to the young people's prayer-meetings, by making it not a spasmodic thing, dependent upon the weather, etc., but a meeting where the word "duty" would be substituted for the word "feeling." A "lookout committee" is appointed to see that the pledges are kept. It is the duty of this committee to see that those who join the society understand the pledge, know what they are signing, and keep the pledge when signed. At the consecration service, held once a month, the roll is called, and absentees are looked after by the lookout committee, and if wilfully persistent in disregarding their obligations, their names are dropped from the roll after three consecutive absences from these consecration meetings. No moral opprobrium is attached to this, nor does it take the place of excommunication from a church. Any one can leave the society whenever he likes, and no one can long be unfaithful to his vows and remain an active member. Thus the society is kept free from drones. Although very much is made of the prayer-meeting, the society is not merely a prayer-meeting society. There is no department of church work among young people which it is not meant to strengthen and revivify. This it accomplishes through committees. Every man has his work. It divides the religious tasks of the young people, and places them upon many shoulders. It increases the responsibility which each one feels for some particular branch of church work. It is eleven years since the society was founded. It has been blessed because it is a spiritual organization, because it says, "Seek *first* the kingdom of God," because it has made of the religion of its members not one thing among very many others, but THE one important and pre-eminent thing. The movement seeks to promote intelligent religious service. It discourages ill-directed efforts. It endeavors to apply business principles to the service of Christ. Every society is a manual or industrial training-school. Every junior society is a kindergarten for religious training. Every committee is a class-room for some practical branch of religious work. Every prayer-meeting is a school for expression or confession of Christ. The pledge is simply a promise of loyalty to some duties which are naturally incumbent upon every young Christian—*i.e.*, reading the Bible, private devotions, supporting the local church, and publicly confessing Christ. The movement has a place in thirty different denominations; in most of them it is practically the only young people's society. Nearly a million young people are looking forward to the great convention to be held in this city this month. Twenty-five thousand expect to be present; and those who watch the meetings at the Madison Square Garden

will, Dr. Clark thinks, go away convinced that the Gospel of Christ is not losing its hold upon the young people of the present generation.

The current issue of *The Review of the Churches* continues its "round-table conference" on the Disestablishment Controversy. Dr. Sinclair, the Archdeacon of London, says that in Wales there are some twenty-seven Nonconformist constituencies where a majority are in favor of disestablishment, against three who are not. The causes of the alleged failure of the establishment are (1) the intrusion of Norman bishops on Welsh sees; (2) the appointment of Whig bishops of worldly character, with the view of checking Welsh zeal for different principles; (3) the notorious lack of discipline in the Welsh Church in the past; (4) the lack of sympathy among former Welsh clergy for the evangelical revival in Wales; (5) the appointment of men who could not speak Welsh to Welsh parishes; (6) the habit of looking to England for bias and inspiration rather than of encouraging an individual life among the Welsh themselves. Lately these causes have been wisely counteracted, and the establishment has been correspondingly strengthened. What would the Nonconformists gain by disestablishment? (*a*) the four Welsh bishops would no longer sit in the House of Lords; (*b*) the vicar or rector would be no longer chairman of the parish meeting; (*c*) £118,000 a year, the net receipt of the Welsh clergy in tithes, would be paid, as now, by the landlords, but to some such purpose as education; (*d*) the estates of the four bishoprics, and of the four chapters, and the Welsh glebes would be swallowed up in the same way. On the other hand, (1) the four bishoprics, etc., would remain with just the same prestige of association from an immemorial past; (2) the feeling of resentment against the movers of the change would be bitter, and religious peace would be further removed than ever. The ideal course would be for the Welsh bishops to confer with the Nonconforming leaders, and take steps to reorganize Welsh Christianity, after the precedent of the Reformation. The Welsh Nonconformists hold all the main doctrines of Christianity, and room might be made for their specific forms of local government; but this is out of the question, and so it may be wise to make the Welsh Church a separate province, like York. The Scots have a church of their own, and yet the differences of race and character between Welsh and English are greater than between English and Scots. Nonconformists have had several grievances removed. Cemeteries have been opened to them, church rates abolished, the universities and public schools thrown open. In Wales further concessions are needed.

Among the current contributions to expository thought, "The Conservatism of the Sermon on the Mount," by Rev Dr. George Matheson, F.R.S E., in the June *Thinker*, takes high rank. The exegesis is confined to Matt. v. 17–20. Previous portions of our Lord's discourse may have conveyed the idea of innovation—*e.g.*, the *reason assigned* for being poor in spirit differed from that given by the Rabbins, who based it on the remembrance that we would soon be food for worms, whereas Christ based it on the opposite ground that we were heirs of an immortal kingdom. The beatitudes have an air of originality, not because of their precepts, but because of their rewards. In the old *régime*, the law is a provision for human degradation; in the new, it is the privilege of elevated men. In the old, it is spoken on the plain; in the new, on the mount. Nevertheless, from its very key-note the Sermon on the Mount is conservative. "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets." The temptation to look upon the advent of the future kingdom as a mere relaxing of old bonds, which St. Paul afterward censured among the Thessalonians, is the same which our Lord censures in the Sermon on the Mount—the temptation to look upon the coming kingdom as a state of lawlessness—a state of *non*-morality rather than of immorality. In Christ's day the kingdom of heaven was more and more presenting itself as a world of rewards for work already done. The burdens of the law had long oppressed the Jews, and they looked for liberty in a relaxation of the law; but Christ taught them precisely the opposite method, by binding the law so closely around the heart that its commands should become their vital air, and its service their perfect liberty. So, "except your righteousness shall *exceed* the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees," etc. Men had been lamenting the excess of Pharisaic morality. Christ says it erred by defect, not by excess; it failed in things nearest to the earth—"the least of these commandments." Throughout these passages our Lord takes it for granted that the morality of the Old Testament is absolute, not that it must of necessity comprehend all that has ever been said in the moral sphere, but that, so far as it goes, it is independent of changes. "I say unto you that until heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in nowise pass from the law until all be fulfilled." Here are put together the two most immutable things in the Jewish consciousness—God the Creator, and the principle of duty, Elohim and Jehovah. Our Lord reminds His hearers that the latter of these Divine aspects is as lasting as—nay, more lasting than—the former, for it is possible to imagine a time when the elements shall melt, but not a day when virtue shall cease to be virtuous, or purity be deemed impure. He adds that He Himself is to be the prime mover in the inauguration of the new *régime* of moral law. "I am come to fulfil." This expresses a conviction that He had a mission to fulfil—a duty to the *past*. This was supplementary to the life of the Jewish nation rather than something opening new vistas to humanity. This agrees with all other passages where Christ's mission is alluded to. When the Child Jesus refers to "His Father's business," that business is made to centre in the courts of the Temple. Later He recognizes His service mainly as a fulfilment of Judea's prophetic ideal, and quotes the words of His commission from the book of the national Isaiah. Near the close of His life He again contemplates Himself as fulfilling the theocratic aspirations of His country and vindicating His right to sit on David's throne. "Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." This beautifully agrees with what has been quoted from St Matthew. In both cases the main subject of discourse is the nature of the kingdom of heaven; in both cases a transition is made from the exhibition of the coming kingdom to the statement of a moral condition, which must be fulfilled ere it can come. These passages were in profound harmony with the Messianic expectation. It was perfectly understood by the Jew that the Messiah would not come until there had appeared a perfect human soul. The dawning of that day was to be coëval with the time when a human soul should be able to say, "It is finished." Hence the two Jewish ideals of majestic power and deep humility. The Messiah was to be not only King, but the "ser-

vant of God ;" in the later prophecies the latter ideal outshines the former. "He shall see of the travail of His soul," etc. Christ had this consciousness of a servant's life and work. The perfect obedience of the human soul could not be separated from the dignity of the Messiah. So, when the tempter bids Christ exercise His kingly power, He answers that the life of reigning must be preceded by a life of obedience. "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." At the beginning of His ministry, then, He says, "I am come to fulfil." He did not say, as yet, that He came to die. The form of the coming cross may have been at this stage hid from His human soul ; but He realized the essence of that cross. Notwithstanding the untheological nature of this sermon, it is evident that the Christ of history is the Christ of theology Notwithstanding modern writers, the portrait of a man of Galilee must of necessity be the portrait of a theologian. In Palestine there is no force in the contrast between the historical and the theological spirit. There the two are one. There was a theology before the Pauline—inseparable from Jewish history and from the idea of a Jewish Messiah. This idea involved the thought of atonement to the God of Israel, the conception of a life which should merit the favor of heaven by a complete observance and a perfect fulfilment of the law. The Christs of this century have no Jewish atmosphere. That of Schenkel has the atmosphere of Berlin ; that of Renan, the atmosphere of Paris ; that of "Ecce Homo," the atmosphere of London ; that of Strauss, no atmosphere at all, either in heaven, or on earth, or the waters under the earth. The Christ of Judea is the Christ of theology. We shall only write successfully the history of Jesus of Nazareth when behind the very beginning of His earthly acts we recognize the mission, "I am come to fulfil."

THE JULY MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for July contains : Frontispiece, "Reading the Declaration Before Washington's Army, New York, July 9, 1776," drawn by Howard Pyle ; "How the Declaration was Received in the Old Thirteen," by Charles D. Deshler ; "Jane Field" (a novel), by Mary E. Wilkins, Part III. ; "Marlowe," by James Russell Lowell ; "Captain John (1814)" (a story), by John Heard, Jr. ; "All's Well that Ends Well," with nine illustrations (including two tinted plates) by Edwin A. Abbey; "Two Moons" (a poem), by Thomas Bailey Aldrich, illustrated by Howard Pyle ; "The World of Chance" (a novel), by William Dean Howells, Part V. ; "The Growth of the Federal Power," by Henry Loomis Nelson ; "The Soul of Rose Dédé" (a story), by M. E. M. Davis ; "Closed" (a poem), by Elizabeth Stoddard ; "The Czar's Western Frontier," by Poultney Bigelow ; "From the Black Forest to the Black Sea," by F. D. Millet, with twenty illustrations by Alfred Parsons and F. D. Millet ; "As to 'American Spelling,'" by Brander Matthews ; "At the Tomb of Juarez" (a poem), by Hezekiah Butterworth, illustrated by F. V. Du Mond ; "Ancient Gold-Work," by Cyril Humphreys-Davenport, F S.A. ; "The Capture of Wild Elephants in Mysore," by R. Caton Woodville ; "A Penalty" (a poem), by Nina F. Layard ; "Editor's Drawer," with an introductory story by Thomas Nelson Page.

THE chief contents of THE CENTURY for July are as follows : "Daubigny in his Studio," frontispiece ; "Charles François Daubigny," Robert J. Wickenden ; "Outbound," Bliss Carman ; "Characteristics" (conclusion), S. Weir Mitchell, M.D. ; "When on the Marge of Evening," Louise Imogen Guiney ; "Christopher Columbus," III., Winning the Favor of Ferdinand and Isabella, Emilio Castelar ; "A Wish," Frank Dempster Sherman ; "The Nature and Elements of Poetry," V., Beauty, Edmund Clarence Stedman ; "The Naulahka" (conclusion), Rudyard Kipling and Wolcott Balestier ; "The Great American Safety-Valve," Walter B. Hill ; "Traffic," Edgar Fawcett ; "Architecture at the World's Columbian Exposition," II., Henry Van Brunt ; "The Chosen Valley," III., Mary Hallock Foote ; "Body and Soul," Emma Huntington Nason ; "The Finding of the Tomb of Aristotle," Charles Waldstein ; "The Chatelaine of La Trinité," II., by the author of "The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani," Henry B. Fuller ; "Voices from Beyond," Susanna Massey ; "Negus Negusti and the Abyssinians," Frederic Villiers ; "A Friend of the Family," Charles Belmont Davis ; "The Bird's Song, the Sun, and the Wind," Charles G. D. Roberts ; "Thumb-Nail Sketches," the Coffee-House. Maarken, George Wharton Edwards ; "Gloria Mundi," Graham R. Tomson ; "Rudgis and Grim," Maurice Thompson ; "What the Government is Doing for the Farmer," A. W. Harris ; "Earth Hath her Hurts," John J. Chapman.

THE contents of SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for July are as follows : "The Mausoleum of Galla Placidia—Ravenna," frontispiece, drawn by E. H. Blashfield, engraved by C. I. Butler ; "Among the Poor of Chicago," by Joseph Kirkland (the fourth article in the series on "The Poor in Great Cities"), drawings by Otto H. Bacher, H. T. Schladermund, and Ella P. Morrill ; "Getting Out the Fly-Books," by Leroy Milton Yale, with a headpiece and initial by the author ; "White Edith," a story re-told, by Thomas Bailey Aldrich ; "The Art of Ravenna," by E. H. Blashfield and E. W. Blashfield ; drawings by E. H. Blashfield ; engraving by Wolf, Heard, Heinemann, C. I. Butler, and J. Clément ; "The Wrecker," Chapters XXIV., XXV., and Epilogue, by Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne (begun in August, 1891—concluded), with a full-page illustration by W. L. Metcalf ; "The Depths of the Sea," by N. S. Shaler ; drawings by Charles Copeland and A. Zenope ; engraving by Varley, Leblanc, Van Ness, and George Del'Orme ; "The House Over the Way," by Charles E. Carryl ; "The Evolution of a City Square," by Samuel Parsons, Jr., Superintendent of Parks, N. Y. City, drawings by V. Pérard ; engraving by Witte, C. I. Butler, and E. H. Del'Orme; "To Trojan Helen," by W. G. van Tassel Sutphen ; "The Pianner Mares," by Martha McCulloch Williams ; "In Marble Prayer," by Julia C. R. Dorr ; "Historic Moments." the Resumption of Specie Payment, by J. K. Upton, ex-Assistant Secretary of the Treasury ; "The Point of View"—Free Art, Money and Culture, The General Reader, Athlete and Pedagogue.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for July contains : "General McClellan," Eben Greenough Scott ; "In a Japanese Garden," Lafcadio Hearn ; "Chicago," Edward G. Mason ; "Don Orsino," XIV., XV., F. Marion Crawford ; "Unguarded Gates," Thomas Bailey Aldrich ; "Arabian Horses," H. C. Merwin ; "Looking toward Salamis," William Cranston Lawton ; "The American Idealist," Gamaliel Bradford, Jr. ; "The Calumnitor," Charlotte Fiske Bates ; "A Florentine Episode," In two parts, Part First, Ellen Olney Kirk ; "Political Assessments in the Coming Campaign," Theodore Roosevelt ; "The Prometheus Unbound of Shelley," I., Vida D. Scudder ; "Talleyrand," "Two French Personalities," "Tales of Three Villages," "Comment on New Books," "The Contributors' Club."

LIPPINCOTT'S for July has the following contents : "White Heron" (portrait of author), M. G. McClelland ; "The Newspaper Illustrator's Story" (Journalist Series, illustrated), Max de Lipman ; "Betrothal" (a poem), Edgar Saltus ; "In a Castle Hall" (a poem ; portrait of author), Rose Hawthorne Lathrop ; "Peary's North Greenland Expedition" (illustrated), Benjamin Sharp and W. E. Hughes ; "Clearing Off" (a poem), Harrison S. Morris ; "Unc' Ananias" (illustrated), Molly Elliot Seawell ; "Canoe Life" (Athletic Series, illustrated), W. P. Stephens ; "The Gates of Death" (a poem), Flavel S. Mines ; "Geographical Fiction," Gertrude Atherton ; "Trials of a Publisher," Agnes Repplier ; "Ashes and Incense," Robert Burns Wilson ; "An Old Boston Magazine," Joel Benton ; "As it Seems," "With the Wits" (illustrated by leading artists).

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Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R.	Andover Review.
Bibl. Sacr.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. Q. R	Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R.	Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q.	Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. P. R.	Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)
C. R.	Charities Review.
C. T.	Christian Thought.
Ex.	Expositor.
Ex. T.	Expository Times.
G. W.	Good Words.
H. R.	Homiletic Review.
L. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H.	Missionary Herald.
Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
N. H. M.	Newbery House Magazine.
N. E. & Y. R.	New Englander and Yale Review.
N. W.	The New World.
O. D.	Our Day.
O. N. T. S.	Old and New Testament Student.
P. M.	Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch.	Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
S. A. H.	Sunday at Home.
S. M.	Sunday Magazine.
T. Th.	The Thinker.
T. Tr.	The Treasury.
Y. M.	The Young Man.

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A Romance in Biblical Criticism.
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CHRONICLE.

(*Closes on the 20th of each month.*)

May 18. Thirty-eighth Annual Session of the Western Unitarian Conference, at Chicago.

May 22. Dedication of the new Jewish Theological Seminary in Lexington Ave., New York. President Low, of Columbia College, was present and made an address.

May 23-24. Yearly Meeting of the Hicksite Society of Friends in New York City.

May 23-27. Annual Meeting of the Irish Congregational Union in Dublin.

May 23-31. Meeting of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.

May 24-25. Second Annual Convention of the (British) Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor at Chester.

May 26-31. International Young Men's Christian Association Convention at Providence, R. I.

June 1. Eighty-sixth Session of the Reformed Church in America, at Asbury Park, N. J.

June 1-4. Eighty-sixth Annual Session of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America, at Asbury Park, N. J.

June 6. Organization of the American Jewish Historical Society.

Meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.

June 7-9. Thirty-seventh Convention of the New York State Sunday-School Association at Saratoga Springs.

Meeting of the Congregational Home Missionary Society at Saratoga, N. Y.

June 7-18. Meeting of the English Primitive Methodist Conference at Norwich.

June 8-15. Meeting of the International Congregational Missionary Union at Clifton Springs.

June 13-16. Sunday-school Convention of the Church of Christ at Pertle Springs, Mo.

The Revised German Bible, which has been in preparation since 1855, has appeared in complete form.

The General Conferences of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, sent Commissioners to a Union Conference, which agreed upon the terms for amalgamating the two bodies.

The Rev. S. H. Kellogg, D.D., has resigned the pastorate of the St. James' Square Church, Toronto, to return to India as a missionary, and to take part in the retranslation of the Bible into the vernacular.

The Rev. Newman Hall, D.D., will retire from the pastorate this month.

Dr. Stalker has declined the call to the Marylebone Church, London, and Rev. W. J. McDonald, that to the Regent Square Church. Dr. Pentecost is supplying at the former place of worship.

The Rev. Charles R. Hale, D.D., LL.D., dean of (Protestant Episcopal) Grace Cathedral, Davenport, Ia., has been elected assistant bishop of Springfield, and the Rev. George H. Kinsolving, assistant bishop of the diocese of Texas.

The Pope has appointed the Rev. Sebastian Bowden Bishop of Salford, the see vacated by Dr. Vaughan, lately elevated to the Archbishopric of Westminster.

The Rev. John De Witt, D.D., has declined the call to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History in Princeton Theological Seminary.

The following changes have been made in the faculties of Theological Seminaries:

Rev. J. M. Worrall, D.D., has been inaugurated Professor of Ecclesiastical Government and Church Government in Danville Theological Seminary.

In Union Theological Seminary, Va., Dr. Hersman is Professor of Biblical Literature and Interpretation of the New Testament; Dr. Thomas Cary Johnson is transferred to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History and Church History; and the Rev. E. H. Barnett, of Atlanta, is elected Professor of the English Bible and Pastoral Theology.

The Rev. Daniel S. Brimm, of the (Southern) Presbyterian

Theological Seminary at Columbia, S. C., has been made Associate Professor in the department of Hebrew.

The Rev. J. K. McClurkin, D.D., formerly professor in The ology in the Reformed Presbyterian Seminary, Allegheny City, Pa., has been elected to a professorship in the United Presbyterian Seminary in the same place.

The Rev. Joseph R. Wilson, D.D., has resigned the professorship of Theology in Southwestern University at Clarksville, Tenn.

The following appointments have been made in the Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky.: The Rev. John R. Sampey, D.D., to the Chair of Old Testament Interpretation; the Rev. A. T. Robertson, D.D., to that of Biblical Introduction; and the Rev. E. C. Dargan, to the assistant professorship of Homiletics and Latin Theology.

The Rev. Philip A. Nordell has been called to a professorship in the New Testament department of the Divinity School in the University of Chicago.

The Rev. James F. Riggs, of Bayonne, N. J., has been elected to the professorship of Hellenistic Greek and New Testament Exegesis in the New Brunswick Theological Seminary.

The Rev. Dr. Hutton has been elected to the Principalship of the Scotch United Presbyterian Divinity Hall.

The Rev. Dr. Angus will resign his position as President of the (Baptist) Regent's Park College, London. He has occupied his post for forty-three years.

OBITUARY.

Blanchard, Rev. Jonathan (Congregational), D. D., in Wheaton, Ill., May 8, aged 82. He was a native of Vermont, and was ordained in 1838; was made American Vice-President of the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London, in 1843; was elected president of Knox College, Ill.; went to Wheaton College as president in 1880, but resigned in 1882; since then he has edited *The Christian Cynosure*.

Demarest, Rev. John Kay (Presbyterian), D.D. (Pennsylvania College), at Hackensack, N. J., May 1, aged 48. He was graduated at New York University 1863, and Princeton Theological Seminary, 1866; became pastor at Palisades, N. J., the same year; removed to Owensboro, Ky., 1872; assumed the pastorate of Westminster Church, West Twenty-second St., New York, 1872, and removed to Gettysburg, Pa., 1875, retaining the pastorate there until his death.

O'Reilly, Bishop (Roman Catholic), at Springfield, Mass., May 28, aged 59. He was a native of Ireland, emigrating to America 1853; graduated at St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore, 1857; was ordained the same year at Boston; served in Worcester till 1862, when he went to Boston, and served two years; returned to Worcester, 1864; was consecrated first bishop of Springfield, 1870. His work has been very successful.

Stansbury, Rev. John Nicholas (Protestant Episcopal), D.D., in Newark, May 27, aged 59. He studied at Newton University and Burlington College, graduating from the latter 1853; was made a deacon and attached to St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J., 1857; was ordained priest in Newark; became rector of Christ Church, 1859, serving thirty-two years in the pastorate there. In 1877 he was made Dean of the Missionary Convocation of Newark, and was elected Archdeacon in 1888. He was connected as one of the founders with St. Barnabas's Hospital, and was active in all affairs of the diocese. He was the author of "The Pulpit of the Cross," a series of sermonettes on the seven sayings of the Cross.

Richards, Rev. William C. (Baptist), Ph.D. (Colgate University, 1869), in Chicago, May 19, aged 73. He was born in London, coming to this country in 1831; graduated at Hamilton University 1840; engaged in teaching and literary work in the South till 1852, part of the time being connected with the *Southern Quarterly Review*; took a pastorate in Providence, 1855; became a lecturer on physical science, 1862; served as pastor in Pittsfield, Mass., 1865–68; became Professor of chemistry in the Berkshire Medical College, 1868: removed to Chicago, 1876; was connected there with *The Standard*, serving part of the time since 1876 in the pastorate. His poetical writings were quite numerous. He has also published "The Lord is my Shepherd; the Twenty-third Psalm in Song and Sonnet," "Harry's Vacation; or, Philosophy at Home," and other works.

Van Nest, Rev. Abram (Reformed), D.D. (Rutgers College and University of Pennsylvania, 1860), in New York June 1, aged 70. He was graduated from Rutgers College 1841, and from New Brunswick Theological Seminary 1847; became pastor of the Twenty-first Street Reformed Church, New York City, 1848; had charge successively of the American chapels in Paris, Rome, 1863–65; and in Florence, 1866–75; became pastor of the Third Reformed Church, Philadelphia, 1878. He was prominent for good works while in Europe, being President of the Evangelization Committee of the Free Church of Italy. He published a number of sermons; wrote a life of Dr. Bethune, whose lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism he edited; and also edited Dr. Cannon's Pastoral Theology.

CALENDAR.

June 29–*July* 3. General Convention of the (colored) "Christian" Churches of the United States at Nashville.

June 29–*July* 28. Reunion conference at Grindelwald, Switzerland, with the view of finding a means of evangelical interdenominational comity and united aggressive Christian work. Only evening meetings will be held, except on July 12, when there will be three sessions. Among those announced to take part are the Bishop of Ripon, Canon Body, Professor Stokes, Revs. Hay Aitken, Hugh Price Hughes, Dr. Clifford, Dr. Mackennal (who is to read a paper on "The Meaning of the Reformation from a Congregational Point of View"), Mr. R. F. Horton (who will treat of "Inspiration"), Mr. W. T. Stead and Mr. Percy Bunting.

July 2–13. Seventh World's Conference of College Students, Northfield, Mass.

July 7–10. Eleventh Annual Convention of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor in New York City. Program: Opening prayer and praise services, July 7, 2: 30 P.M.; addresses of welcome by New York and Brooklyn pastors; response by President Gates of Amherst; annual report of the Secretary. July 8: Morning session; 9 o'clock, pastor's hour, brief addresses; reports of State and Territorial officers. Afternoon session: free parliament; address on Junior Christian Endeavor Work, and an open meeting. July 9. Prayer meeting; missionary section, followed by an open meeting; closing address. In the afternoon denominational meetings in different churches. The convention is to be in the Madison Square Garden.

July 9–13. Jubilee of the Norwegian Mission Society.

July 12. Beginning of the sessions of the Sixteenth Summer School of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy at Prohibition Park, Staten Island.

National Education Association at Saratoga.

July 12–26. New England Congregational Assembly.

July 12–*Aug.* 10. Summer University at Chautauqua.

July 14–17. General convention of the Baptist Young People's Union at Detroit, Mich.

July 16. Opening of Salvation Army Camp-Meeting at Old Orchard, Me. Commander Booth is to be present.

July 18. University Extension Conference at Chautauqua Lake.

Aug. 4–15. Tenth General Conference of Christians at Northfield, Mass.

Aug. 26. Chautauqua season closes.

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THE DOCTRINE ON RELIGION.

BY EML. V. GERHART, D.D., LL.D.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

ALL religions, whether ethnic or messianic, have some essential attributes in common. As to their generic idea, each is a spiritual communion between God and man, man and God. But all are not of the same order. A broad line of difference is to be drawn between ethnic religions and Christianity. Christianity is a communion of love quickened by the agency of the Holy Spirit between God and man, a communion which derives its life and distinguishing attributes from the Divine—human Mediator. Ethnic religions are different forms of the communion inaugurated by the creation in God's image of the primeval man, perverted and falsified by sin.

IMPORT OF THE WORD "RELIGION."

One of the primary elements which from the earliest ages entered into the conception of the natural religious life may be learned from the radical meaning of the Latin words from which the name *religion* has been derived. History presents two competing etymologies—the one by Cicero, who derives the word from *relegere*, the other by Lactantius, who derives it from *religare*.

The famous passage of the Roman orator giving his derivation of the word occurs in his work entitled "De Natura Deorum," and runs thus :

"Qui autem omnia, quæ ad cultum deorum pertinerent, diligenter retractarent et tamquam relegerent sunt dicti *religiosi a relegendo*."*

According to this etymology, religion is derived from *re-legere*, or, more directly, from another form of the infinitive, *re-ligere*, to gather, diligently practise ; that is, the religious gather sacred things by the exercise of judgment and by handling ; or, it may be said, they read Divine things by performing the duties relating to the worship of the gods. In his review of this derivation, Lactantius gives us his interpretation of the sense in which Cicero applied *re-legere*. He says : "They who handled again, and, as it were, carefully gathered all things which related to the worship of the gods, were called *religious* from carefully gathering, as some were called elegant from choosing out, and diligent from carefully selecting, and intelligent from understanding." * Though the conception of the Roman orator is defective, it includes valid elements. The radical thought is attention to the ceremonies of worship. The religious offer prayer, handle sacrifices, select, gather, perpetuate the rites of Divine service.

By virtue of kinship with their Creator, men have a perception of His existence and an inalienable spiritual sense constraining them to worship ; they are moved from within to revere things set apart to the gods, and to observe sacred rites. Feeling their dependence on a Power above them, they seek to obtain Divine favors, and desire intimations of the Divine will. Cicero's etymology partly expresses and partly implies these distinguishing traits of man's spiritual life, all centring in the instinct of worship.

According to Lactantius,† the word religion comes from *re-ligare*, to bind, bind back. Men are bound to God by the bond of piety ; and piety consists in the observance of the ordinances of worship. His words are : "Hoc vinculo pietatis obstricti Deo et religati sumus, unde ipse religio nomen accepit."‡

Here we meet a deeper view. "We are bound and tied to God by this chain of

* De Nat. Deorum, II., 28.

* Trans. Inst. Lact., IV., 28, by Dr. Roberts, Ante-nicene Fathers. Am. Rep., Vol. VII., p. 131.

† †330.

‡ Institutes, IV., 28.

piety; from which itself religion received its name, not, as Cicero explains it, from carefully gathering." Further on Lactantius expresses himself somewhat more fully: "The name of religion is derived from *the bond* of piety, because God has tied man to Himself, and bound him by piety; for we must serve Him as a Master, and be obedient to Him as a Father." Religion implies the obligation of service imposed by God, and obedience to His will. Cicero embraces chiefly the sacred rites performed by men, and the knowledge pertaining to these outward observances; in thought passing from the human toward the Divine. Lactantius emphasizes the Divine obligation and the ethical response of human life; in thought passing rather from God toward man. Both agree in holding religion to be chiefly Divine worship, *cultus Dei;* but the one mainly emphasizes the things that man does in worship, while the other moves rather in the reverse order. Lactantius puts more emphasis on God's authority and power, binding man by a spiritual and moral bond to Himself.

The doctrine concerning the nature of religion involved in the etymology of Lactantius is of the two derivations the more profound, and has in it more spiritual truth; but philologists have generally been maintaining that Cicero's derivation of the word is correct, though his conception of our religious life is the more defective. According to this opinion, the radical etymological meaning of religion would be that men by prayers, sacrifices, and other rites choose, gather, and handle things pertaining to the gods, implying that all men have a perception of the existence of the Divine Being, and feel an inward impulse to do Him homage.

There is room, however, to question this preponderance of judgment in favor of Cicero. The radical meaning of the word when derived from *re-ligare* is in more real sympathy with the spiritual instincts and spiritual history of our race. The pagan Cicero may perhaps be supported by a better philological argument; but the Christian Cicero may justify his derivation by a better religious philosophy.

Doctrine on Religion of Pagan Thinkers.

The ethnic religious *life* is in *principle* the same among all nations and in all ages, though there is much variation as to its strength, character, and mode of development. Not so with the notion or *theory* of religion. The accepted doctrine concerning its nature differs in different periods of history. The difference is referable partly to race and nationality, partly to the reigning spirit of the age, and partly to the status of philosophy or the influence of scientific theories. As the advent of the Christ is the central epoch of all history, introducing both a new spiritual life and a new era of thought concerning God and man, His revelation and mediatorial work have generated new conceptions, not only of true religion, but also of the inadequate religions of paganism.

Among the philosophers and religious teachers of the more civilized pagan nations, the conception of religion was commonly external and superficial. It is questionable whether, among the Greeks and Romans, several individuals possibly excepted, there was developed a philosophical conception concerning its nature. It was rather a general term applied to the numerous and conflicting ceremonies of worship. Religion consisted chiefly in the observance of these ceremonies. It was devotion to the gods, and was external rather than internal. This devotion presupposed and included temples, altars, sacrifices, prayers, festivals, and a priesthood. All were embraced in the notion of reverence and worship. These sacred observances were governed by traditional custom or by law. But neither philosophers nor religious teachers afford us a satisfying insight into the origin and spiritual meaning of sacred rites, or into the necessity and propriety of religious institutions. The Divine forces of the religious life are seen to be active, even vigorous, in the history of pagan nations; but we do not discover a distinct consciousness of these Divine forces nor a just conception of the intrinsic necessity of sacred observances.

The exceptions, if any, would be such earnest students as Socrates, Plato, Æschylus, Seneca, Cicero, and a few others. But Socrates, the most original and distinguished of all the serious thinkers among the Greeks on Divine things, declares that philosophers know nothing; and the difference between himself and others is that, while others imagine they know something, he knows that he knows nothing. In his "Apology" * he says: "I neither know nor think that I know."

Of this superficiality and deficiency the cause is to be found in the fact that, without the light and grace of messianic revelation, thought does not rise either to a definite perception of the unity and love of the

* Jowett's Plato, I., p. 319.

Divine Being, nor to any just apprehension of His relations to the world. Failing to know God rightly, ethnic teachers, by logical consequence, also fail rightly to know man. A just conception of man's relation to God is not supposable without a just conception of God's relation to man. The two conceptions are mutually conditional.

The Doctrine among the Early Church Fathers.

Nor do we find among the early Church Fathers a philosophic insight into man's religious life, nor a definite conception of the generic difference between the religions of the world and the religion of Christ. For them Jesus, the Christ, was the author and founder of the true religion. Christianity alone was pure, saving, and perfect, satisfying all the needs of our fallen race; the Church was for a sinful world the only ark of salvation. On all these and cognate questions the faith of the Church Fathers was discriminating and firm. Moreover, the logic and learning of the times evinced firmness and boldness in maintaining Christian truth against the unbelief, the arguments, and the ridicule of heathenism and Judaism.

As regards the *theology* of the first teachers, that was no less decidedly anti-pagan and christological. The personality of Jesus Christ, the Word made flesh, was held to be the central fact of the Christian religion. Indeed, the systematic thought of the first three centuries, hinging as it did on the Person of the Mediator, was more distinctively christological and more predominantly theological than in the post-nicene and mediæval ages.

Nevertheless, the radical errors of pagan beliefs, and the essential difference between ethnic religion and Christianity, were not defined, and but partially discerned. It was generally held that *religious life*, as it prevailed in the beginning of human history, and the *Christian life* were the same. Originally every nation possessed the truth of God and observed acceptable forms of worship; but the knowledge of Divine truth had been obscured and acceptable worship corrupted by the influence of demons.

The sentiment that the religious life of the Christian and the religious life of the pagan are one and the same lies at the bottom of the celebrated utterance of Tertullian: "Anima Christiana naturaliter est;" but it is susceptible of a meaning more profound and philosophical than was probably in the mind of the author. The same sentiment seems to have been in the mind of Justin Martyr, who says: "When Socrates endeavored by true reason and examination to deliver men from the demons, then the demons themselves, by means of men who rejoiced in iniquity, compassed his death as an atheist and a profane person, on the charge that he was 'introducing new divinities;' and in our case they display a similar activity. For not only among the Greeks did reason (Logos) prevail to condemn these things through Socrates, but also among the barbarians were they condemned by Reason Himself, who took shape, and became man, and was called Jesus Christ." * "We have been taught that Christ is the first-born of God; and we have declared above that He is the Word of whom every race of men were partakers; and those who lived reasonably (according to Reason, μετὰ λόγου) are Christians, even though they have been thought atheists, as among the Greeks, Socrates and Heraclitus, and men like them." † "And those of the Stoic school, since, so far as their moral teaching went, they were admirable, as were also the poets in some particulars, on account of the seed of Reason (λόγος σπερμάτικος) implanted in every race of men, were, we know, hated and put to death. For, as we intimated, the devils have always effected that all those who anyhow live a reasonable and earnest life and shun vice be hated. And it is nothing wonderful, if the devils are proved to cause those to be much worse hated who live not according to a part only of the Word diffused, but by the knowledge and contemplation of the whole Word which is Christ." ‡

According to Justin, all races of men are partakers of the Divine Logos, who is the first-born of God, and became man, and was called Jesus Christ; and all those who lived according to the Logos, implanted in every race of men, are Christians, among whom are Socrates, Heraclitus, and others like them. Whether he identified the implanted Divine Reason with the human reason, or in the immanence of the Divine Reason recognized a distinction of difference between the Divine and the human, or oscillated between the two conceptions is not certain. There is obvious confusion of thought. Of the generic difference between the religion of Christ and ethnic religions there is no definite recognition—perhaps none at all. And the opinion of Justin represents the dominant sentiment of the Church catholic in the second and third centuries.

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* First Apol., V. † *Ibid.*, 46. ‡ Second Apol., VIII.

The teachers of the early Church accordingly used the term religion in the same general sense in which it was used by pagan teachers. Religion was the service of God in worship, or the observance of festivals, sacred rites, and ordinances, *cultus Dei*. But while both classes of teachers applied the term to cultus, or the authorized offices of worship, there was this immense difference: condemning all pagan rites as unworthy of God, the term by the Church Fathers was appropriated to the offices of *Christian* worship. The Lord's Prayer, the use of the sacraments, and offerings coupled with works of charity—in other words, obedience to Christ in worship, in social conduct, and in all ethical activity—constituted true religion. Two things in the current sentiment are especially prominent: (1) The *human* factor, or the activity of the Christian believer toward God, and (2) the *service* of God *in worship* conducted agreeably to the order or custom of the Church.

The Doctrine in the Middle Ages.

During the mediæval ages the genius of Christianity struck its roots deeper into the soil of the Christian community, the Church increased in strength and extent, and her organization was consolidated; but the general sentiment respecting religion, in as far as this took shape in consciousness and thought, remained substantially the same. The human was the predominant element, and the disproportion between the human factor and the Divine became even greater.

After the accession of Constantine and the triumph of Athanasian ideas in the Council of Nice (325) the Church, notwithstanding her conflicts, grew in authority and controlling influence. With this growth was developed the prevalent tendency toward externalization and an imposing ritual. Ceremonies and offices were multiplied. The outward in the services of the sanctuary was more prominent. The adoration of pictures and images, the invocation of saints, pilgrimages, monkery, and manifold ascetic practices grew in favor and gradually gained the ascendency. Religion consisted largely in observing this outward routine of ceremonial service—a service, however, which always presupposed faith in Christ and the acceptance of the doctrines taught by the Church.

The term acquired special significance in its application to particular classes of men and women. Priests and monks and nuns were emphatically the *religious;* religious inasmuch as they abstained from marriage, withdrew from secular vocations, multiplied their prayers, fasted often and rigidly, inflicted pains upon the body by whipping and other arbitrary inventions, and performed many self-imposed works of external righteousness.

Though there was always a counter spiritual current, sometimes weaker, sometimes stronger, this sentiment respecting the nature of religion, perhaps never logically defined, obtained with more or less variation both in the Greek Catholic and the Roman Catholic churches. It was the reverential devotion of believers toward God, a devotion which expressed itself by recognizing the authority of the Church and honoring her institutions. The Divine factor in this conception was not wholly absent, but it was recognized under the form of obligation and command.

The Doctrine in the Sixteenth Century.

Closely connected with the revival of classical learning, of philosophic thought and general intelligence in the sixteenth century, though not the product of these forces, the Reformation gave fresh impulse to free inquiry and independent reflection on all subjects, especially on the Christian religion and the Christian Church; for the sense of emancipation from the Roman hierarchy, as regards dogma and the offices of worship, was profound and general, among the learned and the unlearned, in every state or province where the reactionary movement of freedom had gained a foothold. The absorbing question for the more earnest thinkers pertained to the doctrines concerning personal salvation and the scriptural mode of Divine worship. The controversy of the Reformers with Rome turned mainly on two momentous practical questions: (1) How shall a man obtain from God the forgiveness of sins? (2) What is the norm or critical standard of sound Christian doctrine? The conception respecting the nature of religion took shape among ministers and people in the communities of evangelical Protestantism under the quickening influence of this controversy.

By their attitude toward current errors and ecclesiastical abuses the Reformers on the continent of Europe and in Great Britain were involved in severe social and civil as well as doctrinal conflicts with the Roman Church. From stress of necessity they were wholly occupied with living issues. Had doctrinal and ecclesiastical reform the

civil right to live? Was the exposition of the Written Word independently of Roman tradition to be tolerated? Might changes in church organization and church services be lawfully introduced? These and similar questions absorbed their time and their thoughts. The answers which they gave and maintained were developed from the fundamental principles of the Reformation—namely, justification before God by faith in Jesus Christ, and the sole authority of Holy Scripture. To expound, enforce, and defend these fundamental truths became their great spiritual work. It was concrete and practical rather than abstract and philosophical. Hence in the sixteenth century we find growing ideas respecting religion, but only few attempts at a logical construction of its nature. Definite conceptions were developed concerning Jesus Christ as the only Saviour and concerning the Written Word as the only source of true religious knowledge, also on all questions involved in the redemptive virtue of Christianity; but the philosophy of religion was not cultivated, being superseded and excluded by the absorbing practical issues of the age. Hence the difference between ethnic religions and the religion of Christ, though seen and felt to be great, was not in the sphere of thought definitely wrought out.

The sentiment of the Reformation period as to the nature of religion comes to view in the prevalent teaching respecting the spiritual obligations of the Christian. A truly religious life was saving faith in Jesus Christ, approving itself by obedience to the law of God. Obedience, or godly living, actuated by justifying faith, was evangelical piety—that is, piety was the faithful service of God according to His will taught by the Written Word, or, as Hooker expresses it, "duties of service toward God." Such *faithful service* was *religion.*

At this point, however, a new element began to be developed; new, because not emphasized during the early centuries nor by the mediæval Church. As the Reformers laid special stress on the so-called formal principle, that the Written Word—not the traditions of the Roman Church—was the rule of faith and the only criterion of sound doctrine, they translated and circulated the Bible in the vernacular tongues; they preached Christian truth directly from the Word and as taught by the Word. By preaching, by commentaries, by catechisms, and by the circulation of the Bible among the people, it was their effort and purpose to impart and promote the *knowledge* of revealed truth.

Rome demanded and enforced an unquestioning acceptance of her dogmas, assuming that her *authority* was final and sufficient. The faith of the people (the *ecclesia audiens*) in the hierarchy or in the authoritative teaching of the Church (the *ecclesia docens*) was blind. Rome did not address both intellect and will, judgment and conscience, but principally the will, requiring passive submission to authority and conformity to prescribed ordinances. The Reformers, on the contrary, insisted on the exercise of an intelligent personal faith in Christ; therefore they taught the truth concerning Christ, that the people might know Him in whom they believed. Renouncing Roman tradition as the rule of faith, they affirmed the exclusive authority of God's Word; therefore with them it was a matter of the first importance to make the people acquainted with the teaching of the Word, that the people might be able to discriminate between evangelical truth and Roman errors. Thus *intelligence* became an element of the practical Christian life as well as obedience. From this time forth two forces were active in the growing evangelical doctrine concerning religion (1) the *worship* of God, and (2) the *knowledge* of God.

The plastic force of the Reformation "principles" (justification by faith and the exclusive authority of the Written Word) stimulated the progress of the doctrine of religion in another respect. As men are fallen, spiritually blind, by nature averse to God and prone to evil, some other questions called for an answer: Was there in human nature a basis of hope that the teaching and preaching of the Word would promote spiritual knowledge and beget faith? Do not the ignorance, moral perverseness, and the wickedness of sinners justify the theory of Rome that authority and power are the main dependence of the Church? not the self-verifying light of Divine truth, nor the judgment and conscience of the people? To questions of this class an answer was given; and the answer consisted in the assertion of a more scriptural conception of the spiritual life of our fallen race.

For the knowledge of God and the observance of the services of worship there was, it was held, a capacity in all men, notwithstanding the depravity of their nature or their inveterate perverseness. This capacity was a positive fitness or aptitude for Christian piety, an aptitude for faith in Christ, for Divine knowledge, and Christian morality. And the positive aptitude was commonly represented under the image of a germ or *seed.* The seed of personal relig-

ious character, the Reformers taught, was by the Creator implanted in the soul, a living seed that survives the fall. By Divine through grace, which is operative in the Spirit the preaching of the Gospel, this principle may become the beginning of Christian piety. As God had implanted in human nature the germ of religion, so He alone quickens this germ, develops it, and perfects it in a life of Christian faith.

According to Zwingli, the aptitude for religion is an innate idea which develops into the knowledge and fear of God. He says :

"Gott hat dem Menschen sein Bild eingedrückt, die Heiden nennen es die Idee (informatio) eine Vorstellung, welche die Natur dem Gemüthe eingeprägt hat, das ist, ein Vorbegriff, gleichsam, eine zum voraus gegebene, anerschaffene Kenntniss von Gott. Aus diesem anerborenen Bild oder Vorbegriffe oder Vorgefühl von der Gottheit entspringt die Furcht vor Gott." *

The principle of religion, according to Zwingli, is immanent in human nature, and ineradicable, being an endowment bestowed on all men by the Creator. The implanted image is an anticipation or presentiment of Deity, perception and feeling being its principal elements.

Says Calvin : "Experience testifies that the seeds of religion are sown by God in every heart." "Omnibus inditum esse divinitus religionis semen." † Again, he says that men are chargeable with sinfully corrupting the seeds of Divine knowledge, which, by the wonderful operation of nature, are sown in their hearts, so that they produce no good and fair crop. "Semen notitiæ Dei ex mirabili naturæ artificio mentibus inspersum est." ‡ This thought is warranted by the teaching of Paul in Rom. i. 18–20 and Rom. ii. 14, 15.

Religion being sown or implanted by God, like a seed, in the heart, it becomes an irrepressible impulse, a felt want, that spontaneously seeks and longs for the corresponding spiritual Object which will satisfy the inborn spiritual want. Some traces of this principle may be found in pagan philosophers and some in the scholastics of the Middle Ages ; but the Reformers and some of their successors during the seventeenth century emphasized the principle with special force, and turned it to account in the service of progress in the accepted doctrine of religion.

The idea of Zwingli, of Calvin, and other Reformed theologians, that the religious principle was innate, and to be compared to a seed sown in the soil of the human heart, entered into the Christian consciousness of the Reformation age—especially into the Reformed branch of Protestantism. It was unfolded into a better doctrine of religion. Accordingly it was maintained that the principal elements of piety, or the Christian service of God, are two—*knowledge* and *worship*. A distinction was made between intellectual and ethical knowledge. The knowing that was an essential constituent of piety was not *cognitio*, but *notitia* or *habitus ;* not merely a notion or mental apprehension, but a knowledge of God derived from an experience of His mercy, and of the gracious benefits that believers enjoy in the forgiveness of sins. True piety, the intelligent service of God in Christian worship, grew forth from such spiritual experience or habitus. This was the *conditio sine qua non*. Says Zwingli :

"Ea adhæsio, qua Deo utpotè solo bono inconcusse fidit, pietas est, religio est." * The actual, practical appropriation of the gracious gifts of God, prompted by the necessities of the soul, was religion.

Zwingli touches a richer idea when he calls religion the marriage of the soul to God : "animæ Deique connubium ;" † doubtless suggested by the profound imagery of Scripture.‡ But this rich thought was not seized by himself nor by the age and consistently unfolded.

The same view of Divine knowledge was taught by other reformers. I quote from Calvin :

"Virtutum Dei sensus nobis idoneus est pietatis magister, ex qua religio nascitur ; donec enim sentiant homines, Deo se omnia debere, ut nihil præter illum quærendum sit, nunquam ei se voluntaria observatione subjicient." §

According to this teaching, religion was piety, and the principal factor in piety was subjective, consisting chiefly not in objective or theoretic *cognitio*, but in a feeling, *sensus*, or an inner consciousness of God, *habitus*, arising from an experience of the blessings of forgiving grace, *notitia Dei ejusque beneficiorum*.

The Doctrine in the Seventeenth Century.

During the latter half of the sixteenth century, and still more so throughout the seventeenth, the Reformation doctrine of religion, that it was personal piety, a dis-

* Zwingli, I., 273. † Institutes, I., 4, 1. ‡ *Ib.*, I., 5, 15.

* Zw., III., 175. † *Ib.*, III., 180.
‡ Eph. v., 27-33 ; Rev. xix., 7-9. § Calv. Inst., I., 2, 1.

position of the heart toward God, gradually lost its force, becoming less vital and more theoretic. The two constituent elements, knowledge and worship, held their place in the conception ; they were even more and more emphasized. But intellectual apprehension, *cognitio,* gained the ascendency over personal experience, *habitus.* The knowledge of God, agreeably to the intellectualizing trend of the age, came less by the exercise of Divine confidence, less from the felt sense of the benefits of grace, less from obedience to God's will, and more from rational reflection on God. Thus the experimental idea of religion as taught by Zwingli, Luther, Calvin, Peter Martyr, and all the Reformers of the first generation, underwent a great change, being in large measure supplanted by a philosophic idea and a scholastic method. Knowledge and worship were its two distinct features ; but each was intellectual rather than spiritual, formal more than vital. Says Heidegger : "Religion is the right way of duly knowing and worshipping the true God."

"Notitia et cultus Dei religionis nomine venit, quæ recta verum Deum rite cognoscendi et colendi ratio est." *

To the same effect is the later declaration of Wyttenbach : "Religion is the right way of knowing and worshipping God."

"Religio est recta Deum cognoscendi et colendi ratio." †

Of equivalent force are the words of Bishop Butler, who was contemporaneous with Wyttenbach : "The essence of natural religion may be said to consist in religious regards to *God the Father Almighty ;* and the essence of revealed religion, as distinguished from natural, to consist in religious regards to *the Son* and to *the Holy Ghost.* And the obligation we are under, of paying these religious regards to each of these Divine persons respectively, arises from the respective relations which they each stand in to us." ‡

With this definition theologians and other scholars (in Great Britain and on the Continent) of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were in accord. The right method of knowing and worshipping the true God was religion. Dissent and opposition came from the school of Pietism, introduced by Spener § during the latter half of the seventeenth century, and supported by August Hermann Francke, Joachim Lange, and others, who laid stress on our emotional life, bringing to the consciousness of their age the truth of the mystic element in Christianity.

The definition of religion propounded by Heidegger and others in behalf of Christian theology was in course of time modified and made to do service in the interest of philosophy. Christian Wolf, the successor of Leibnitz, the systematizer of the metaphysical speculations of this great philosopher, accepting the traditional opinion of the Protestant churches on religion, resolved it into a logical formula, putting it in the words of Heidegger, with a few apparently slight but significant variations. It is expressed in these words :

"Religio Deum cognoscendi et colendi modus est."

Instead of *verum Deum* we have simply *Deum ;* instead of *recta ratio* we have, not *rectus modus,* but only *modus* without a positive adjunct, the qualifying adverb *rite* being also omitted. According to Heidegger, religion was the *right* or scriptural order of knowing and worshipping the *true* God ; but according to the definition of philosophy, religion was merely a mode of knowing and worshipping God ; implying that any mode of worship, and the worship of any god, true or false, was true religion. I have contrasted the two formulas, not because the one is wholly true and the other wholly false, but to set forth the downward movement of thought among scholars on the question.

The validity of this conception Wolf (1679–1754) endeavored to establish and defend by logical argument, claiming even that the doctrines of religion could be proved mathematically. As the proposition embodies the substance of the opinion which had been current in the circles of culture for two centuries, the doctrine in this its more philosophic and less Christian form gained general acceptance, and it prevailed alike among Rationalists and Supranaturalists. Taking this proposition as a principle, we should have to define Christianity to be the true mode of knowing and worshipping the true God—as was done by Heidegger. On the other hand, Mohammedanism and every ethnic religion would be a false or defective mode of knowing and worshipping God. The difference between the Christian religion and non-Christian religions comes to be a difference, not of kind, but of degree ; and it turns rather on the manner of worship than on its Object.

* Heidegger, Med. 5, 1633–1698.
† Wyttenbach, I., II., 1706–1779. The variation of Wyttenbach's conception from the conception of Heidegger shows the progress of the rationalistic spirit.
‡ 1692–1752. Analogy, Part II., 1, 2.
§ 1635–1705.

Doctrine on Religion of Schleiermacher.

This conception held sway in the theological systems of the Protestant churches, though not without opposition from Mystics and Pietists, until the opening of our century, when Schleiermacher * had risen to the zenith of his strength. He constitutes the important epoch in modern theological thought. Waiving the matter of worship and knowledge, he fixes his eye on *feeling*, the pathic element of the soul, an element of religious life which during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had not been accentuated, neither by philosophy nor by the reigning theologies. Like the Reformers, Schleiermacher views religion in the concrete. It is not a theory nor a ceremony, but a life of devotion, growing forth from an intuitive sense of absolute dependence on God.

Schleiermacher completed the circle of possible subjective principles, the ethical, the cognitive or intellectual, and the emotional being the three fundamental distinctions in the organism of the human soul. As the Reformers had passed from the activity of the will, or from worship to the intelligence, asserting the necessity of a knowledge of revealed truth, while the necessity of worship was retained, so Schleiermacher, who though a Reformed theologian, had been measurably moulded by and was in living sympathy with historical Pietism as this existed in the Unitas Fratrum—now commonly known as Moravians—passed from worship and knowledge to a principle no less original and essential. But in making the transition to *feeling*, both worship and knowledge lost their rights. Schleiermacher not only recognized the just claims of feeling, but he set it on the throne. *Feeling* became the determinative factor of his conception of religion. In this respect he was less conservative than the epoch of the Reformation.

When the Reformers advanced from the ethical to the cognitive, from worship to knowledge, neither worship nor obedience was superseded or eliminated. Both entered into the growing idea of religion and practically held their place—at least during the sixteenth century—as co-ordinate members. But when Schleiermacher, seeing the deficiencies of the theology of his age, discerned the radical significance of feeling, he eliminated both knowledge and obedience from his *principle*. Obedience and knowledge both occupy a place in his religious system, but neither is co-ordinate with feeling. As by him the feeling of dependence alone is held to be original and determinative, feeling conditions knowledge and worship.

Schleiermacher expresses his principle in the following words :

" Das gemeinsame aller noch so verschiedenen Aeuszerungen der Frömmigkeit, wodurch diese sich zugleich von allen andern Gefühlen unterscheiden, also das sich selbst gleiche Wesen der Frömmigkeit ist dieses, dasz wir uns unsrer selbst als schlechthin abhängig, oder, was dasselbe sagen will, als in Beziehung mit Gott bewuszt sind." *

The thought expressed by this quotation, or the principle on which the whole system hinges, may be said to be " *das schlechthinige Abhängigkeitsgefühl.*" That which is distinctive of all religions and common to all is *the feeling of absolute dependence on Deity*, a feeling of which we have an immediate consciousness.

In this new conception Schleiermacher reproduces and combines two historical ideas : one that was prominent among the Reformers, and another asserted in the seventeenth century by the Pietists. Affirming the absolute *sovereignty* of God and the absolute *dependence* of man on the Divine will, as Gottschalk of the ninth century had done, the Reformers—those especially who adhered to the Calvinistic school—made this twofold idea the starting point for the doctrine of unconditional predestination, which they wrought out into a complete system ; but Schleiermacher, starting with the same idea regarding God's sovereignty and man's dependence, applied it, not only to the realm of thought and Divine knowledge, but to the sphere of feeling and experience—the product of the one being primarily theoretic, and the product of the other practical and experimental. Schleiermacher fails to do full justice to the Divine factor in the idea common to him and to the Reformers, while he puts disproportionate emphasis on the human factor. The Reformers fail to do full justice to the human factor in the common idea while they put disproportionate emphasis on the Divine factor. Moreover, in laying chief stress not on a metaphysical hypothesis concerning the Divine will, but on our *sense* of dependence on God, of which all men are immediately conscious, Schleiermacher reasserted and appropriated under a modified form the truth involved in Mysticism, and

* 1768–1834.

* Chr. Glaube, § 4.

reproduced by the Pietism of Spener. Schleiermacher thus combined two historical forces—absolute dependence and religious feeling, or logical thought and the mystical sentiment. Forces which since the sixteenth century had been antagonizing each another were by him combined in a new theory of religion. But the pivot of the new theory was not the postulate of dependence, not Divine sovereignty, but *human feeling*, or the *sense* of dependence on the absolute God.

Hence, in so far as the powerful influence of the Schleiermacherian principle has been moulding the religious life of the nineteenth century, the doctrine of religion is anthropological rather than theological. The human factor is predominant, not the intellectual nor the moral forces of our nature, but the emotional.

Critical Review.

The doctrine of religion had now completed the human circle. Beginning with the *ethical*, as expressed in the services of worship, the doctrine after the lapse of ages had passed to the recognition of the *intellectual* element, affirming the rights of reason and judgment. This new position, gained by the Reformation, though a positive advance upon the traditional conception of the mediæval age, was nevertheless inadequate, and the sense of the deficiencies of this advanced position showed itself in the pietistic revival of the seventeenth century. Finally the great theological genius of modern Germany asserts the claims of spiritual *feeling;* thus full justice was done to the human side of religion. Each element is valid ; nor may either be ignored or undervalued. But neither by the Reformers nor by Schleiermacher were these three subjective elements wrought out into an organic whole. This is due to the fact that the Divine factor of religion was either overlooked or the apprehension of its claims was seriously defective.

I. The main current of religious thought and religious practice has in nearly every age been predominantly humanitarian. Man—his services, his opinions, his desires and inclinations in their relation to the Divine Being—is the chief, even among some pagan nations and some Christian communities, the exclusive factor in the doctrine or the opinion respecting the religious life. As in philosophy, Idealism denies the independent reality of the world ; as in ethics a one-sided theory of volition may deny objective moral truth to be the substance of positive freedom ; so in the doctrine of religion the constant immediate action of God on the heathen has commonly been unrecognized or denied. God requires worship ; this is an obligation ; He accepts sacrifices ; He may hear prayers ; He may bestow rich blessings or inflict judgments ; something may be known of His attributes or the dealings of His providence ; He promises the forgiveness of sins and eternal life to those who believe in Jesus Christ ; and to Christians He is the One in whom they may trust with confiding assurance for all temporal and spiritual good. So much is commonly acknowledged ; but the religious life is referred, either mainly or sometimes exclusively, not to God, but to man. Religion is a human interest, an experience of each man's heart, or it is the spiritual state of a community in relation to God and the heavenly world, showing itself in pious sentiments, in Divine knowledge and moral conduct or Christian righteousness. This conception, with modifications more or less radical, as it appears in the course of history, has been, not exclusively prevalent, but predominant either as a tradition, or a current sentiment, or an approved doctrine among pagan nations and in the Christian Church. God has not entered into the doctrine as the *primary* and *essential factor.**

II. Among pagan nations religion was and is generally *a slavish observance* of external ceremonies and formal prayers that do not and cannot abolish the law of sin, nor deliver either the masses or the ruling classes from the miseries of vice and wickedness.

In the Greek Catholic Church during the flourishing period of the first four or five centuries the immanence of God was an emphatic principle. Christ was held to be the central truth in the idea of Christianity. He was present with His people as the Head of His Church, and He was in communion with them in sacraments, in ordinances, and by His Word. Yet in the prevailing current of sentiment human activity was preponderant. Divine activity did not hold a co-ordinate place. Hence some superstí-

* The principal exception to this general statement is the theory of unconditional predestination. Yet the exception is not as significant as to some minds it may at first appear. A broad line of separation is drawn between the elect and the non-elect. In regard to both classes the doctrine on religion is one-sided. The attitude of God toward the non-elect, who consist of the masses of mankind both in Pagan and Christian countries, is an attitude of aversion and displeasure, not of positive sympathy. As regards the elect, unconditional predestination passes to the opposite error, affirming disproportionately the action of sovereign grace. Effectual calling, repentance and faith, perseverance and sanctification are ascribed to God alone, little stress, if any, being laid on the positive receptivity or the inborn capability of the responsive action of the psychic man.

tious views about the water of Holy Baptism and the natural elements of the Lord's Supper soon intruded themselves; these were accompanied and followed by a false reverence for pictures and images, by the invocation of saints, and by the prevalence of asceticism. From these and similar facts it may be seen that the sense of the presence and direct action of God in Christ upon believers and in them by the Spirit, was obscured.

The current of thought which made man's activity toward God the chief thing in religion, and reduced the sympathetic activity of God toward man to the minimum deepened and widened in the Roman Catholic Church of the Middle Ages. It may be supposed that this allegation is contradicted by history. Was not the hierarchy a sacerdotal corporation, invested with Christ's authority? Did it not claim to possess the rich treasures of Divine grace? Was not the plenitude of grace dispensed to all the faithful? How, then, can it be said that in the doctrine concerning religion the activity of God was not emphasized? The answer is given by the Roman system. The hierarchy claims to be the representative and duly authorized agent of God. The Pope is the vicar of Christ. Christ is in heaven. Christ is infinitely removed from the faithful, having delegated His authority and saving virtue to the successor of St. Peter, who teaches and governs and absolves in Christ's stead; but Christ glorified does not Himself by His holy Spirit enter directly into loving fellowship with the faithful. He is not a co-ordinate factor in religion, but has authorized the *ecclesia docens* to be the mediator between Himself and believers. According to the Roman system, religion consists in the service of faith and obedience which believers offer to the objects of worship according to the order prescribed by the Church. The activities of believers toward the Church, or toward God as represented by the Church, constitute the principal if not the only factor in the religious life.

III. Though variously modified (though knowledge, the new element in the doctrine of religion asserted by the Reformers, was more experimental and spiritual in the sixteenth century, and more intellectual and formal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), yet the Reformation conception was as to its essentials the reigning conception in theological circles down to the time of Schleiermacher. As formulated by Heidegger and other theologians, religion was the method of knowing and worshipping God.

In one respect this definition of the nature of religion is valid. Worship and some measure of knowledge enter necessarily into ethnic religion, and especially into the religion of Christ. We cannot take issue with the Reformers and the theologians who succeeded them when they lay stress on the knowledge of God, much less when they insist on a knowledge which is the fruit of love and obedience. Spiritual ignorance and indifference to worship contravene the nature of the religious life; yet their conception that religion is the right way of knowing and worshipping God is inadequate. It is not commensurate to the nature of ethnic religion, much less to the nature of the Christian religion.

In its application to the religion of Christ the conception lacks distinctiveness and breadth. Of Christianity the fundamental truth is Jesus Christ, the Divine-human Mediator. From Him, the Author and Finisher of faith, the kingdom of God derives its existence and its heavenly resources. The ministry and the sacraments are instituted by Him. By *His* Spirit the Written Word is inspired. He is the Mediator of all acceptable worship. His person and mediatorial work constitute the ground of all the doctrines peculiar to Christianity. The true worship of God differs from the rites of paganism, and the true knowledge of God differs from all pagan myths by virtue of His *life* and His *redemption*. But this fundamental and distinguishing truth is not recognized by the Wolfian formula nor by the definite propositions of Bishop Butler; nor is it by implication included. The formula proceeds on the assumption that Christianity is one of many religions; it belongs to a class—all, whether pagan, or Jewish, or Christian, being as to their essential qualities the same. The difference between them is a difference of some essential attributes rather than of substance, a difference in degrees of excellence rather than of kind.

Neither as regards any ethnic religion is the formula under review thorough and adequate. Every religion, no matter how horrid its myths, how absurd its superstitions, how debasing its worship, has in itself a force deeper than knowledge, an element more original than the rites of worship. That force, that element, is the Divine instinct, a self-motion of the human spirit toward communion with God in devotion and righteousness. This includes the ethical impulse. The intellectual and the ethical, though not identical, are nevertheless one personal life. To say the least,

spontaneity of will is connate with the first perceptive acts of the intellect. Religious knowledge stands in the religious will, a will bound up in an immediate relationship to God. The intuitive perceptions of Deity include the determining activity of the moral nature no less than the Divine capacities of the intellect. From this twofold principle, latent in human personality, have been developed all myths and all rites of worship.

To this criticism it may be objected that rites of worship, the *Deum colendi modus* emphasizes the determination of the will. In one respect the objection is valid. The worship of Deity springs from the action of the religious will. And the oldest element in the sentiment or opinion concerning religion is the obligation of worship. But the notion of worship embraced no more than external rites and ceremonies. This notion was the prevalent one among pagan nations, and it became predominant in the Christian Church. Not that the actual religion of the Christian Church consisted only or principally in external observances, but that the predominant *theory* respecting its nature put emphasis mainly on external conformity to ecclesiastical rites. The demands of man's ethical life were not duly recognized by the reigning sentiment of the mediæval ages. Nor was this demand duly recognized by the traditional doctrine of the Protestant Church as expressed by the traditional formula. The *Deum colendi modus* covered the offices of worship prescribed by the Reformed and Lutheran churches, just as the *Deum cognoscendi modus* embraced, not the spiritual knowledge of God, but the doctrinal formulas of the sixteenth century as held and taught by the Confessions of Faith. The principle that true religion necessarily involves personal righteousness, or that the positive salvation of Christ is personal activity in Him and according to His will, was not a necessary part of the *doctrine* as expressed by the formula: Deum cognoscendi et colendi modus; however true it may be that the pulpit taught and enforced more complete religious truth, and that the experience of the membership was deeper and more vital. This defect in the doctrine was one cause of the formalism and spiritual deadness that gained the ascendency on the continent of Europe and in Great Britain during the mediæval age of evangelical Protestantism.

But the traditional doctrine will be seen to be still more defective, when considered relatively to God, the Object of knowledge and worship. The formula recognizes but one factor in religion, or but one agent—that is man. The knowledge affirmed by it is the knowledge that man has concerning God; the worship is the service which man renders to God. In this conception of religion God indeed has a place; but only as the Object, as the Person to be known and adored; not a place as an Agent. God is the passive Object of knowledge; the religious are those that seek to know His will as revealed in Holy Scripture. God also is the Object of worship; Him, the Triune God, the religious honor and adore, and to Him they bring their offerings of thanksgiving. The principal activity is human activity.

These elements of the conception of religion are unquestionably valid elements. God is the Object of religious knowledge, and the Object of rational worship. In these respects the definition is not open to criticism. But the proposition that God is the Object of knowledge and of worship expresses but one side of religious life. In every religion, whether pagan or Christian, there are not only two terms—God and man—but there are also two factors, two agencies. God is not only worshipped and known, He is also active toward man as really as man is active toward God.

Even the proposition that God and man are both active does not express the whole truth. In the history of our race God is even in a much more profound sense than man a factor in religion; He is ever the primary activity, while man is ever secondary and responsive; God is communicative toward man, while man is receptive toward God. So Paul argued when he stood in the midst of the Areopagus.* A doctrine that does not affirm Divine agency to be as really an essential part of the religious life as human agency falls short of being commensurate to the objective truth by the omission of the principal factor.

IV. The theory of Schleiermacher supplies a defect in the traditional definition by recognizing and asserting the rights of moral and spiritual feeling, thus imparting a more earnest tone to theological science. Yet he also fails to assert the principal factor in the idea of religion. Though he supplements the traditional definition, his conception is still more intensely subjective. Objective truth has less force in his system than in the traditional systems which he set aside.

According to Schleiermacher, feeling or the conscious sense of direct relationship to

* Acts xvii. 22–31.

God is religion. Man's relation to God is the relation of absolute dependence; and this sense of absolute dependence, as regards his existence, his activity, and his condition for weal or woe, is, as he maintains, the germ of the natural religious life, the principle of all theological science. But Schleiermacher's theory is open to the grave objection that it wrongs the autonomy of man. Though relative, autonomy is nevertheless real. Human personality is its own law. Feeling is spontaneous, but not supreme. It is not the taproot from which the will and the intellect grow as branches. Latent personality is an organic unity. In it the emotional, the rational, and voluntary principles are the triune Divine image. The will is not less original nor less spontaneous than sensibility. Ethical life is active in the feeling and in the consciousness of dependence, giving to both consciousness and feeling an ethical intonation and a personal habit. It may even be said that the spontaneous motions of the will are active in the very first impulses of feeling and in the earliest dawn of consciousness, active as a formative force awakening spiritual tendencies and shaping in the bud the individual turn of every man's religious history.

If we recognize the relative autonomy of man, the co-ordinate force of spontaneous self determination, in human personality, we may go a step further. and even challenge Schleiermacher's doctrine of dependence. Given the personality of God and the personality of man, the question may be put: Is human dependence *absolute?* Man's original existence is indeed referable alone to the creative Word; and his continued existence presupposes at every instant God's upholding and governing energy. But man is not a passive thing. Passiveness would directly contradict ethical life. He is not as clay in the hands of a potter.* Therefore it cannot be said that human activity in any relation or toward any object depends *absolutely* on God. According to the Divine idea of manhood, self-related activity, the free determination of his conduct toward God, and the formation of his own spiritual character are among his essential prerogatives. Formed in God's image, he is as to his essence godlike; being capable of acknowledging and honoring his Creator, or of renouncing and dishonoring Him. By an abuse of his high prerogatives he may despise the authority of God, violate His laws, and resist His omnipotence. This cardinal and distinguishing factor, the autonomy of will, in human personality the Schleiermacherian hypothesis fails to include; hence it makes religion mainly a sentiment, a subjective discipline, comparatively destitute of objective reality and of moral stamina.

So soon as we enter the realm of human personality and emphasize the autonomy of will, we are in the midst of conditions and relations very different from the relations and conditions of feeling. Normal autonomy presupposes an unconditional personal authority above the plane of human history, the authority of an ultimate law to which man's will is subject. The perception of this authority is immediate. A supreme law possesses man. It is active in his conscience. Though free to affirm the supreme law or to deny it, he does not sunder himself from it. God commands and forbids; man obeys or disobeys. Here in the ethical sphere we transcend the feeling of absolute dependence; we have entered the realm of volition and self-determination. The relation between man and God is not on the one side absolute dependence, and on the other absolute sovereignty, but the relation is one of reciprocal activity between God and man —between the Divine will and the human will.

It is, further, deserving of notice that Schleiermacher's doctrine expresses but a part of the truth, even respecting human feeling. Ignoring the spontaneous determinative forces of ethical life, he also overlooks the fact that feeling has in it an ethical tone. Man has indeed an inalienable sense of Divine dependence; dependence, however, touches but one chord; all the chords of Divine feeling are not struck. In the structure of his heart there is slumbering a richer tone. Man has likewise a sense of *kinship* with God. God is for his soul the necessary complement; and man is for God the suitable object of His love. The sense of kinship is as profound, as spontaneous, and inalienable as the sense of dependence.

The lack of due recognition of man's Divine kinship, of the affinity between the being of man and the Being of God, in Schleiermacher's hypothesis, kept the new doctrine in sympathy with the one sided character of the traditional conception. As Heidegger and Wolff had done, so Schleiermacher excluded *God's living agency* from the doctrine of religion. In the pre-Schleiermacherian definition, God was the Object of knowledge and of worship; in the new doctrine God is the Object on whom man feels

* The imagery of Paul in Rom. ix. 21 teaches the absolute sovereignty of God's electing love, not the nature of human personality

himself to be absolutely dependent. But in neither the traditional definition nor in the Schleiermacherian hypothesis is God Himself a factor. Man's conscious sense of dependence is the germ of religion, and from this germ all religious phenomena in the sphere of practice and of knowledge, of science and of art, are developed. The positive agent is man; God is a term. He does not enter really into religious life. God is remote, not near; and in His remoteness He is majestic and unsympathetic. He confronts the spiritual sense, but He does not quicken it into life nor nourish it. He is to be loved, adored, honored, worshipped; but He is not the vital antecedent of piety; He does not of His own motion enter into fellowship with worshippers as a Father with His children.

The place assigned to God in religion, no less by the teaching of the Old Testament than by the teaching of the New Testament, but especially by the incarnation and personal history of the Son of God, is wanting alike in the traditional formula "Deum cognoscendi et colendi modus," and in the complemental hypothesis of Schleiermacher.

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PROFESSOR DRIVER ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE BISHOP OF COLCHESTER.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), June, 1892.

II.

IN a former article some reasons were adduced, from the point of view of a non-Hebraist, for considering Dr. Driver to be, in some important respects, an untrustworthy authority for that large section of the public who are content to know what a writer of reputation has said on any subject, without going into the further question, what grounds he has for saying it. Some remarks are now offered, first, on his method of dealing with one particular portion of the Old Testament, the Book of Psalms.

Much that Dr. Driver has written on this important section of Holy Scripture is, in substance, identical with what has been said before by other writers, though he says it better than most of them. But, when "critical conclusions" come in view, we observe a singular and ominous difference. His method of treatment then becomes a bald, prosaic literalism, singularly unsuited to the subject with which he is dealing, and not observable when other poetical books are under review. The reason of this difference is, perhaps, not far to seek. No part of the Old Testament has been considered more distinctly, in a Christian sense, "Messianic"* than many of the Psalms. The exigencies, therefore, of rationalistic criticism require that the Psalms, in this aspect, should be made the object of special attack; and a prosaic literalism in the interpretation of them furnishes for this purpose a weapon ready to hand. This characteristic is especially observable in that section of the work which deals with the so-called "Davidic" Psalms. A remark of Dr. Driver's, to the effect that no true ideas of Biblical criticism can be drived from allusions to the subject in contemporary literature, receives a curious illustration from a writer in the *Times* newspaper (March 12, 1892), who begins a highly laudatory notice of the "Introduction" by remarking that "fifty years ago most English readers believed that . . . *David wrote all the Psalms.*" Had this writer taken the trouble to become an "English reader" himself, and referred to his Bible (or to the book he was reviewing, pp. 347–8), he would have seen that twenty-eight psalms claim by their titles another authorship than David's. Of the remainder, forty-nine are anonymous, no author being named in their titles. Thus the largest number of Psalms which tradition has ever ascribed to David, instead of being the whole, is less than half. Of the number so ascribed, whether the whole, or half, or less than half, can reasonably be believed to have been really the work of David, is a question of no great importance. But the reasons given by Dr. Driver for contesting the Davidic authorship are often singularly weak and inconclusive. He entirely ignores the *poetical* character of these compositions, which, by their deep spirituality, are, as he himself confesses, well fitted to be the "hymn-book of the Christian Church," and requires that their expressions should exactly correspond with the historical record of David's life, as we have it in the Books of Samuel. Thus, on Psalm lv., he remarks, "The situation is very unlike that of David during Absalom's rebellion; the Psalmist lives among foes in a

* The words "Messiah" and Messianic" frequently occur in Dr. Driver's pages, but with no clue to the meaning he attaches to them. From the expression (p. 324), "The Messiah who will rule successfully, and complete the building of the Temple," we infer that that meaning does not include the sense in which the words have been usually understood by Christians.

city, whose walls they occupy with their patrols; from the violence which they exercise within it he would gladly escape to the desert," &c. Has Dr. Driver never heard of a poet expressing himself in terms which have no sort of correspondence with his actual circumstances, or even, it may be, with his real desires? When Cowper wrote:

> "Oh for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
> Some boundless contiguity of shade,
> Where rumour of oppression and deceit,
> Of unsuccessful and successful wars,
> Might never reach me more!"—

are we to suppose that he was really prepared to exchange Olney or Weston for the backwoods of America? Or, if not, are we to deny that the lines were really Cowper's? Or, when we read in the "Christian Year":

> "I thought it scorn with Thee to dwell,
> A Hermit in a silent cell,
> While, gaily sweeping by,
> Wild Fancy blew his bugle strain,
> And marshalled all his gallant train
> In the world's wondering eye,"

can this be only ascribed to Keble if we can prove that his habitual residence was in a literal hermit's cell, not in Oriel College or Hursley Parsonage? Criticism so prosaic and matter-of-fact as this must obviously be wide of the mark when employed on such compositions as the Psalms.

On Psalm xxii. 27–30, we are asked to suppose that David, as a Psalmist, must have been incapable of foreseeing or imagining that wide prevalence of the religion of Jehovah which was undoubtedly anticipated by more than one of the later prophets: a supposition which there are no grounds whatever for our entertaining. Even "inspiration" in the lower sense—that in which we ascribe it to every poet worthy of the name—might account for the outburst: "All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto Jehovah; and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee. For the kingdom is Jehovah's, and He is the governor among the nations."

On Psalm li., Dr. Driver adopts the grotesque theory that the Psalm represents the feelings, not of an individual, but of the nation collectively; a view against which every line of the Psalm itself reclaims, except the last two verses, which many commentators, of various dates and schools, have agreed in regarding as a later addition to the original composition. The grand paradox of verse 4, "Against Thee, Thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in Thy sight," so impressive in the mouth of the theocratic king, directly representing to the people the majesty and holiness of God, evokes only the flat truism that David had undoubtedly sinned very grievously against his neighbour.* Perhaps no more inadequate criticism on David as the reputed author of this and kindred Psalms has ever been offered than that which is contained in the following passage:

> "David had many high and honourable qualities; he was loyal, generous, disinterested, amiable, a faithful friend, a just and benevolent ruler; and the narrative in the Book of Samuel shows that his religion elevated and ennobled his aims, and, except on the occasion of his great fall, exerted a visible influence upon the tenor of his life. Still, as we should not gather from the history that he was exposed to a succession of trials and afflictions *of the kind represented in the Psalms ascribed to him*, so we should not gather from it that he was a man of the deep and intense spiritual feeling reflected in the Psalms that bear his name."

The conception of a man capable of deep spiritual emotions and high aspirations, and capable also of expressing those emotions and aspirations in impassioned utterances, yet displaying in the recorded acts of his public life scarcely a trace of this deeper and higher side of his character, is one which Dr. Driver has evidently not been capable of forming. Yet this duality of nature, or of aspect, is surely among the best ascertained phenomena of human character. In modern times, the recollections of intimate friends, letters, diaries, and other autobiographical sources, often reveal to us, after his death, the real character of the man "in his habit as he lived." In the tenth century before Christ these means did not exist. To say that the want of them cannot have been supplied, in some measure, by the Psalms in which David has recorded his need of divine forgiveness and grace, or his joy in divine favour and goodness, but that our estimate of him must be formed solely by the narrative of the compiler of the Books of Samuel, is to introduce into our judgment of human character, and into the "literature of the Old Testament," canons which in the case of any other books, or any other persons, would be regarded as too arbitrary and unreal to demand serious consideration.

It is instructive to contrast the treatment which the Prince of Psalmists has received at the hands of the Anglican Professor—the cold, unsympathetic estimate, the hard, unimaginative literalism, the minute and cap-

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* At p. 355, Dr. Driver assumes, without attempting to prove, that "*build* Thou the walls of Jerusalem," *v.* 18, should be translated *rebuild* or *restore*; at p. 367, he takes this assumption as a ground for denying the Psalm to David: "the *restoration* of Jerusalem would be the sign that God was reconciled to His people."

tious criticism—with the warm and generous spirit in which the non-Christian author of "Heroes and Hero Worship," has recorded his appreciation of the character of David, as revealed in those psalms which no "higher criticism" had taught Carlyle to assign to unknown and imaginary authors :

"David, the Hebrew King, had fallen into sins enough ; blackest crimes ; there was no want of sins. . . . What are faults, what are the outward details of a life, if the inner secret of it, the remorse, temptations, true, often-baffled, never-ended struggle of it be forgotten ? 'It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.' Of all acts, is not, for a man, *repentance* the most divine? The deadliest sin, I say, were that same supercilious consciousness of no sin ; that is death ; the heart so conscious is divorced from sincerity, humility, and fact ; is dead ; it is 'pure' as dead dry sand is pure. David's life and history, as written for us in those psalms of his, I consider to be the truest emblem ever given of a man's moral progress and warfare here below. All earnest souls will ever discern in it the faithful struggle of an earnest human soul towards what is good and best. Struggle often baffled, sore baffled, down as into entire wreck ; yet a struggle never ended ; ever with tears, repentance, true unconquerable purpose, begun anew."

There is something almost pathetic in the complaint (p. 408, note) "It is surprising that Delitzsch should treat Psalms lxxxviii., lxxxix., as compositions of the age of Solomon." Dr. Driver has been wounded in the house of his friends. The conversion of Delitzsch, late in life, to the "critical" view of Isaiah xl.–lxvi. has been hailed with an exultation which is quite natural, for his is a *clarum et venerabile nomen* among Biblical critics. That Delitzsch should, nevertheless, have maintained an independent judgment on the date of particular Psalms must naturally be surprising to one wedded to the rationalistic view of the Old Testament. But other surprises may, perhaps, await Dr. Driver when he is confronted by "a race of scholars to whom it is a matter of absolute indifference whether they are regarded as 'scientific' or not, and who will analyse and dissect the assertions of Wellhausen and Kuenen, and their disciples, as mercilessly as if they had the misfortune to be critics of the orthodox type." * The great facts and persons of Old Testament history will remain, whether "endorsed by Kuenen" or not ; and in spite of Dr. Driver's dogmatic assertion that belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch cannot be maintained, that belief, if only a reasonable latitude be allowed to the term *authorship,* will undoubtedly continue to be maintained, and, what is more, will continue to satisfy minds not less acute than that of Dr. Driver himself, though less versed in the niceties of Hebrew scholarship and the subtleties of German criticism.

The grave questions raised by Psalm cx., as well as by passages in other books—questions which affect directly the infallibility of our Lord Jesus Christ as a teacher—need not here be discussed, as they have been fully treated of by more competent authorities. Two remarks, however, may be offered.

To the unsophisticated intelligence of an ordinary reader, there is no evading the alternatives put before us by such a passage as St. John v. 46, "Had ye believed Moses ye would have believed Me ; for he wrote of Me." If the rationalists are to be believed, Moses never wrote a single line which can be supposed, even remotely or allusively, to have predicted or prefigured Christ. Of three things, therefore, one : either the words quoted are, as all Christians have hitherto believed them to be, literally and absolutely true ; or our Lord never uttered those words, though St. John has recorded them as His ; or He is not an infallible teacher.

Secondly, the attempts which have been made by men whose devotion to the Catholic faith is unquestionable to reconcile that faith with the demands of rationalistic criticism are such as would, if the subject were not so grave a one, provoke only a smile of incredulity. Thus Mr. Gore, in "Lux Mundi," falls back on the theory of "unconsciousness" in the writers who perverted the ancient laws or histories. The germ, he says, of the Mosaic enactments contained in the few fragments which Dr. Driver, or even Wellhausen, would allow to be the work of Moses, was gradually developed ; "the whole result being constantly attributed, *probably unconsciously and certainly not from any intention to deceive,* to the original founder." Again, "What we are asked to admit is *not conscious perversion, but unconscious idealising of history,* the reading back into past records of ritual development which was really later. Now inspiration excludes conscious deception or pious fraud, but it appears to be quite consistent with this sort of idealising ; always supposing that the result read back into the earlier history does represent the real purpose of God, and only anticipates its realisation." These sentences set us wondering. Would a writer (we ask ourselves) who should "read back" into the Missal or the Breviary the first Post-communion prayer

* Rev. J. I. Lias in *Churchman*, April 1892.

of the Anglican Office,* or the Prayer "for all sorts and conditions of men," find that "unconscious idealising" was the term employed to characterise the "literary form" which he had adopted? The sentence above quoted comes (in the second edition of "Lux Mundi") at the bottom of a page. We turn the leaf to seek an explanation of the distinction between "unconscious idealising" and "pious fraud;" but we seek in vain.

The fact is, that this theory of unconsciousness is one which, to adopt the *Times* reviewer's phrase on the traditional view of the Old Testament, "will not bear a moment's serious examination." The idea of the "Deuteronomist" unconsciously ascribing to Moses long discourses which he had himself composed out of his own head, is to an ordinary mind unthinkable; it belongs to a world in which two and two do not necessarily make four, and two sides of a triangle are not invariably greater than the third. "Unconsciousness" might be pleaded for all the deceptions by which "false decretals" and other interested frauds have been palmed off on the Christian world. The theory has already been sometimes heard of in the sphere of practical every-day morality. It has been held to excuse, not only the attribution to another of that which is your own, but the appropriation to yourself of that which is another's. But the theory, I believe, has not met with much acceptance, in the sphere either of law or of ethics.

A general view of the present position of Old Testament criticism, with regard especially to the historical books, leads us to the conclusion that, whatever the Rationalists have succeeded in unsettling, they have offered us very little which our own reason can allow us to accept in the place of that which they have unsettled. The answer to the question, "How, and by whom, were the books of the Old Testament composed?" is still, in substance, the traditional one, or *there is no answer at all.* Nothing that destructive criticism has yet established supplies the answer. It may not be necessary that, in all cases, there should be any answer. We may accept, speaking generally, the traditional view, which in many points is not questioned even by Dr. Driver, and be content to remain in ignorance as to date and authorship in other cases, where the weight of tradition is overborne by the results of a candid examination of the structure and contents of the books themselves. The theory which now holds the most prominent place—that the books were the works of "redactors" in very late times, "re-casting"—*i.e.*, falsifying—the documents or traditions which came into their hands, "reading into" the past the ideas or usages of the present, and thus producing a record not of what actually happened, but of what they thought might have happened or ought to have happened—this view has certainly no more of probability or plausibility than the view which it seeks to supersede; namely, that the documents themselves are of very great antiquity, often contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the events which they describe; but that, in the course of transmission through many centuries, they have in parts acquired a fringe or accretion of extraneous and sometimes untrustworthy matter. By the nature of the case neither view can, in any real sense of the word, be *proved.** Each removes some difficulties, but leaves others unsolved. But the older view does not, and the newer does, require us to sacrifice to its exigencies reason, common-sense, analogy, and the principles which are accepted in every other department of human knowledge. It is putting the case very strongly against the rationalists to say with Dr. Stanley Leathes:† "We should hardly be wrong in saying that it would be more easy to believe that the books of the Old Testament came down straight from heaven, than that the condition and circumstances of their production were such as we are asked to believe they were." It is, no doubt, conceivable that these books originated in the way supposed: and, if and when modern critics shall have brought forward evidence for this supposition differing both in kind and degree from any that has yet been offered, it is possible that their view may become the accepted one; with the inevitable result that the Old Testament must be permanently degraded from the position it has hitherto held in the eyes of Christendom. But on the other hand, it is a very serious mis-statement on the part of Dr. Driver to say that "the main conclusions of critics with reference to the authorship of the books of the Old Testament rest upon reasonings, the cogency of which cannot be denied without denying the ordinary principles by which history is judged and evidence estimated." On the contrary, it is just because these

* "With regard to the first prayer after communion, ... I do not think that we find the topics to which it alludes mentioned in this part of ancient liturgies."—W. Palmer's "Origines Liturgicæ."

* It is worth observing how often in works written in the spirit of Dr. Driver's we read that a certain critic has *shown* that a particular book is of late date, &c. The crucial word *proved* seems to be instinctively avoided.

† *Churchman*, Feb. 1892.

conclusions flagrantly contradict those principles that they are called in question. The conclusions may or may not be "supposed to conflict with the requirements of the Christian faith;" many of them do so, if at all, only in a very remote and indirect manner. But, whatever the *results*, the *method* is in fault. In other subjects, conclusions are supposed to rest on *facts*, which form the basis of the reasoning. In Biblical criticism alone, as presented to us by the rationalistic school, no pretence even is made of adducing facts, except such as are furnished by the analysis of language and phraseology; for the fact of occasional inconsistencies or improbabilities in the narratives is admitted on both sides;* the only disagreement is as to the way of accounting for them. All *external* facts, all tradition, all testimony, as well as all reason, analogy, and experience, are against the rationalists. Speculations and conjectures are, in this subject alone, first assumed as facts, and then made the foundation of elaborate theories: and the old difficulty still recurs; the world rests on the elephant, and the elephant on the tortoise: but on what does the tortoise rest?

I quote the words of one who cannot be charged with having only a superficial acquaintance with the subject of which he treats—Professor Green of New Jersey, chairman of the Old Testament Revision Company in America—on the disintegration of the Pentateuch: "There is no evidence of the existence of these documents and redactors, and no pretence of any, apart from the critical tests which have determined the analysis. All tradition and all historical testimony as to the origin of the Pentateuch are against them. The burden of proof lies wholly upon the critics. And this proof should be clear and convincing in proportion to the gravity and the revolutionary character of the consequences which it is proposed to base upon it."†

But can the sole class of facts which rationalistic critics can produce—those which are derived from analysis of language and phraseology—be really trusted, in the case of books like those of the Old Testament, to yield results which can be relied upon as certain? Let us imagine a parallel case. The Prayer book of the Church of England is known to be a very composite work. In this case we have ample materials for forming conclusions which may be trusted as to the origin and date of its various parts. We have ancient liturgies, and mediæval service books; we have the first and the second books of Edward VI.; the revisions of 1604 and 1661; changes introduced even in our own lifetime. We have, besides, a mass of contemporary and illustrative documents; Acts of Parliament, proceedings of Convocations and Conferences, private letters or biographies. A few points may still remain obscure; but a careful writer, with less labour than Dr. Driver has bestowed on the Old Testament, may produce from the materials at his disposal an account of our Prayer-book which may be proved to be historically true in almost every detail. But imagine the Prayer-book to stand, as the Old Testament stands, bare and naked of everything outside itself which could account for its origin, and indicate the different sources from which it has been compiled. In such a case is it probable, is it even conceivable, that critics, working on "internal evidence" alone, analysing, dissecting, comparing and contrasting, conjecturing the "stand-point" of the authors of particular portions, or the "atmosphere" by which they are supposed to have been surrounded, would come within measurable distance of what we know to be the actual facts? Is it not morally certain that, as regards dates, they would often be wrong by many centuries, and, as regards authorship, would be able to imagine nothing better than a long series of the "Great Unknown"? What "critical tact" would enable them to discover that, while the Ten Commandments are by far the most ancient portion of Scripture embodied in our Liturgy, they are not to be found as part of any form of the Communion Office earlier than the reign of Edward VI.? Or that, while the Collect for the Second Sunday after Epiphany may be found entire in the Sacramentary of Pope Gregory the Great, who died in the first decade of the seventh century, that for the Sixth Sunday is wholly a composition of our own revisers in the second half of the seventeenth century? And is it not certain that any *tradition* as to the origin of the Prayer-book, not obviously absurd and improbable, would be universally held sufficient to outweigh all the cobwebs which the critics might spin out of their own brains?

It may be well to consider some of the consequences which seem likely to ensue if the views of the extreme rationalists, not entirely adopted by Dr. Driver, on the Old Testament should become generally accepted.

* With the reservation, however, that those inconsistencies and improbabilities have been grossly exaggerated by the rationalists. Some instances of this were given in the former article.

† "Moses and His Recent Critics," quoted in *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1892.

The first and most obvious consequence is that, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, *we shall have no Bible left.* A collection of books so untrustworthy, so riddled through and through with spuriousness and deception, can no longer be reverenced as "Holy Scripture." They can no longer be regarded as containing a "revelation." "Instead of a religious system revealed by Moses, as a religious system was revealed by Christ, we should have a faith like modern Hinduism, which has grown during a thousand years through Vedism and Brahminism and Buddhism, and various philosophies and poetries." * It has sometimes been said of this kind of criticism that it makes the writings which it dissects more "interesting." No doubt that is so, if the interest intended be of a strictly technical and professional kind. A patient undergoing a critical operation, or a corpse under the hands of a skilful dissector, is to the student of surgery a more interesting object than a man walking erect in full health and vigour. But it is not in this way that any Christian can regard that which he believes to be the "Word of God," through which "holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The operator may have been skilful, but the patient has died under the process; and what remains but to bury him, with the reverent care which Joseph of Arimathæa and the holy women bestowed on the sacred body of their Master, but with no more hope than they then entertained of a resurrection? The rationalists invite us to regard as "interesting" the picturesque ruin which their labours have created, and try to make us see how much more beautiful are its broken outlines and shattered fragments than the stately, if irregular, fabric, which they have levelled to the ground. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

A practical consequence of this discrediting of the Old Testament will be that it will be impossible to employ it, even as a lesson-book, for the instruction of the young. To be perpetually discriminating between fact and fiction, legend and history; to recollect whether we are in P, J, JE, H, D1, D2, or which of the innumerable permutations and combinations which rationalistic criticism has imagined; how many centuries after they happened (or did not happen) the events have been recorded —all this is a task which not one teacher in a hundred would attempt, and not one in a thousand successfully accomplish. No doubt many lessons, of high moral and spiritual value, would still remain; but, detached from the persons with whose names the Bible has associated them, they would be of no more authority than the teachings of Sakya Mouni or Confucius—indeed, of less, for those teachings can be ascribed to those men with tolerable certainty, but to combine the teaching of the Old Testament with the names of those whose history criticism forbids us to believe in, or whose very existence it denies, would baffle the ingenuity or the cruelty of a Mezentius:

> "Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis,
> Tormenti genus."

If the view of the extreme rationalists robs us of an important element in Christian education, not less does it paralyse our efforts in the vast and ever-growing field of Christian missions. We cannot send our missionaries to the heathen with the New Testament only in their hands; or, if that were possible, our converts, when able to read the Gospels and Epistles for themselves, would naturally ask for some account of those older Scriptures which they would there find so constantly quoted and referred to. Imagine, then, the position of a missionary obliged to tell those whom he had admitted, or was about to admit, into the fold of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that while one portion of that Bible which he could not withhold from them was true and genuine history, the older and larger portion was only fabrication and fable, leading up to or preparing for the later and indeed only real revelation simply in the sense (if there is such a sense) in which the stories of King Lear or King Arthur may be said to prepare the minds of children for authentic history. Already the question has been significantly asked by one representing the extreme left wing of rationalism, "Why should we unteach our converts Hindoo mythology, only to teach them Hebrew mythology instead?" Why indeed!

Another point of view from which this question may be regarded, while it does not open up such boundless possibilities of difficulty and confusion as that just adverted to, yet seriously affects the position of the largest body of Christians in England. How will the Church of England stand if its clergy (for the terms of *lay* communion need not here be considered) should become in any large proportion converts to the distinctive views of rationalistic critics with regard to the Old Testament? The latitude already allowed on the subject of Biblical criticism is no doubt very large. Far from

* Principal Cave, in "Review of the Churches," March 1892

having been recently extorted from an unwilling Church by the inexorable demands of nineteenth century scholarship, it was fully stated a hundred years ago by Paley, whose works were long regarded by Anglican Bishops as a standard of authority. His words are worth quoting, as indicating the amount of liberty which in this matter has long been regarded as consistent with Anglican orthodoxy.

"Undoubtedly [says Paley] our Saviour assumes the divine origin of the Mosaic institution; and, independently of His authority, I conceive it to be very difficult to assign any other cause for the commencement or existence of that institution; especially for the singular circumstance of the Jews adhering to the unity of the Godhead, when every other people slid into polytheism. . . . Undoubtedly also our Saviour recognises the prophetic character of many of their ancient writers. So far, therefore, we are bound as Christians to go. But to make Christianity answerable with its life for the circumstantial truth of each separate passage of the Old Testament, the genuineness of every book, the information, fidelity, and judgment of every writer in it, is to bring, I will not say great, but unnecessary difficulties into the whole system. These books were universally read and received by the Jews in our Saviour's time. He and His Apostles, in common with all other Jews, referred to them, alluded to them, used them. Yet, except where He expressly ascribes a divine authority to particular predictions, I do not know that we can strictly draw any conclusion from the books being so used and applied, beyond the proof, which it unquestionably is, of their notoriety and reception at that time. . . . I mean, that a reference in the New Testament to a passage in the Old does not so fix its authority as to exclude all inquiry into its credibility, or into the separate reasons upon which that credibility is founded; and that it is an unwarrantable as well as an unsafe rule to lay down concerning the Jewish history, what was never laid down concerning any other, that either every particular of it must be true, or the whole false.

"I have thought it necessary [he adds] to state this point explicitly, because a fashion, revived by Voltaire, and pursued by the disciples of his School, seems to have much prevailed of late, of attacking Christianity through the sides of Judaism. Some objections of this class are founded in misconception, some in exaggeration; but all proceed upon a supposition which has not been made out by argument; namely, that the attestation, which the Author and first teachers of Christianity gave to the divine mission of Moses and the prophets, extends to every point and portion of the Jewish history; and so extends as to make Christianity responsible, in its own credibility, for the circumstantial truth (I had almost said for the critical exactness) of every narrative contained in the Old Testament." *

The limits which Paley has here indicated for Old Testament criticism cannot be said to err on the side of restriction or narrowness; and beyond these wide limits it may be conceded that Dr. Driver has not gone in the "Introduction"; especially as on subjects like this a writer may fairly claim to be judged solely by his actual statements, not by inferences, however natural and obvious, which may be drawn from those statements.

But behind Dr. Driver, and looking, as it were, over his shoulder, are seen others whose "advanced" rationalism makes their position within the borders of the Church of England more than questionable. Dr. Cheyne, a theological Professor at Oxford, and Canon of Rochester Cathedral, has long claimed the right to hold and to teach that almost the whole of the Old Testament narrative is purely fabulous and legendary; no place being left for the historical basis which Dr. Driver allows even for such a story as that of Jonah,* any more than for Paley's "ascription of divine authority to particular predictions." Archdeacon Wilson, of Manchester, taking a long step in the same direction, and regarding the unveracity of the Old Testament as a foregone conclusion, startled the Church Congress at Rhyl (1891) by informing the audience that the Four Gospels consist of "a halo of legend round a nucleus of fact." The outspoken and uncompromising rationalism of such writers, still within the pale of the Church of England, as Dr. Abbott and Canon Fremantle, is too well known to require further reference.

One case may suffice as an illustration. Dr. Cheyne, in a sermon on Elijah, has thus indicated his view of the narratives of the Old Testament: "The story-tellers of Israel—at least those whose works have been preserved in the sacred canon—arranged and ornamented the wild growths of popular tradition in such a way as to promote sound morality and religion. . . . This is why [their works] are so true to nature, that persons who are devoid of a sense for literature often suppose them to be true to fact. True to fact! Who goes to the artist for hard, dry facts?" On the feeding of Elijah by the ravens he remarks: "Few thinking men will admit that it expresses a fact." † His relation to the rationalistic critics of the Continent is thus stated: "In 1870–71 I passed into the school of Graf and Kuenen." ‡ To illustrate the position of a disciple of the school of Kuenen, I give, on the authority of Dr. F. E. König, of Leipzig,§ some words of Kuenen him-

* "Evidences of Christianity," part iii. chap. 3; first published in 1794.

* "No doubt the outlines of the narrative are historical, and Jonah's preaching was actually successful at Nineveh," &c., p. 303.

† "The Hallowing of Criticism," p. 30.

‡ Introduction to Bampton Lectures, p. xvi.

§ "The Religious History of Israel." Translated by A. J. Campbell. 1885 Another writer named Daumer is quoted as saying that "The worship of Moloch was the faith of Abraham, Moses, Samuel, and David."

self: "Judaism and Christianity certainly belong to the category of the greatest religious systems, but there is in reality between them and all other systems no specific difference. . . . Judaism and Christianity, according to the belief of their respective followers, must no doubt radically differ from other faiths. But, in asserting that these systems have their origin in divine revelation, we must remember that the followers of Zarathusta, Sakja Muni, and Mohammed hold the same belief as to the beginning of their religious systems."

It can hardly be matter of surprise that to those who advocate such views the challenge should frequently be made to quit a position no longer morally defensible, and to follow the example of Mr. Voysey, Mr. Stopford Brooke, and others, by resigning their preferment or place in a Church whose very existence is bound up with all that they doubt or deny. It is not likely that this challenge will produce any results; first, because the persons so challenged will probably entrench themselves behind the earthworks of Privy Council judgments—a mode of defence, however, which cannot be trusted not to betray those who rely on it too confidently; and secondly, because it is impossible to get behind the mind of another man, and understand the processes by which he can reconcile his conscience to that which to oneself may seem simply dishonest. It may be urged that, even if such a challenge should produce any results, it is a dangerous policy to alienate from the Church of England some of her clergy whose learning or talent, even if it does not recall the saying of a past age, "*Clerus Anglicanus, stupor mundi,*" is at least such as to command respectful acknowledgment. Those who urge this objection forget or ignore the fact that a national church ultimately rests not on learning or talent, but on *belief*. A definite dogmatic basis, with the Incarnation for its centre, is of the essence of the Church. Without that, it becomes a "fortuitous combination of atoms," which no decorated Deism, such as is now offered us as a substitute for the Catholic faith, has power to bind together into a living religious system. Better a Church with ten clergy who receive *ex animo* both the *lex orandi* and the *lex credendi* which the Book of Common Prayer imposes or assumes, no less in its own texture and substance than in the Articles which form the appendage or codicil to it, than a Church with ten thousand clergy who regard the Christian religion as only one, though a high one, among the many faiths which have at different times received the adhesion of mankind, destined itself to pass away and be absorbed in some "religion of the future," from which all dogma shall have vanished, or in which contradictory dogmas shall be regarded as equally credible or incredible. No member either of the Anglo-Catholic or Evangelical sections of the Church of England would hesitate to say that a Church framed on the lines which would satisfy these extremists would be a Church which it would not be worth while holding up one's little finger to save, so completely would it fail to satisfy, lacking all doctrinal kernel and centre, the idea of a living branch of the Church of God. To purchase the adhesion of any set of men, however distinguished and brilliant, by sacrificing the great doctrinal basis of the Church, would be a price which we could not afford to pay. It would be, in a scarcely less degree than a similar sacrifice for the sake of retaining establishment or endowment, *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.*

That the position now taken up by the extreme latitudinarian party among the clergy of the Church of England has reached the furthest point of tension, and must produce sooner or later a distinct "line of cleavage" among our ranks, it seems hardly possible to doubt. Meanwhile, those whose minds have been disturbed by the claims of "scientific criticism," and the conclusions to which, though not in their extreme form, Dr. Driver has given the weight of his name and authority, may be reassured when they know the undoubted fact that the positions which the rationalistic critics have actually *proved and established* are extremely few, and do not materially affect the view which English Christians have hitherto taken of Holy Scripture. When we are told by so competent an authority as Professor Kirkpatrick that "for a long time it was supposed that the 'primary document,' or 'priestly code,' to which belongs the ceremonial legislation, was the oldest document, and Deuteronomy the latest; but the theory which is now most in favour regards the 'prophetic narrative,' with its simple legislation, as the oldest, Deuteronomy as an intermediate stage, and the 'priestly code' as a later codification of the developed ceremonial law;" * we may well ask what confidence we can be expected to feel in a system of interpretation which, scarcely yet fifty years old, has already gone through such serious modifications; or why we should be expected to regard as final,

* "Divine Library of the Old Testament," p. 46.

conclusions which their own advocates admit to be still in a state of change and fluxion. A closer acquaintance with works written on the rationalistic side confirms these doubts. Any English reader who carefully examines such a book as the "Introduction," or still more such a book as Dr. Cheyne's "Bampton Lectures," and "verifies his quotations," letting in at the same time on to the subject a little of the common sense which he would employ on any other subject, will soon discover for himself how slight and unsubstantial are the foundations on which much of the solid-seeming fabric of the "Higher Criticism" really rests; how forced and unreal a view it obliges us to take of many of the books of the Old Testament; how often assertion, repeated and emphasised, is made to do duty for argument; how many *lacunæ* have to be filled up by conjectures in no degree more probable than those which have sometimes been offered on the conservative or traditional side; how often a difficulty is invented, or an explanation of a real difficulty rejected simply because it *is* an explanation, and its acceptance involves the loss of an item in the rationalistic indictment; how impossible it is satisfactorily to fit together the pieces of the ingenious puzzle which the critics, in their theories of different documents, have invented, and which rivals in its intricate complications the mysteries of "the Rules called the Pie;" on what insufficient grounds they have reduced to incoherent fragments writings which have at least long been held in esteem and veneration, even independently of that "inspiration," that guidance of the Holy Spirit, which some rationalistic critics themselves admit, in a vague and general sense, for the Old Testament as a whole, while they practically deny it in detail to all its particular parts. On those points in which the English reader must trust to the judgment of others, he need not be afraid to set against the authority of the Oxford Professors, Dr. Driver and Dr. Cheyne, the names of Dr. Stanley Leathes, Principal Cave, and Professor Robertson* at home, or Professor Green in America. Finally, with regard to the school of criticism now most prominent among Continental scholars, it is no insular prejudice, but a long experience of their arbitrary and unsound principles, which leads us to apply to them the words in which Dr. Driver has described the characteristics of some Jewish Biblical interpreters: "Jewish scholars are often exceedingly clever and learned; but they are somewhat apt to see things in a false perspective, and to build, upon superficial and accidental appearances, extravagant and far-reaching hypotheses."

* Of Glasgow: "The Early Religion of Israel."

THE BISHOP OF COLCHESTER AND THE OLD TESTAMENT: A CORRESPONDENCE.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), July, 1892.

I.

To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

DEAR SIR,—I beg leave to remonstrate with the Bishop of Colchester on certain passages in his article, "Dr. Driver's Introduction to the Old Testament, Part II.," which appear to me to exceed the recognised limits of controversy. It is, I think, not permissible to condemn writings which one has not read, or views which one has not had time to study. This offence was, doubtless unintentionally, committed by Dr. Blomfield when he stated that I, who am pledged to a free but devoutly Christian criticism of the Scriptures, and have spent more years on that study than perhaps Dr. Blomfield has spent weeks, "consider almost the whole of the Old Testament narrative to be purely fabulous and legendary." Will Dr. Blomfield, after reading my writings, justify, not merely by words taken out of their context, but by connected passages, this astonishing assertion?

He also places my colleague, Dr. Driver, in an unpleasant position by assuming our solidarity as critics and theologians. It would be both painful and misleading for Dr. Driver to come forward and say that he has as great a repugnance to my conclusions as Bishop Blomfield has, or imagines that he has. It is true that we have the same aims—viz., to pursue truth, and to help to pilot devout students of the Bible through the difficulties which beset their course, partly through the inactivity of Church theologians in the past. But Dr. Driver has expressly said in a work which Dr. Blomfield does appear to have read, that he will only be responsible for the words which he has himself uttered (see his preface), and he has with conscientious reserve left many of the subjects, critical, theological, and ecclesiastical, to which I have myself felt called upon to refer in my

writings, for the present on one side. It is surely not right to involve him as well as myself in the charge of disloyalty to the Church of England as by law established.

For myself, I reiterate all my main conclusions. As probably the oldest of our more progressive Old Testament critics, I feel bound to speak on delicate matters of criticism, theology, and Church practice whenever a due occasion presents itself, and I claim the privilege of being listened to, and of being treated with that fairness extended even to a criminal. There are a number of hasty utterances about myself in Dr. Blomfield's article which would only need to be illustrated by facts and by logic for their cruel injustice to become visible. Of course, as I "passed in 1870 into the school of Graf and Kuenen," I am responsible for every word Kuenen ever wrote! And as the National Church is based ultimately, "not on the learning or talent of its adherents" [nor, as it seems, on spiritual qualities], but on what Dr. Blomfield calls "belief," I, who hold that our forms of doctrine, interpreted according to their spirit, are intellectual safeguards and helps, ought logically to follow Mr. Voysey and Mr. Stopford Brooke (excellent men, but not historical theologians) out of the Anglican Church! I am very glad that Bishop Blomfield is beginning his study of Old Testament criticism under Dr. Driver, and beg leave to assure him that for such practical difficulties as he has suggested answers have been offered by myself and others, notably by Dr. Briggs in his new work, "The Bible, the Church, and the Reason: the Three Great Fountains of Divine Authority." (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.)

Yours faithfully,

T. K. Cheyne.

Oxford, *June* 13, 1892.

II.

The Vicarage, Rochdale,
June 14, 1892.

Sir,—In the June number of the Contemporary Review, p. 876, the Bishop of Colchester writes as follows: "Archdeacon Wilson of Manchester, taking a long step in the same direction" (apparently towards 'claiming to hold and to teach that almost the whole of the Old Testament is purely fabulous and legendary'), "and regarding the unveracity of the Old Testament as a foregone conclusion, startled the Church Congress at Rhyl (1891) by informing the audience that the four Gospels consist of 'a halo of legend round a nucleus of fact.'"

Those who know my writings will attach little weight to his words; but for the great majority of your readers it is well to nail this statement to the counter as a specimen of false coin.

The nearest equivalent in my paper to his Lordship's first statement of my views is contained in these words: "It is impossible now to accept its *mechanical* inspiration" (*i.e.*, that of the Bible) "and guaranteed historical and scientific correctness." This is a totally different thing. The reckless opinions he attributes to me are not mine.

His second statement is apparently founded on, and is a misquotation from, the sentence I now quote: "But when the truths which the miracles were supposed to attest have been absorbed by the world or the individual, and I mean especially the general truth that Christ truly revealed the will of God for man, and man's relation to God, then *criticism suggests* that the *belief in miracles* has done its work, and we can afford to acknowledge *some* halo of legend round a nucleus of fact."

It must be noticed that in this paragraph there is nothing about "the four Gospels *consisting* of *a* halo, &c.," nor am I even professing to state the "results" of criticism, but I am avowedly describing the "tendencies of modern criticism," and in particular "its attitude towards the miraculous."

I will conclude by asking the Bishop to reply thoughtfully to a few questions.

(1) Did he ever read my paper? Was he quoting it from memory? or from hearsay?

(2) Does he accept the view of inspiration which I speak of as impossible to accept?

(3) Is "the attitude of modern criticism towards the miraculous," in his opinion, other than what I have described?

(4) Does he wholly and entirely repudiate that attitude? In particular, how does he regard St. John v. 4 (see R. V.) and Matthew xxvii. 52, 53? Does he regard the first as a halo in the A. V.? Does he to any extent rationalise the second? or condemn those who see in it "*some* halo?"

If your readers wish to see a paper on the same subject by another Bishop, the Bishop of Worcester, let them refer to the May number of the *Review of the Churches*. That paper is marked by sobriety of statement, accuracy of language, fairness and respect to those from whom the Bishop differs, and a knowledge of the subject about which he writes.

James M. Wilson.

THE TEACHING OF OUR LORD AS TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE RIGHT REV. C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

From *The Expository Times* (Edinburgh), January, 1892.

I.

Introduction.

The reasons which have led me to choose this subject for our consideration will, I think, at once readily suggest themselves to all to whom these words are addressed. Independently of the sort of general feeling that the time has come when the discussion of such a subject cannot profitably be delayed, there are probably few of us who would not agree in the more particular conviction that recent circumstances have now made this discussion positively imperative, and of the most vital and urgent necessity. The Scriptures of the Old Testament have been often assailed: their historical trustworthiness has been denied; their statements in regard of the early history of the world have been impugned; the morality they teach has, in many cases, been denounced not only as imperfect, but even as in direct opposition to the teaching of the gospel; their claim to be divinely inspired, in any sense that would imply a qualitative difference between them and the higher productions of human thought, has been eagerly disavowed and rejected. With all this we have been long since familiar; but that with which we have not been familiar, that which calls out our present anxiety, and makes discussion imperative, is the strange fact, that views which appear to many inconsistent with what may be termed the historical trustworthiness of large portions of the Old Testament, are now advocated and commended to us by earnest Christian writers, of whom it is impossible to speak otherwise than with respect, and who, in argument, must be treated by us with all brotherly kindness and consideration.

This strange fact, it is right to say, can to some extent be accounted for. The criticism to which we allude* would appear to be the outcome of an effort made by earnest Churchmen at one of our ancient Universities to remove the difficulties felt, it is said, by many young men of serious habits of thought and of cultivated minds, in reference to the Old Testament, its composition, its facts, its miraculous element, and its claims to be received as a divinely-inspired revelation of the origin and early history of our race; and, more particularly, as a truthful revelation of the dealings of Almighty God, in past ages, with one chosen nation, and through them, directly or indirectly, with all the children of men. The unhesitating belief which the Church appears to require, not only in the general teaching and pervading truths of the sacred volume, but in its theophanies, its miracles, and its prophecies, has been found, it is said, to be a stumbling-block of so grave a nature to young men of really religious minds that some restatement of the generally received view of the Old Testament has become absolutely necessary. It is maintained that the general interest in religion is far greater and more real than it was only a few years ago, and that unless we are prepared to see that general interest either die out or become merged in some form of philanthropic agnosticism, we must reconsider the whole question of the inspiration of Holy Scripture and especially of the Old Testament.

Whether this is a correct statement of the prevalent feelings of the more earnest and cultivated of the young men of the present day, or whether it is an unconscious exaggeration of what may be felt by a limited number of speculative minds with which the advocates of the new biblical criticism may have come more closely into contact, I am wholly unable to say. I come myself very closely into contact with young men of earnestness and intelligence; and, as yet, I have certainly met with no examples of the class in whose interest we are urged to reconsider our current views of the character and composition of the Old Testament. Four times, each year as it passes, I have the opportunity of contact with young minds; and up to the present time, I do not remember to have met with a single instance in which any serious difficulty appears to have been felt in reference to the Old Testament; nor have I been led to infer from what has been told me that doubts and difficulties as to that portion of the Book of Life prevail among the general class of the students at our Universities, to anything like the extent which, it is alleged, is now to be recognised.

I am, of course, well aware that those with whom I come in contact belong to a class that we may reasonably hope is but slightly, if at all, affected by difficulties as to the trustworthy nature of the Book that

* See *Lux Mundi* (John Murray).

is afterwards solemnly placed in their hands. I am aware also that the information that I may receive from such a class as to the current opinions of young men at our Universities may be partial and inadequate; still I cannot resist the impression that the class, in the interest of which these novel views of the Old Testament have been set forth, is much smaller—at any rate, at the Universities—than is commonly supposed. Under these circumstances, I must be excused if I retain the fixed opinion that there are far better ways of dealing with the difficulties of these young men than by the unreserved publication of disquieting and precarious concessions.

It may be doubted, however, whether the desire to help the distressed faith of others has been the only motive principle in the publication of the essays which have given rise to the present disquietude. The writers tell us honestly that they were compelled for their own sake no less than that of others to write what they have written. They avow themselves to be under the conviction that the attempt must be made to put the Catholic faith into its right relation to modern intellectual and moral problems; and they distinctly tell us that if the true meaning of this faith is to be made conspicuous it must be disencumbered, reinterpreted, and explained. The avowal is singular and significant;—singular, as it would have seemed more natural to attempt to put these intellectual and moral problems into their proper relations to the Catholic faith than conversely; and significant, as showing the direction and bias of the minds of the writers. Their conviction would clearly seem to be that the faith, or, to put the most charitable construction on their words (for their language is not clear), the current faith of the Church, is that which must be operated on, and especially in reference to the authority and inspiration of Scripture. Be the motive principles, however, of this attempt to disencumber and reinterpret the faith what they may, this is certain,—that with regard to the authority of Holy Scripture, and particularly of the Old Testament, the attempt has created in sober minds a widespread alarm and disquietude. And certainly not without reason.

Independently of the precise nature and details of the attempt, of which I shall speak afterwards, the quarter from which what has been called the higher criticism of the Old Testament originally emanated, and the plainly avowed principles of its earlier exponents, all combine in calling out anxiety, even in the minds of those who might not be wholly averse to a theology willing to put forth from its treasures things new and progressive as well as authenticated and old. The pedigree is certainly not satisfactory. This so-called "higher criticism" of the Old Testament took definite shape some two generations ago. It commenced with Genesis and the earlier historical portions of the Pentateuch. In these it claimed to demonstrate the existence of earlier documents in portions which had been supposed to be the work of a single writer; and it called especial attention to many indications, of which but little notice had been taken, that the alleged work of the single writer had received additions at periods considerably later than the supposed date of the original work. If it had stopped here there would have been no serious cause for apprehension. But it went much further. It proceeded to adopt criticisms which steadily tended more and more to disintegrate the inspired record, until, about half a generation ago, three writers of considerable learning and acuteness* brought to something like completeness this work of critical demolition. Ingenious theories were framed to support it, resting slightly upon language, but far more on internal arguments, until at length a view of the composition and probable dates of the books of the Old Testament has been commended to the general reader which, to use the most guarded language, is irreconcilable with a sincere belief in the inspiration, and even the trustworthiness, of several of the writings of the Old Covenant.

There is, however, one characteristic of this modern view of the Old Testament, as set forth by the three writers to whom I have referred, which must always steadily be borne in mind. And it is this,—not merely that this modern view tends to, or prepares the way for, a denial of the supernatural, but that it owed its very origin to the assumption that the existence of the supernatural in these early records is exactly that which wrecks their credibility. This perhaps is not absolutely stated in so many words, but it is impossible to deny that the preconception and assumption which runs through the whole of the particular critical investigations to which I am referring, is a disbelief in the possibility of the miraculous. Attempts have been made from time to time by eminent writers in our own country to show that the basis of the well-known histories of Israel and of the religion of

* Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen.

Israel is not really so naturalistic as it is assumed to be. But to this there is but one reply,—that almost every chapter of both these histories, and especially of the one last mentioned, will show either directly or by fair inference the futility of all such attempts. The basis of the histories and criticisms of the most eminent foreign exponents of the so called higher criticism is patently and even avowedly naturalistic. "We have outgrown the belief of our ancestors" is the candid language of one of these writers, and certainly one who is not the least eminent among them. We thus do not deem it unfair to say that the whole system of Old Testament criticism, as set forth by some at least of these foreign expositors, is based upon rejection of special revelation, miracles, and prophecy,—in a word, the supernatural in all its relations to the history of the Chosen People.

Now, in calling attention to this startling characteristic of the majority of the best foreign treatises on this higher criticism, I do not for one moment desire to imply that writers of our own country who may have, somewhat too freely, availed themselves of the results at which these writers have arrived, are committed to their views of the supernatural and the miraculous. Each writer must be judged by his own statements, and by the reservations he may make in accepting the conclusions of others. I suggest, then, no inferences as to the opinions of those writers to whom, in the sequel, I shall more particularly refer, but I desire notwithstanding, to make plain, at the very outset, that disbelief in the supernatural has had a great deal to do with the development of modern views of the Old Testament. There is, at any rate, some such link between them as may at least suggest the greatest possible caution in assimilating results which have been arrived at under preconceptions such as I have described. This link there is ; and it is my firm conviction that the obvious readiness with which these novel views of the composition of the Old Testament have been accepted by imperfectly educated or unbalanced minds is due to a practical, though it may be unrealised, disbelief in many of the miracles recorded in the sacred volume, and perhaps even in the miraculous element generally.

There is also another principle which, though by no means of so dangerous a character as the rejection of the supernatural, has nevertheless produced almost equal effects in the shaping of theories as to the component parts of several of the books of the Old Testament, and in affixing to the books the dates that are currently assigned to them. And the principle is this,—to assume the existence of a continuous conflict between the schools of the Prophets and the Priesthood, and also of persistent efforts made, especially in the later periods of the history of the nation, on the part of the Priests and Levites to secure the supremacy. That there may have been, from time to time, strongly developed antagonisms, and that commanding figures like Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha may have provoked jealousies, and called forth opposition in what may be termed the ecclesiastical party, is perfectly thinkable, though it must be admitted that traces of such jealousies and oppositions between priests and prophets in their class-relations to each other are but few and shadowy. To assume, however, that most of the historical books were remodelled, over-written, or otherwise tampered with by the priestly party in consequence of these rivalries, is to assume far more than there is any sufficient evidence to demonstrate. Theories of a somewhat similar nature played their part in a past generation with reference to the New Testament. There are some of us old enough to remember how books of the New Testament, about the design of which no reasonable doubt could be entertained, were regarded simply as the outcome of the controversies that arose between Judaising and Gentile Christianity,—emergences from opposing schools of thought, and written manifestations of the vigour of apostolic dissensions. These theories, we may remember, had their day, enjoyed for a time a partial popularity, and caused in many minds anxiety and disquietude. But now where are they ? Cast away long since on the waste-heap of baseless speculations, exploded and forgotten. And that such will be the fate of a large portion of those that we are now considering in reference to the Old Testament, is certainly not a very hazardous prophecy.

But these two presuppositions are not the only manifestations of a bias which seriously affects the equities of argument. We may rightly note, in one of the three chief modern exponents of this higher criticism, language of a tenor that seems very far removed from the tone which ought to mark all discussions of what is by a general consent regarded to be a record of God's dealings with man. Reverence it might be too much always to expect ; but seriousness of tone, and at least some regard for the feelings of general readers, might be expected from a writer of such recognised scholar-

ship, learning, and cultivation as the author of the *Prolegomena of the History of Israel.* When, for example, such a narrative as that which we find in one of the early chapters of the First Book of Samuel—a narrative in which divine mercy is represented as a consequent on national repentance—is described as "a pious make up," and set aside as not having "a word of truth in it," and when similar language is constantly reappearing, and fraud frequently imputed when the narrative does not harmonise with the general theory, we cannot but feel that we are dealing with a writer whose bias is antecedently so strong against the documents that he is analysing, that the impartial character of his criticisms and his conclusions may most fairly be called into question. The eager and scornful advocate takes far too much the place of the judicial critic in a work that claims to be an impartial setting forth of national history.

Prejudices and presuppositions then are distinctly to be recognised in this so-called higher criticism of the Old Testament, and must have their due weight assigned to them in any estimates we may form of this criticism. It is too commonly assumed that all the prejudices and presuppositions are only to be found among those who disallow its conclusions. Prejudices and presuppositions on such momentous subjects as those we are now considering will be found distinctly on both sides. They will continually show themselves on the most impartial pages, and will often vitiate what might otherwise be equitable and even persuasive conclusions. Against all such presuppositions it will be my duty in these addresses constantly to be on my guard, and more particularly so as we pass onward into the more serious phases of the great questions that will come before us in the present discussion.

And yet I must here frankly admit that with every effort and desire to write with the most scrupulous impartiality, it will be very hard to avoid, from time to time, myself manifesting the very bias which I am here deprecating. The very nature of the argument that forms the substance of these addresses almost necessarily carries with it a tendency to prejudgment which it will be almost impossible to resist. How far Christ authenticates the Scriptures that speak of Him—which is the main question proposed to be answered in these addresses—is a question which can never be answered without the constantly recurring danger of overclaim, and so ought never to be applied to particular cases that have not been considered beforehand with the most scrupulous care. The whole validity of the final conclusions will turn upon the choice of the passages which are supposed to contribute answers to the general question, and upon the equity and impartiality with which they are discussed. In pointing out, then, prejudgments in the case of those we criticise, we are bound not only to exercise the utmost vigilance in avoiding them ourselves, but also distinctly to recognise the liabilities to bias which the very tenor of the particular form of argument will be certain to introduce. It may, however, be just said in passing that it is fairly open to question whether the liabilities to bias are not quite as dominant in the working out of theories of disintegration as in the use of authority in countervailing them. There is a fascination in a destructive argument, especially when it necessitates ingenious elaboration, possibly quite as potent as any that may be found in the simpler and less personal process of traversing it by an appeal to One whose judgment, when expressed, must be accepted as ultimate and irreversible. There is quite as much tendency to bias in one case as in the other.

But to proceed. Thus far we have confined our thoughts to the chief sources from which the new criticism has emanated, and to the general characteristics which this criticism very distinctly reflects. We have thus far alluded mainly to the three foreign writers whose names are most closely connected with the reconstruction of the literary history of the Old Testament; and we have named the apparent presuppositions on which, consciously or unconsciously, they have executed their work. We now turn to those with whom we are more particularly concerned,—the eminent writers in our own country who have adopted, with more or less reservation, the results which these foreign writers have arrived at, and who are now commending to the serious attention of English Churchmen some modified, but still very disquieting conclusions. On these conclusions, and on the general course of the argument which must be followed in regard to them, we will now make a few preliminary comments.

It is, however, somewhat difficult from the present state of the case to do this with perfect clearness and impartiality. Our English representatives of the new school of criticism are not, as yet, completely agreed among themselves as to how far they are prepared to accept the results on which foreign critics appear to be unanimous; nor again is it perfectly clear what particular

conclusions, which the majority have accepted, have caused the widely-spread disquietude which, there can be no doubt, does exist among English Churchmen at the present time. We seem, therefore, obliged, in order to arrive at an equitable judgment on these points, and properly to understand the precise state of the complicate controversy, to feel our way towards some sort of standard, by means of which we may more correctly estimate the true nature of current opinion on the Old Testament. It will be desirable, therefore, to arrive at some agreement as to what may be considered the generally received view of the age and authorship of those books of the Old Testament that have been more particularly the subjects of controversy. We shall then have some kind of standard to which reference can be properly made; for the mere general term "the Traditional view," as frequently used by writers on these subjects, is far too vague and too diversely understood, if left undefined, to be made any use of as an available standard of comparison.

We must begin then by defining as clearly as we can what is meant by this general term, and in what sense it is generally used by writers on the Old Testament. The following would seem to be a rough, but substantially correct statement. By the Traditional view we commonly understand the view that has been generally maintained in the Jewish Church, and also in the Christian Church; and which may be expressed in the following terms, viz. that the books of the sacred volume, in its historical portions, have been written or compiled, from contemporaneous documents, by a succession of inspired writers beginning with Moses and ending with Ezra and Nehemiah.

But here it is obvious that something more precise is needed if we are to have anything like a standard with which other views can be compared; it being frankly admitted that in the general estimate of the nature of the contemporaneous documents and the manner in which they have been dealt with by the succession of inspired compilers, modern investigation and, it is fair to add, modern criticism have introduced some changes and rectifications. As this rectified view is the standard towards which we are feeling our way, our first care will be to set forth the traditional view with those rectifications introduced which our present state of knowledge has enabled us to make. We shall then have a fairly defined standard; and in using, as we shall have frequently to do, the term Traditional view, we must be understood as always meaning the Traditional view in its rectified form.

In the second place, it will be necessary to set forth clearly, in a similar manner, the results of modern criticism, and to sketch out the general estimate that has now been formed of the leading historical books of the Old Testament by foreign critics, and especially by those foreign writers to whom we have already alluded.

In the third place, it will only be just carefully to specify the extent to which the views of these foreign writers are actually accepted by the English Churchmen with whom we are here more particularly concerned. We shall thus have clearly before us what, according to these writers, we are to be considered at liberty to believe as to the origination of the books of the Old Testament.

It will then, lastly, become our duty to consider, closely and carefully, whether this enlarged liberty of belief can be reconciled with the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, as set forth in the Gospels, so far as it bears upon the trustworthiness and authority of the older portions of the Book of Life.

We have thus before us a twofold work. In the first place, we shall have to institute a careful comparison of the rectified traditional view of the Old Testament with the view of modern criticism, which it will be convenient to term the Analytical view,—the term "analytical" being apparently the truest descriptive epithet of this newer or so-called higher criticism of the Old Testament, and having the advantage of not suggesting any prejudgment as to the worth and validity of the system. In equitable controversy nothing is of greater importance than the choice of terms, in the description of the views of opponents, which correctly characterise, but, in regard of any expression, favourable or the reverse, are, as far as possible, colourless. The terms "traditional" and "analytical" seem fairly to fulfil these conditions, and it is under these terms that we shall institute the comparison.

It must be observed, however, that the comparison of these two views can only, in addresses like the present, be of a broad and general character. To enter into minute details or to analyse the separate reasonings, often highly technical and complicated, on which some of the results of the analytical view of the Old Testament are perhaps over confidently based, lies beyond the scope of our present endeavour. It is a

work, however, that I trust will be undertaken by some competent scholar; for in the study of these subjects nothing has more impressed itself upon me than the unwarrantable nature of many of the assumptions on the analytical side in the discussion of these argumentative details, and the obvious bias with which the discussion has been conducted. That bias, I need scarcely say, is the bias against the supernatural, which frequently seems to permeate and modify the whole tenor of the criticism. It is of the utmost importance that this last-mentioned characteristic should always be clearly borne in view. The obliteration or, at the very least, the minimising of the supernatural is too plainly the principle, avowed or unavowed, that influences or conditions the whole of the more advanced analytical investigation of the Old Testament.

When this comparison between the opposing views has been fairly made, the second part of our work will then commence. With the two competing views clearly before us, we shall proceed to make our appeal to Christ and to His teaching, as to which of the two views is most in harmony with the Lord's general teaching as to the relation of the Old and New Testaments.

But, alas, it will be necessary for us, first, to justify such an appeal; and next, to show that the appeal is made to an infallible Judge, and to One whose judgment, when it can be shown clearly to be intimated or given, must be accepted as final, whatever analytical criticism may presume to say to the contrary. This judgment we shall endeavour to obtain in reference to the Law and the Prophets, or, to speak more precisely, in reference to the earlier portions of Scripture which include the Mosaic law, and the subsequent portions, whether historical or prophetical.

We shall then, lastly, review the whole argument, and endeavour to show that those with whom we are more particularly concerned, English scholars and Church men, have gone much too fast and much too far in their concessions to the so called established results of the modern criticism of the Old Testament. This criticism, as we have seen, is of foreign growth. It is distinguished by great acumen, and almost boundless self-confidence. When it tells us, for example,* that "the exegesis of the writers of the New Testament, in reference to the Old Testament, cannot stand before the tribunal of science," we see the lengths to which men, in many respects earnest and truth seeking, are hurried by their convictions of the correctness of their own hypotheses; how all sense of proportion seems to be lost; and how vitally necessary it is to test these over-confident assertions, and to ascertain for ourselves how far these views of God's Holy Word can be deemed to be compatible, either with the results of fair reasoning, or with the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ.

How writers of the high tone and Christian earnestness which obviously characterise some of the English exponents of the analytical view of the Old Testament can have been led to advocate some of the conclusions which will be set forth in the investigations that will follow, is by no means easy to understand. If it be to help the weakened faith of younger men in some of the forms of the supernatural that present themselves in the Old Testament,—if it be intended to alleviate the difficulties they may feel in accepting such miraculous incidents as those related in the earlier portion of the Book of Genesis, or in the history of Jonah,—then, however well intentioned such aid may be, no worse form of giving it could really have been devised. And for this serious reason,—that, say what we may, reason as we may choose, we shall never obliterate the conviction that there is such a close and organic connection between the Old Testament and the New Testament, that whatever applies to the one, in regard of acceptance of the miraculous, is also applicable to the other. If the supernatural is to be minimised in the Old Testament, will it be long before the same demand will be made in reference to the New? To safeguard the miraculous in the New Dispensation, when criticism has either explained it away or attenuated it in the Old Dispensation, will in practice be found to be utterly hopeless. It will be in vain to plead that the Incarnation involves a completely different state of things,—that the visible presence of the Creator of the world in the world He came to save, involves necessarily ever alterable relations with that world, and makes possible and thinkable in the case of the Lord what in Elijah and Elisha would be incredible and unimaginable. Vain it will be, and utterly in vain; nay, worse than in vain. For the same spirit that has found irreconcilable difficulties in the supernatural elements of the Old Testament will ultimately challenge the evidence on which the Incarnation rests. And the more so, as all the age-long testimonies of the Old Testament, all the fore-

* Kuenen's *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel.*

shadowings, all the promises that were greeted from afar, all the sure words of prophecy, will have been explained away and dissipated ; and there will remain nothing save two narratives which, it will be said, bear so patently the traces of illusion, or, at the least, of an idealism expressing itself under the guise of alleged facts, that the doctrine of the Word become flesh, the doctrine which is the hope, light, and life of the universe, will in the end be surrendered to the last demands of what will have now become not a distressed, but a ruined faith. When that blessed doctrine is surrendered, the total eclipse of faith will have commenced, and the shadows of the great darkness will be fast sweeping over the forlorn and desolate soul.

It is simply amazing that these things are not realised by those who are now advocating, it may be in a modified form, views of the Old Testament which, at any rate, owe their origination to writers who frankly avow that the religion of Israel is regarded by them as simply one of the principal religions of the world,—nothing less and nothing more,—and is to be dealt with according to the principles of ordinary critical history. Inability to accept the supernatural is the distinctive feature of the analytical system ; all its results patently disclose it ; all its investigations consciously or unconsciously presuppose it. How modifications of such a system, or deductions that may be drawn from it, however cautiously and guardedly, can ever be used to help failing faith, especially in such an age as our own, is to me inconceivable. When the freedom of the Creator of the universe to modify the varied evolutions of His own blessed work, to give fresh energies to secondary causes, and to interpose, in accordance with that law eternal, by which He sustains and develops the energies of all things,—when all this is now, as it is, directly or inferentially denied, when the last foolish utterance on the subject is that belief in the supernatural ought to be regarded as a religious offence, is this a time for English Churchmen to make concessions in regard of belief in the miraculous incidents of the Old Testament? Is this a time to suggest that the narratives before Abraham may be of the nature of myth, and to regard as the dramatised work of an unknown writer a portion of the Old Testament which the Saviour of the world vouchsafed to use in His conflict with the enemy of mankind? Is this a time for such perilous concessions?

After what has been said, can it be longer doubtful that it is now our plainest duty to give up all such hopeless attempts of aiding shaken faith? Is it not the height of imprudence to make concessions which inevitably will only prove to be instalments of the ultimate surrender of the supernatural? Ought we not rather to try "to lift up the hands that hang down and the palsied knees" by the quickening power of truth, patiently and sympathetically set forth, by the inherent persuasiveness of time-honoured beliefs, and by bringing more clearly home to young hearts the credibility of that traditional view of the Old Testament, which, when properly set forth, will be found to have lost nothing of its old and persuasive vitality.

To this duty we now address ourselves, and, as has already been intimated, will proceed to place in contrast the rectified traditional view of the Old Testament, and the analytical view,—alike in its more extreme form, and in the modified form in which, unhappily, it has met with the approval and acceptance of learned and honoured writers from whom it is a pain to be forced thus seriously to differ.

CHURCH FOLK-LORE.

BY J. EDWARD VAUX.

From *The Newbery House Magazine* (London), July, 1892.

VI.

Penance—Church Officials.

Following the sequence of Services in the Prayer Book, we now come to the Commination Office appointed to be used on Ash Wednesday, which opens with the following words :—

"Brethren, in the Primitive Church there was a godly discipline that at the beginning of Lent such persons as stood convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance, and punished in this world that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord, and that others, admonished by their example, might be the more afraid to offend."

This, therefore, is the place where the question of Penance in the English Church should rightly be considered.

It will be well to begin by transcribing some valuable notes respecting the legal aspect of Penance kindly supplied to me by Sir Walter G. F. Phillimore, Bart., Q.C., who writes as follows :—

"You will find much about Penance in Phillimore's "Ecclesiastical Law," pages 1367–1375. In later times two things were usually the subjects of Penance—defamation of character and incontinence, especially incest.

"As to the latter, Lord Stowell, in Burgess *v.* Burgess (I. Haggart's "Consistory Reports," p. 393), in 1804, speaks of the ancient *Solemnis pœnitentia* before the Bishop as much softened down, and then says, 'Looking at the age and infirmity of the party, and what might be the consequence of such a punishment, the Court will not think it necessary to inflict the public penance'—the man was very old.

"In Chick *v.* Ramsdale (I. Curteis' "Ecclesiastical Reports," p. 35), 1835, penance for an incestuous union was directed, but upon a medical certificate of the woman's ill-health, was remitted.

"In Woods *v.* Woods (II. Curteis, p. 529), 1840, Dr. Lushington, as Judge of the Consistory Court of London, said: — "I think it right to say that although in some cases public penance has been directed, still, after considering the subject as carefully as I can, it has appeared to me advisable not to make that part of my sentence.'

"As late as 1856, my father, sitting as Chancellor of Chichester, had the matter before him in a case of incest, and said:— 'I follow the example of Lord Stowell in Burgess *v.* Burgess, in not enjoining public penance to be performed by them' (Phillimore's "Ecclesiastical Law," p. 1375).

"As to defamation, I find in the Law Books a case of penance enjoined as late as 1838 (Kington *v.* Hack, 7 Adolphus and Ellis' "Queen's Bench Reports," p. 708); but my idea is that there are several later. Penance in these cases has consisted in a more or less public asking for pardon.

"There is certainly no statute abolishing penance, which still remains a legal, though unusual ecclesiastical punishment. It was last dealt with by Convocation in Queen Anne's time, as to monies paid for 'commutation of penance.'

"I find that fees for 'commutation of penance' were taken in some dioceses, and stood in a regular table of fees to 1832. See the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report presented to Parliament."

I will now proceed to give some instances of actual penances which have been publicly carried out. In the case of recent ones I suppress, on charitable grounds, the names of parishes and delinquents, so as not to give pain to the survivors of those who have thus publicly suffered in days gone by.

But first, a few words as to the sentence of excommunication, which is akin to penance. In the register of the parish of Scotter, Lincolnshire, the following entry occurs:—

"Memorandum. That on Sepiuagesima Sunday, being the 19th of January, 1667, one Francis Drury, an excommunicated person, came into church in time of Divine Service in the morning, and being admonisht by mee to begon, he obstinately refused; whereuppon the whole congregation departed. And after the same manner in the afternoon, the same day, he came againe, and, refusing againe to go out, the whole congregation again went home, soe y^t^ little or no service was performed. They prevented his further coming in that manner, as hee threatened, by order from the Justice, upon the Statute of Queen Elizabeth, concerning the molestation and disturbance of public preachers. Wm. Carrington, *Rector*.
O tempora! O mores!"

In the archives of Exeter Cathedral the following item occurs under the heading, "Transcripts 1672, Southill, near Callington, Cornwall":—

"John Taprill, clerk, asked forgiveness of Rd. Grills, carpenter, within the parish church of Southill, upon a Sunday forenoon after morning prayer, in the month of December last past, for reporting things not proven. Whereupon, the said Taprill, longing to be revenged, did sing some Psalms, as he thought fitting, to lamentable tunes, in sorrow for his disgrace."

Henry Machyr, the diarist, did penance at St. Paul's Cross, and he notifies it in a very amusing manner in his manuscript, so as to obscure the fact that it was of himself that he was writing.

"The xxiij day of November, the iiij yere [of] Quen Elesabeth, dyd pryche at Powlle's Crosse Renagir. Y^t^ was Saint Clement day, dyd syt alle the sermon tyme Monser Henry de Machyn, for ij [words ?] the wyche was told hym, that Veron the French[man], the preacher was taken with a wenche, by the rep[orting] by on William Laurance, clarke of Saint Mare Maudlen's in Mylke strette, the wyche the same Hare knellyd down befor master Veron and the byshope, and yett [they] would nott for[give] hym for alle ys fryndes that he had worshephulle."

Strangely enough, Strype was deceived, for in relating the circumstance in his "Annals" he says:—"At Paul's Cross a certain French gentleman named de Machin sat at the sermon time (*i.e.*, in the place of penance), for reporting, &c." I am, of course, presuming that the annalist got his information from the MSS. diary.

The following extract from the *Worcester Journal* of December 18, 1766, has a peculiarity of its own.

"A few Sundays ago Mr. M., of a certain parish not a thousand miles from Pershore, was married

to Miss R., of the same parish, an agreeable young lady with a handsome fortune. That same morning Mr. M., for a certain familiar transaction with his housekeeper, did penance in the same parish church in a white robe, immediately after which the ceremony of marriage between him and Miss R commenced; she, with her own father, who gave her away, waiting in church while the penance was performing."

There is a business-like air about this transaction which, I should think, was quite unique.

In the Court Book of the Peculiar of Middleham, in Yorkshire, for the year 1799 is the following item :—

"That Thomas Ibbotson should be suspended from his office of parish clerk, without forfeiting his wages, until after the tenth day of February then next; and that he do not approach the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on that day, that by the prayers of Lent he might be fitted for it at the Festival of Easter; and, lastly, that on the first day of the ensuing Lent he should stand during service until the Nicene Creed was read, before the font, under the gallery, and then depart to a private seat, after having read distinctly the following acknowledgment :—

"I, Thomas Ibbotson, do acknowledge that on the day of the Feast of the Circumcision I behaved very irreverently in the house of God, and that I interrupted the Divine Service, and conducted myself in such a manner, both in the church and out of it, as to give just cause for offence to the congregation then present; that I was led to this misconduct by resentment, and not being perfectly sober at the time; for which I beg pardon of Almighty God, and do promise to order myself with greater sobriety and decency for the time to come."

There are instances known in which irregular penances were performed. The following, I take it, is one of them, and was imposed either by their sect or by the fanatics upon themselves. The extract is from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1748 :—

"December 22. A man and woman, Quakers, walked through the streets of Bristol, Gloucester, and Oxford at separate times, clothed in hair sackcloth, repeating something as they passed along, doing penance for, &c."

It is generally supposed that doing public penance is quite a thing of the distant past, and perhaps even the case given above of penance being undergone in 1799 will surprise some readers. I have, however, instances of penances being performed up to the middle of the present century. In the *Church Times* of February 13, 1880, a lady correspondent wrote from Manchester as follows :—

"Sometime about the year 1845 a gentleman holding a municipal office in a midland city said of a lady in the same city that he had seen her drunk in the streets. For this 'slander' her husband prosecuted him in the civil courts, and her father in the Consistory Court of the diocese. In the former he was fined £300, and in the latter the then Chancellor (Raikes) sentenced him to do penance in a white sheet at the door of his parish church on the following Ash Wednesday. What renders the case more forcible is that the 'slander' in question was a fact known to be true."

A clerical friend informs me that Sister ——, of St. Barnabas, Leeds, told him that, as a child, she saw in Kirk Christ, Callan, Isle of Man, four or five persons standing in sheets in the church to do penance during Lent.

In 1849 an inhabitant of a village in Cambridgeshire was sentenced by the Ecclesiastical Court to do penance, having been found guilty of the charge of defamation of character brought against him by the wife of the then rector.

Although of earlier date, the following extract from the parish books of All Saints, Huntingdon, has an interest of its own :— "1621. Johannes Tomlinson, Rector. Oliverus Cromwell, filius Roberti, reprehensus coram totam ecclesiam pro factis." Five years later the following appears :— "Jo. Tomlinson, Rector, 1626. Hoc anno Oliverus Cromwell fecit penitentiam coram totam ecclesiam."

The Clergy.

The term "priest" as applied to the clergy is, or till quite lately was, almost universal in its use in the north of England. The word really expresses the sacred character attached by the people to the order. It is quite generally admitted that a priest may go anywhere, and at any time of the day or night, and he will never be molested if it be known what he is.

During strikes, as they used to be conducted thirty years ago, with violence and great personal abuse, the clergy, though they almost always opposed the men owing to the extreme lawlessness of their proceedings, could address large numbers of pitmen as to their duties without eliciting more than a quiet remonstrance that the clergy did not know what they (the men) had to bear from understrappers.

"One such party," said the late Canon Humble, "once came to my lodgings. I went out and addressed them, and told them that not only would I not give them anything, coming in the menacing way that they did, but that I would advise every one whom I could influence to refuse them also. The men began to justify themselves, and were for arguing the case out. A layman under such circumstances would have been very roughly treated. Coal owners at that

time sent their plate and other valuables to the residences of the clergy. The approach of the clergyman is signalled by the first person who sees him, so that anything not very respectable that is going on may be stopped in time—'Hush! hush! hush! here's the priest.'"

A clerical correspondent states that when he was Curate of Garton-in-the-Wolds, in the East Riding, the clergyman was always spoken of as "the priest." He was called the Garton priest, and similarly the vicars around were known by the names of their parishes.

In the North Riding I am assured that the custom is the same. My correspondent tells me that he has sometimes even heard "the Wesleyan priest" spoken of.

Few persons, I imagine, are aware of the existence of the title "Lord Rector" as belonging to a clergyman. Before me is a letter from the Rev. R. Noble Jackson, Vicar of Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, and Lord Rector of Sudeley—the place, by the way, where Queen Katharine Parr was buried. This letter contains such out of the way information that I am sure the writer will not object to my giving it in full. It bears date September 4, 1888. Mr. Jackson writes :—

"It is not in my capacity as vicar of this parish (Winchcombe) but as having charge of an adjacent parish of Sudeley that I am Lord Rector thereof. . . . Like my predecessor, I have held the two livings, but the offices are quite distinct—Vicar of Winchcombe and Lord Rector of Sudeley. As to the latter title (I believe there are five Lord Rectors in England) I suppose it is connected with the copyhold lands belonging to the living. I have now open before me, and partially unrolled, the Court Roll of the parish of Sudeley, to which my immediate predecessor added in his lifetime (by measurement just made) more than twelve yards. In it, for instance, unrolling to his immediate predecessor I find this :—

"'The Court Baron of the Rev. J. J. Lates, Rector of Sudeley, and Lord of the Manor aforesaid, holden 9th March in the eighth year of our Sovereign Lord George IV., and in the year of our Lord 1827, before John James Lates, Lord of the said Manor, William Staite and Thomas Hale, homage sworn.'"

Another clerical title which, I imagine, is not generally known, must be mentioned —this is "Arch-priest." Some ten years ago I wrote to the only possessor of this title that I knew of, namely, the Rev. Fitz-William John Taylor, Rector of East Ogwell, Newton Abbot, Devon, and "Arch-priest of Haccombe." He was good enough to send me a cutting from the Exeter Diocesan Kalendar, in which his name appears as follows :—

"Taylor, FitzWilliam John, R. E. and W. Ogwell, and Arch-priest of Haccombe, Newton Abbot. . . . 1842."

I understand from Mr. Taylor that there are in the Diocesan Registry Office at Exeter (though he has never seen them) documents setting forth the privileges of the Arch-priest of Haccombe, the chief being immunity from any but Archiepiscopal Visitations; the right to sit next the Bishop on all public occasions; and to wear lawn sleeves. My correspondent has never exercised this last-named privilege, but he was formally instituted to the Rectory or Archpriesthood of Haccombe, and he makes it a rule never to answer at the Visitations of the Bishop or Archdeacon when Haccombe is called. He further tells me that he believes there is another "Arch-priest" in England, but he does not know where. Perhaps some reader of this paper can inform me.

Let us now go on to consider the social status of the clergy in times gone by.

There is, says Mr. Overton, an odd illustration in "Cradock's Reminiscences" of the immeasurable distance which was supposed to separate the bishop from the curate in old days. Bishop Warburton was to preach at St. Lawrence's Church in behalf of the London Hospital. I was, writes Cradock, introduced into the vestry by a friend, where the Lord Mayor and others were waiting for the arrival of the Duke of York, who was their president; and, in the meantime, the Bishop did everything in his power to entertain, and alleviate their patience. He was beyond measure condescending and courteous, and even graciously handed some biscuits and wine in a salver to the curate, who was to read prayers.

Dean Swift, in his "Project for the Advancement of Religion," speaks of curates in the most contemptuous terms. "In London a clergyman, with one or two sorry curates, has sometimes the care of above 20,000 incumbent upon him."

For the edification of the younger clergy at the present day, who are apt to grumble at the meagreness of their stipends, which now are rarely less than £100 a year, and often a great deal more, I may perhaps be pardoned if I say, in passing, that forty years ago, when I was ordained, at my first curacy I received fifty guineas a year, and at my second fifty pounds. I am by no means implying that my services were worth more.

But a couple of hundred years ago things were worse as regards remuneration for clerical duty. The common fee, then, in

case of casual assistance rendered, was, for a sermon, a shilling and a dinner, and for reading prayers twopence and a cup of coffee.

Just above I quoted from Dean Swift. Here is another extract, in which he draws a sad picture of the households of the more needy clerics in his day :—

"His wife is little better than Goody in her birth, education and dress ; and as to himself, we must let his parentage alone. If he be the son of a farmer it is very sufficient, and his sister may be very decently chambermaid to the squire's wife. He goes about on working days in a grazier's coat, and will not scruple to assist his workmen in harvest time. His daughter shall go to service or be sent apprentice to the semptress in the next town, and his sons are put to honest trades. This is the usual course of an English vicar from £20 to £60 a year."

There is probably some truth in this, but I cannot help thinking that there is a good deal of exaggeration. I suspect that Mr. Overton is not far wrong when he cites Fielding's characters of Parson Adams and Parson Trulliber as fair specimens of the higher and lower type of the poorer clergy in his day. But all the clergy were not so poor then, any more than they are now.

In the days of which I am writing "teetotalism," as we now understand the term, had not been invented. There are some rather curious items to be picked up relative to the refreshment provided for the clergy on duty in times gone by. An instance was given above ; here are one or two more :

The following appears in the vestry minutes at Havering-atte-Bower, near Romford, Essex :—

"At a vestry held at St. Marie's Chappel, Havering, y^e^ 9th of Nov. 1717.

"Agreed—y^t^ a pint of sack be allowed the minister y^t^ officiates y^e^ Lord's Day y^e^ winter season.

"Present—G. Shortland, Chaplain."
(and six others.)

In the north of England they seem to have been exceptionally liberal to the clergy. Thus, in the vestry book of the parish of Preston, under date April 19, 1731, it is ordered that two bottles of wine be allowed any strange clergyman that shall at any time preach. Query—Was he expected to drink the contents before leaving, or did he put the bottles in his pocket?

At some of the City churches in London —St. Dionis Backchurch, for instance— wine and biscuits are liberally provided in the vestry every Sunday for the officiating clergyman, and on the occasion of charity sermons, when the Lord Mayor and other members of the Corporation attend in State, wine, cake, and biscuits are handed round to all who have the *entrée* at the close of the morning service.

When I was a boy, and attended St. Philip's Church, Birmingham, I know that a bottle of wine and glasses were always placed on the table in the vestry for the clergy and more important officials. Whether this is still kept up I know not.

As will be gathered from what I have said, the good things in the vestry were not confined to the use of the clergy. It has been customary from time immemorial to mark the return of Palm Sunday at Hentland Church, Ross, in a peculiar manner. The minister and congregation receive from the churchwardens a cake or bun, and in former times a cup of beer also. This is consumed within the church and is supposed to imply a desire on the part of those who partake of it to forget all past animosities, and thus to prepare themselves for Easter.

I have in my note book a good many memoranda connected with the scandal of "pluralities" on the part of the bishops and clergy in days gone by, together with other matters relating to them which are full of interest, but I hope to go into these details at some future time. At present my space is limited, and I wish to say something about

Lay Church Officials,

whose duties, legally regarded, are far more multifarious and important than is generally supposed.

Of the lay church officers, the churchwardens naturally take the first place. The popular idea as to their duties would seem to be that they are in some way responsible for the well-being of the Church fabric, and the preservation of the "Ornaments," with certain other minor matters. Not so ; their responsibility extends much further than this. According to Canon 113, they are to take care for the "suppressing of all sin and wickedness in their several parishes, as much as in them lieth," and to take note of persons who have a general evil character amongst their neighbours, and to present them to those who have ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Thus the true functions of churchwardens and of their assistants, the "Sidesmen," or "Synodsmen," are not a little invidious. In some parishes, however, a semblance of paying regard to their duties seems to have been kept up till comparatively recent times. I believe that at Hope,

near Sheffield, for instance, it was formerly the custom during the morning service for the churchwardens to leave the church, and to go round to the public houses near the churchyard to see that all was quiet. This done, they returned to church in time for the sermon. A friend tells me that this used to be very generally done in the West Riding of Yorkshire in days gone by, and that even so late as 1872 the churchwardens of one parish got into trouble through the police finding them drinking in a public-house during one of these official visits. At Manchester, at the close of the last century, it was the custom for the chief magistrate of the place, with the churchwardens and police officers, to leave the church after the first lesson, and to compel all persons found in the streets to come into church or pay a fine.

The appointment of women as churchwardens is not unknown. I am told that in the year 1890 a lady officiated in that capacity at Pill, in Somersetshire : and the *Guardian* of last year announced that the Vicar of Machynlleth had appointed as his churchwarden the Dowager Marchioness of Londonderry.

If the churchwardens' books in country parishes were well searched, a number of queer old-world usages would be brought to light. I cannot refrain from giving the following item, not for the value of the entries, but for the delightful comment made upon them :—

"In the churchwardens' accounts in the parish of ———, Worcestershire, frequent mention is made of sums paid for 'killing urchins.'" In sending me this note, the Vicar facetiously remarks :—"In my ignorance, I at first supposed it to represent the way of keeping down the population, or of securing order in the Sunday-school in these remote regions ; but better-informed people tell me that it only refers to the scarcely less reprehensible slaughter of innocent hedgehogs."

A good many queer usages cluster round the office of the parish clerk. In some places it was the custom for this official to knock at the doors of some of the chief parishioners shortly before morning service began on Sundays, to tell them that it was time to come to church. This, I am assured, was formerly the case in St. Stephen's Parish, Exeter.

In the seventeenth century, the custom of having "Clerk Ales" was still kept up. These, as I have already said, were gatherings at which the feasters contributed the materials, and the proceeds were devoted to increasing the parish clerk's too meagre salary.

Everybody knows that in former days all notices in Church were given out by the parish clerk who was then a much more important official than he is now. These notices were of the most miscellaneous character. The following is one of the oddest that I have met with :

About the year 1838 the clerk of a parish in Lancashire, in the course of his ordinary duties of notice-giver in Church, had to announce that some carrots had been stolen from the vicar's garden, and that a reward of a pound would be awarded to any one who would give such information as would lead to the detection of the thief. The clerk himself had stolen the carrots, some of which were boiling on his fire at the time that he gave the notice. In the afternoon his wife informed against him, and claimed the reward ! That woman was certainly a fine specimen of a managing house wife, to get both the carrots and the money !

It may, however, be as well to say that it is now illegal to proclaim in Church such notices as regards secular matters, though in former times they were common enough.

Who is there who does not wish that he had been one of the congregation when a clerk gave out (as it is said) that a meeting of the parishioners was about to be held to determine what colour the church should be whitewashed ?

From the number of communications which appear in one issue of "Notes and Queries," in relation to women acting as parish clerks, I imagine that this has been no very unusual arrangement in times past. We have five correspondents giving instances. One quotes from "Burns' Parish Registers" as follows :—"1802. March 2, Buried Elizabeth King, widow, for forty-six years clerk of the parish, in the ninety-first year of her age." Another states that in 1828 a woman was clerk in the parish of Sudbrooke, near Lincoln, and died in that capacity a few years afterwards. A third remarks that a woman has long officiated as parish clerk at Ickburgh, near Thetford, and in 1853 still continued to act in that capacity. Another refers to Madame D'Arblay's Diary—"There was at Collumpton, Devon, only a poor wretched ragged woman, a female clerk, to show us this church. She pays a man for doing the duty, while she receives the salary in right of her deceased husband." Mr. Herbert L. Allen writes that at "Misperton, near Crewkerne, Somerset, Mary Mounford was clerk for more than thirty years. She gave up the office about the year 1832." Similarly Mrs. Sheldon was clerk at Wheatley, in Oxfordshire, in the earlier part of this

century ; and the sexton's mother held the like office at Avington, Hungerford, for twenty-six years.

Those who are interested in the question of the legality of such appointments should consult Prideaux's "Directions to Church Wardens," Rex *v.* Stubbs, 2 T. R. 359, and Olive *v.* Ingram, 2 Strange 1114.

The office of parish clerk has not infrequently been handed on from father to son during a lengthened period. Thus the family of Osborn at Bellbroughton, and of Rose at Bromsgrove, have supplied hereditary parish clerks through many generations. The Osborns have been tailors since Henry VIII.'s time, and can trace their descent three centuries further back. The office of parish clerk has also been hereditary in the parishes of Hope and of Kings Norton, in Worcestershire.

Sextons also seem to have sometimes inherited their office. The *Derbyshire Advertiser* contained the following obituary notice :—"On January 23, 1854, aged 86, Mr. Peter Bramwell, sexton of the Parish Church of Chapel-en le-Frith (Derbyshire), the deceased served the office of sexton forty-three years ; Peter Bramwell, his father, fifty years ; George Bramwell, his grandfather, thirty-eight years ; George Bramwell, his great grandfather, forty years ; and Peter Bramwell, his great-great grandfather, fifty-two years. Total, two hundred and twenty-three years."

But to return to the ladies. I find that the office of overseer has likewise been held by women. Here are a couple of instances :

I am told by the Vicar of Kemsing, Sevenoaks, that Mrs. Elizabeth Turner, a widow and tenant farmer, served the office of overseer for the years 1821–1822, and 1822–1823. She undertook the office to save the parish the expense of a paid collector. She was a person of great energy and cleverness, and very ably managed the extensive farm of which her husband had been tenant. Her husband died in 1814, and she herself in 1867, in her ninety-second year.

Here is another instance :

In 1854 Miss Sarah Matilda George was nominated at a vestry meeting to be overseer of the poor at Mission, Nottinghamshire. The late vicar has told me that she was a lady of independent means, and used to drive about in her carriage to collect the rates. She filled the office efficiently.

Mr. Cripps, in his "Law of the Church and Clergy," states that it has been decided that a woman may be chosen for, and exercise the office of sextoness, and vote in the election of one. The reason given by the Court in arriving at this decision—notwithstanding that it was argued that women could not vote for Members of Parliament, &c.—was that as this was an office which did not concern the public, or *the care or inspection of the morals of the parishioners*, there was no reason why women who paid the rates should not vote. This was not altogether as complimentary to the gentler sex as it might be ; but, after our recent experiences, it is very touching to learn that Members of Parliament are to be looked upon as guardians of public morals !

Several years ago I asked various intelligent and generally well-informed friends whether they had ever heard of "The Dog-Whipper" as a recognised church officer, and in every case the reply was in the negative. This I did to satisfy myself as to how far old Church customs were likely to be familiar to the class of persons for whom these papers are designed. The result of this simple inquiry seemed to justify their preparation and publication, as they were likely to contain a record of "things not generally known."

The "Dog-Whipper" in our churches was formerly, I take it, pretty nearly as regularly appointed an officer as the sexton, and in a number of parishes the title is still retained. In the parish in which I am now writing, the official whose duty it is to keep order among the boys—troublesome young dogs—is known by the elder people as the "Dog-Whipper." Five and forty years ago an announcement appeared in the *Exeter Gazette* that Mr. Jonathan Pritchard, in the employ of the Rev. Chancellor Martin, had been appointed "Dog-Whipper" of Exeter Cathedral, in the room of Mr. Charles Reynolds, deceased, and the Vicar of Danby has told me that up to the middle of the present century this officer was regularly on duty in his parish. He always displayed the lash of his whip, which hung out of his pocket. The office no longer exists there. At Durham and Ripon the "Dog-Whipper" was a recognised Cathedral functionary.

Our American cousins also had similar officials, as will be seen from an entry in the vestry book of Shrewsbury Parish, in the Diocese of Maryland, which runs as follows :—

"1725. May 1. Agreed that Thomas Thornton shall keep and whip dogs out of the church every Sunday till next Easter Monday, and also the

cattle from about the church and churchyard, for a hundred pounds of tobacco."

In some parishes what are known as "Dog Tongs" were provided, arranged after the fashion of "Lazy Tongs" (so-called), sometimes used by tradesmen to reach light goods from their shop windows. Thus at the parish church of Llanynys, near Denbigh, a pair of these exist which, when closed, are about two feet six inches long, and would extend to a distance of seven or eight feet. The effect in church when a dog was gripped by the instrument during service must have been interesting. The vicar tells me that no one now living in the parish remembers their being used. If they had been, any one, I should think, would have remembered it.

Those who were at the Church Congress at Rhyl last year and visited the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition, may remember that a pair of wooden dog-tongs formed an item in the loan collection there. They were the actual pair of which I have spoken above.

According to Mr. J. Charles Cox there is an instrument of the kind preserved in the church of Clynnog-Fawr, in the diocese of Bangor. In these the clipping part appears to have been furnished with short spikes.

The same gentleman describes the old dog-whipper's implement, such as was commonly in use, as a whip with a thong about three feet long, fastened to a short ash stick with a band of twisted leather round the handle. An article of this kind is preserved in Baslow church, an ancient chapel of Bakewell, Derbyshire.

A friend tells me that at York there is a gate called "Whip-ma-whop-ma Gate," situated at the east end of St. Crux Church where on Whitsun Tuesday (he thinks) every passing dog used to be whipped. This was in consequence of a certain dog having once stolen a portion of the Blessed Sacrament at St. Crux. This is a curious illustration of the scriptural principle of the sins of the fathers being visited on the children.

Money was sometimes bequeathed to endow the office of dog-whipper. At Barton Turf, Norfolk, the parish clerk has the rent of three acres of land, called "Dog-Whipper's Land"; and the vicar of Chislet, Kent, has sent me the following extract from the "Benefaction Board" in his church:—"Ten shillings are to be paid yearly to a dog-whipper, charged on an acre of marshland belonging to Sir John W. H. Brydges." In the parish of Peterchurch, in Herefordshire, an acre of land is appropriated to the use of the official who keeps dogs out of church. There is a similar bequest in the parish of Claverley, Salop; but Richard Dovey, who gave the money in 1659, considered that eight shillings annually was sufficient to remunerate the official, although, as I understand, he had an additional duty to perform, viz., to keep people awake during service time.

People seem charged with being unusually drowsy at Wimborne Minster, for the beadles (writes C. E. K.) during the reading of each lesson, make the circuit of the church, crossing the chancel, going down one aisle and up the other, carrying short black staves which they used to awaken sleepers. At Dunchurch a somewhat different implement was employed for the same purpose. This was a stick shaped like a hay-fork, which was fitted on to the sleeper's neck, and it was, no doubt, when well pushed home, sufficiently effectual. As recently as fifty years ago one of the churchwardens of Acton Church, Cheshire, used to walk round during service-time with a long wand, with which he gave a tap on the head to any one who seemed to need such a reminder.

In one parish of which I have an account, the arrangement for waking sleepers was remarkably complete. The official who walked about the church had a long wand with a nob at one end for the men and boys, and a fox's brush at the other, with which he tickled the nostrils of the ladies whom he happened to find dosing. This delicate treatment of the fair sex, even in their erring moments, is worthy of all commendation, but it is easy to picture to oneself what the effect of even so tender an application was likely to be.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR MOVEMENT.

BY FRANCIS E. CLARK, D.D., PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, July 7, 1892.

I FIND myself under some embarrassment in complying with the request of the editor of THE INDEPENDENT for an article on this subject lest I should seem, in an account of the early days of the movement, to assume any credit for a society which has had as distinctly a providential beginning as any religious movement in the history of the world. Of course the Society began in one church and with one pastor. Every organization has to start somewhere; but this

pastor and this church had as little to do with promoting the Christian Endeavor cause as the farmer has to do with the growth of the seed in the mellow soil of spring.

The seed, to be sure, may fall out of his hand. He may even carefully plant it in propitious surroundings. He may water and nurture the growing plant, but, after all, how little he has to do with its life and fruit bearing! The seed may sprout and mature even though thoughtlessly dropped from a careless hand by the roadside, if it has life in it. No amount of care or nurture can cause it to germinate unless God-given vitality is within it. So is it with the beginnings of religious movements like the Christian Endeavor Society. They are always as the grain of mustard seed. They are often dropped from weak and incompetent hands. Little is expected of them at the beginning. They are a rebuke to one's doubts and fears and faithless expectations.

It is also true that the need of this Society was felt not only in the heart of one pastor, but in the hearts of thousands of pastors. The fallow ground was broken up for the reception of just such a seed in a multitude of churches. Hundreds and thousands of Christian workers were waiting for such a plan, and, as soon as it appeared in one church, it found a thousand kindly, pastoral hands ready to transplant the living shoot into their own garden.

The contrast between the beginnings of this Society and the advent of some ecclesiastical movements is very striking. No Council of the churches called this organization into being. No Conference, Assembly, or Presbytery decided that there ought to be a Society of Christian Endeavor. No ecclesiastical pressure or denominational *esprit de corps* has ever declared that it must have the right of way in our churches. In fact, it has made its way against denominational opposition in some quarters and clerical indifference in others.

In the early days there were very few except the pastors who had tried the Society to speak its praises. It was said that it would sap the strength of the Church, that it would set off the young over against the old in rivalry, that it would form a church outside of the Church; and when it was proved that it was right within the heart of the Church, that it was the Church working of its young people, then the pessimist exclaimed that it would create a church within a Church; and when a brother wished to be very emphatic he would drop into Latin, and in a deep bass voice would exclaim: "I fear that it will become an *Imperium in imperio.*"

But this society has outlived many infantile diseases which threatened to carry it off. It has increased in power with every month that has gone by during the last twelve years. The attitude of the denominations for the most part is very different from what it was only a few years ago. The organization is evidently coming to be understood as never before, and the more thoroughly it is understood the more generously it is accepted and heartily loved.

A few days ago I spoke at the seventh anniversary of the first society formed in one of the largest cities of Massachusetts, and was reminded of the fact that when that society was established, seven years ago, there were only two hundred and fifty others in existence in all parts of the world. During each of the last four weeks more new Societies of Christian Endeavor were reported at the office of the United Society in Boston than were formed in the first four years of the movement. On one of these weeks 371 new societies were recorded, with nearly 20,000 members, and on another the figures were only less by a very few than this number. This growth is not confined to America and Canada, but in England and Australia the Society seems to be striking its roots quite as deeply as in this country, even if its growth is not as rapid in the Mother Land. A year ago at this time there were less than a hundred societies in Great Britain. Now there are over three hundred, and a most enthusiastic national convention has just been held, whose thronging crowds could scarcely be crowded into two of the largest churches in Chester.

Some English religious papers speak of it as one of the most wonderful religious conventions that has ever been held in the United Kingdom.

In Australia the growth of the movement is no less marked than in this country. All the Australian colonies have formed Christian Endeavor unions with conventions that rival those in our own States and Territories, while nearly every Evangelical denomination in that great island continent has indorsed the principles and methods of the Society, and, to a considerable extent, adopted its name for the young people of their churches.

The Society has this year been received with more than usual cordiality in our own country, especially during the spring conventions, which have made the year memora-

ble in religious circles. The General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church adopted the Society entire, without prefixes or suffixes. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, after canvassing the whole field, found that there was absolutely no other society suggested by any of their presbyteries or pastors than the Society of Christian Endeavor, and it was adopted as their young people's organization. The Disciples of Christ, some months ago, substantially took the same ground. The Reformed Church was one of the first denominations to indorse and accept the Society. In the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1892 there was no word raised against the organization which has now found its way into four-fifths, I suppose, of the Presbyterian churches, while the cordiality with which it has been received by the Congregationalists, Friends, and many of the Evangelical Lutherans is well known.

The Baptist Young People's Union is formed on an inclusive basis, which allows equal rights to Christian Endeavor societies and encourages their existence and multiplication in Baptist churches throughout the country.

Thus are the indications multiplying in all parts of the world that the Society of Christian Endeavor is a *movement* for every Church and for every clime, and not simply an organization.

In view of the great Convention at New York, when it is expected that at least 25,000 young people will come together, it may be of interest to give a hitherto unwritten chapter concerning Christian Endeavor conventions of the past.

The first society was formed in Williston Church, Portland, Me., February 2d, 1881. The second Society in Newburyport, Mass., in October of the same year. By the following June (1882) some five or six societies had been formed so far as were known, and true to the instincts which have since guided them a Convention of Christian Endeavor Societies was called to meet in Williston Church. It can easily be imagined that it was a comparatively small and inconspicuous convention. It was not without its prophecy, however, of future greatness, though it was looked upon as a remarkable fact that one delegate cared to come from a Maine town nearly fifty miles away. The account in a local newspaper glowed with hope and prophecy rather than any great results that could be recorded of that first convention, which perhaps half filled an ordinary sized church. The second Convention was held in the old Second Parish Church of Portland, Me., and was scarcely more important though somewhat more largely attended than the first. The third Convention, in 1884, was held in the Kirk St. church, in Lowell, of which the Rev. C. A. Dickinson, of Berkeley Temple, Boston, who has from the beginning been an earnest friend of the movement was then the pastor. This convention was about the size of an ordinary local conference or presbytery, and the fact that one young man ventured from the far-off regions of the Nutmeg State, attracted by his interest in the Christian Endeavor movement, was commented upon as a remarkable fact.

The Convention of 1885 was held near Old Orchard Beach, under the soughing pine boughs of a summer encampment. By this time Christian Endeavor had crossed the Mississippi, and one delegate from St. Louis appeared upon the scenes. This convention gave still larger promise of greater things in the future ; but it was not until the two conventions in Saratoga in 1886 and '87 that the Society became worthy of the name as a national movement. At the latter convention something like 2,000 young people with their pastors were present, and a decided impression was made upon the religious public by the sight of these enthusiastic, whole-souled, unselfish young people gathered together in a great summer resort, not to witness the races or to quaff the water, but for a draught at the spiritual fountain which has always been opened at these great meetings. The Convention of 1888 was held in Chicago, and Battery D was crowded with 5,000 earnest young souls, who carried the blessed contagion of Christian Endeavor everywhere throughout the land. This was really the first of the great mass meetings. This convention was repeated in Philadelphia in 1889 with 7,000 in attendance, and in St. Louis in 1890 with 2,000 added to the swelling hosts, and which found its climax last year at Minneapolis when 14,000 came together for the inspiration and fellowship of the Convention.

In the space assigned me it is possible to do little more than give a list of these meetings and some estimate of the thronging thousands, but poor and inadequate indeed is any such description of such a convention. What an inspiring thought is it to remember that more than a score of thousand of young men and women from every State, Territory and Province in the United States and Canada, from England, India, Africa and China will come together at the Eleventh International Convention, which is now close upon us, for a spiritual and religious purpose ! What else could sum-

mon these hosts? What other bugle call could they hear from Nova Scotia to Oregon, from Manitoba to Texas? What dramatic company or opera troupe, what baseball combination or political convention could draw them together? What else would induce them to spend their money, to give up their precious days of vacation, as many of them will? Not the excursion which will bring them to the hall of meeting, not the social good-fellowship of the excursion, not the eloquent speeches or distinguished orators of the convention can account for this throng. Nothing but the attractive power of the religion of Christ can adequately explain it. There is no such magnet in all the world as the Cross. There is nothing that can compete with a spiritual prayer-meeting in "drawing power"; for in the prayer-meeting with its pledge, and in the consecration meeting with its solemn vows, is found the heart of the Christian Endeavor movement. This is not simply a gathering of young people's societies. It is not merely a youthful evangelical alliance. It is a company of young men and women who have taken the same vows, who believe in the same methods, and whose one outward bond is the common name Christian Endeavor.

If the Convention of 1892 accomplishes no other purpose, it will be an object lesson to the religious world and the world of scoffers alike that the simple Gospel of Jesus Christ is not losing its power, that it never had so secure and triumphant a place in the hearts of the young as to-day, and that the future of the Church is safe when such young men and women as will assemble in Madison Square Garden, with quick brains, warm hearts and ready hands are devoting themselves so entirely to the one Master, finding in his service the spiritual fellowship that they desire. In view of such interdenominational conventions, only made possible by some such practical fellowship, shall we not pray that this brotherhood may remain intact and may not suffer from sectarian aggression or exclusiveness?

BOSTON, MASS.

THE EPWORTH LEAGUE.

BY JOSEPH F. BERRY, D.D., EDITOR OF "THE EPWORTH HERALD."

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, July 7, 1892.

THE Epworth League is the official young people's society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is a little more than three years old. From the first, its growth has been remarkable. There are now between eight and nine thousand local organizations, called chapters, with a total membership of nearly 500,000. This includes organizations in the United States and in Norway, Sweden, Italy, India, China, Japan and other countries where the Methodist Episcopal Church has established missions. The movement has spread to other branches of the Methodist family. The League has become the official young people's society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and of the Methodist Church in Canada. Some chapters have been quite recently organized in the Wesleyan churches of England. The ratio of growth is about as large at present as at any time during the past three years, and the time is not distant when Epworth Leagues will be organized as universally in the Methodist churches as are Methodist Sunday-schools. At the recent General Conference the League was adopted as the regular society of the Church. It now becomes the duty of the pastors to organize and maintain, wherever possible, chapters of the League, and presiding elders are expected to inquire regularly as to the condition of the organization. The president of the chapter is an *ex-officio* member of the quarterly and district conferences, after he has been formally approved by the former. Arrangements will be made to gather all important League statistics for publication in the Annual Conference minutes. The action of the General Conference ingrafts the society into the organic structure of the Church, and will surely add strength and efficiency to the organization.

It must not be understood, however, that the Epworth League is the first organized movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church for the religious culture of her young people. Local societies of one kind and another have been conducted in our churches for half a century. At the General Conference of 1876, provision was first made for the organization of a general denominational society called the Lyceum. It aimed chiefly to develop the young people on their intellectual side. Following came the Oxford League. Bishop J. H. Vincent, a man marvelously fertile in expedients, was its father. The general aims of this new organization were similar to those of the Holy Club from which it derived its name. These were: 1, The more careful study of the Word of God; 2, the study of literature; 3, the increase of personal piety; 4, the training of its members in works of mercy and help. About the

same time the Young People's Methodist Alliance was formed, a society which placed emphasis upon the higher Christian life and evangelistic work. Subsequently came the Young People's Christian League, the Methodist Young People's Union, and the Young People's Methodist Alliance. Each of these five general societies was received with marked favor by portions of the Church, and two or three of them grew with notable rapidity. It was soon felt, however, that such a division of effort among the young people of the Church was most unwise, and after considerable animated correspondence a conference of the leaders of the various organizations was arranged. This conference was held at Cleveland, O., on the fourteenth day of May, 1889, and before its adjournment on the night of the fifteenth organic union had been effected. The result of the union was the birth of the Epworth League. It should be noted that the League was formed out of general societies which had existed in the Church for some time, and not, as some persons have thoughtlessly claimed, to imitate or compete with other young people's societies. It should be remembered, also, that each of the societies mentioned was a *denominational* society, and it would not have been possible to reorganize any one of them upon an inter-denominational basis. Another thing should be emphasized, *i.e.:* the working plans of the Epworth League were taken from the Methodist Episcopal societies which went into the union, and none were copied from any society outside of our Church.

It will be impossible to compress into the narrow limits of this article anything like an adequate account of the working plans of the League. A mere outline must suffice. The primary object of the organization, as expressed in its Constitution, is "to promote intelligent and vital piety in the young members and friends of the Church, to aid them in the attainment of heart purity and in constant growth in grace, and to train them in works of mercy and help." The General League is governed by a board of control of twenty-nine members, fifteen of whom are appointed by the bishops, and fourteen are elected by the young people in the General Conference districts. The general officers are a president, who shall be a bishop, four vice presidents, two of whom are laymen, an editor, a secretary, and a treasurer. These officers compose the general cabinet, or executive committee. The central office is located at Chicago. *The Epworth Herald*, published at Chicago, is the official organ of the league, and though it is only a little more than two years old, it has already reached a paid weekly circulation of 66,000 copies.

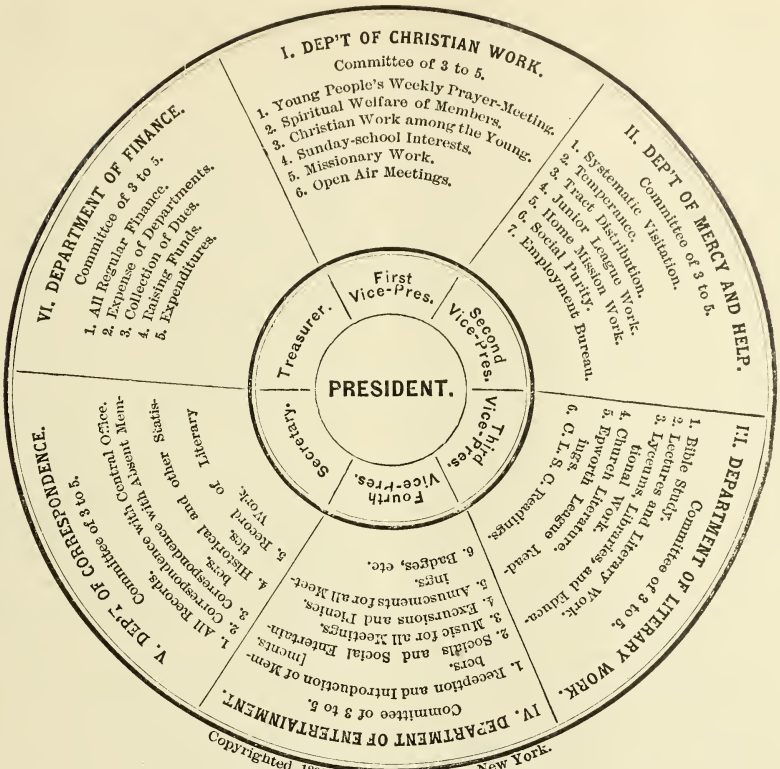
In the local chapter, there are six general departments of work—viz.: Christian work, Mercy and Help, Literary work, Entertainment, Correspondence and Finance. The officers consist of a president, four vice-presidents, a secretary and treasurer. The diagram on the opposite page, familiarly called the "Epworth wheel," gives a good idea of the activities carried forward under the various divisions of work.

There are two classes of members, active and associate. Only active members are eligible to office. Here is the pledge :

> "I will earnestly seek for myself, and do what I can to help others attain, the highest New Testament standard of experience and life. I will abstain from all those forms of worldly amusement forbidden by the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and I will attend, so far as possible, the religious meetings of the Chapter and the Church and take some active part in them."

The motto of the League is "Look up ; Lift up." This indicates its real spirit and aim. Look up to Christ for salvation and help ; lift up humanity. There is a second motto which has become a universal favorite, a ringing sentence which once dropped from the lips of the sainted Bishop Simpson : "We live to make our own Church a power in the land, while we live to love every other Church that exalts our Christ." We also have a badge which is proudly worn by young Methodists in all parts of the world.

The Epworth League is denominational. That we regard as one of its best features. The Methodist Episcopal Church is a connectional Church. The plans which would suit a Church having a Congregational form of government could be made to fit ours. The League is a vital part of our connectional machinery, just as is the class-meeting, the love feast and the quarterly conference. No society constructed upon an independent basis, no matter how perfect, officered by persons outside our communion, and furnishing literature of an undenominational character could be made permanently operative in Methodism. But we believe in the broadest fraternal fellowship, and in the most practical kinds of co-operation. Our conviction is, however, that these most desirable things can best be secured through denominational organization. Our churches are denominational. Our Sunday-schools are denominational. Why make an exception of our young peo-



ple's societies? The spirit of fellowship and co-operation is growing among the churches and schools; why should it not grow blessedly among denominational young people's societies? As the Evangelical Alliance has become the means of drawing the Churches closer together and of promoting true inter-denominational helpfulness, so I believe an Alliance, including the young people's societies of all the denominations, could easily be formed which would unify and direct in a most blessed fashion the activities of young Christians. I believe such a consummation is near at hand. In the meantime the Epworth League prays for blessings on the Christian Endeavor Society and all other organizations of Christian young people.

Many happy results have followed the organization of the Epworth League. The blessings which have come to the churches through its instrumentality cannot be measured. Our bishops, general secretaries, presiding elders and pastors are enthusiastic in their praise. The young people themselves are more than delighted. Denominational loyalty has been promoted, the Good Samaritan side of the Christian life has been emphasized, the perplexing amusement question has been largely solved, interest in the systematic study of the English Bible and other upbuilding literature has been greatly stimulated, and, best of all, a most potent evangelistic force has been called into action. Hundreds of souls have been converted and brought into the Church through the agency of our consecrated young people. How glorious it is to see the young hosts move on and up!

CHICAGO, ILL.

SAINT ANDREW'S BROTHERHOOD.

BY THE RT. REV. N. S. RULISON, D.D., BISHOP OF CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, July 7, 1892.

NOTHING has been more remarkable in the spiritual renaissance of the Church of England, during the last fifty years, than the awakening of laymen and women to the sense of their responsibility for the use of their personal influence.

No one who has not studied the history of what even Mr. Spurgeon called "the revival of the English Church" knows how great that awakening has been.

Out of it (and especially during the last quarter of a century) have sprung the brotherhoods, sisterhoods, deaconess houses, guilds and lay helpers' associations that are so numerous, famous and successful in the Mother Church.

The Protestant Episcopal Church has inherited her mother's blood and blessing, and if in time past some thought her too slow to recognize changed relations and front new conditions and questions, no one who has followed her recent history thinks so now. For to-day there is no Church that shows more courage or practical wisdom in the presence of dangers that menace our city and national life, or that is in closer or more sensitive touch with the best thought and work of Christian men for the relief of suffering and the abolition of evil. And whatever may be said about her slowness as a student, it must be confessed that at least (if at last) she has thoroughly learned the wisdom of adapting herself to the genius of the people and the spirit of its institutions among whom and which she is placed ; the grandeur and inspiration of the sense of personal responsibility for the doing of God's work ; the value of youth with its visions, enthusiasm, energy and attractive power ; and the foolishness of fearing that a large and free exercise of the Priesthood of the Laity will tend toward irreverence and the development of hysterical religion, fanaticism and vulgarity.

One of the causes and results of this new life is "The Brotherhood of St. Andrew." It seemed a little society at first, and no one thought it would spread beyond the boundaries of the parish in which it was formed.

But as "all holy desires, all good counsels" come from God, so especially was the thought of this Brotherhood that came to Mr. James L. Houghteling, a teacher of a young men's Bible-class in St. James Church, Chicago, born of God, and has been blessed by Him. It was in November, 1883, that Mr. Houghteling organized the Brotherhood for his own parish, and in October, 1886, all the parochial organizations that had been formed on this model organized the General Brotherhood of Saint Andrew.

Its founder learned by his own experience and his observation of other Christians that, as a rule, one grows toward the "perfect man" in Christ just in the proportion that he puts his heart into his work and goes outside of self to do something for others. The young men who acted on this thought soon found that the growth of Christ's kingdom within their characters was simultaneous with its extension among their brothers, and so they put into the Constitution of the Society the following article :

"The sole object of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew is the spread of Christ's kingdom among young men, and to this end every man desiring to become a member thereof must pledge himself to obey the Rules of the Brotherhood so long as he shall be a member. These Rules are two : The Rule of Prayer and the Rule of Service. The Rule of Prayer is to pray daily for the spread of Christ's kingdom among young men and for God's blessing upon the labors of the Brotherhood. The Rule of Service is to make an earnest effort each week to bring at least one young man within hearing of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as set forth in the services of the Church and in young men's Bible-classes."—Art. 1, Sec. 1, "Constitution."

The Rules are very simple and very spiritual, and because they are they have been objected to by many who would like to turn the Brotherhood into a debating society or a social club ; but the Brotherhood was not organized for the purpose of amusing people through the giving of oyster suppers and private theatricals and *opéra bouffe*. Very likely its growth would have been more rapid if it had gone into the "show business" ; but it has steadily refused to be turned aside from its original purpose ; it has steadily continued to transact the *Lord's* business, and it has steadily grown in numbers and power.

The Brotherhood has to-day more than ten thousand members in this country, and is spreading into the Church of England and her provinces in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and in the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

It works in and for that branch of the Catholic Church which we call the Protestant Episcopal Church, and only by the approval and under the leadership of the clergy. The parochial chapels are independent of each other in local matters, but are bound together in general work and obligations.

Each year a convention is held, to which each chapter is entitled to send representatives. This convention elects a council, which is charged with the "executive direction of the general organization." The Brotherhood has an official organ called the *Saint Andrew's Cross*, which has a paid circulation of nearly one hundred thousand copies, and which is intended to help all the interests of the Brotherhood.

The simplicity of its machinery has had much to do with its success ; and its broad-minded view of individual liberty and its clear recognition of the many-sidedness of truth and of men, has kept it free from in-

ternal dissensions and the wretched partisanship of ecclesiastical politics.

For this latter there is not much taste nor time with men who are really at work in Christ's kingdom. And the Brotherhood is a company of workers, in such ways as the following: inviting men to attend church, visiting young men in their homes, acting as lay readers, assisting in general parish work, in Sunday-schools and missions, visiting sick and poor, hospitals and prisons, taking charge of reading rooms, assisting church choirs and parish papers, and in a hundred other ways suggested by circumstances.

The organization has been recognized by the Committee on the State of the Church, appointed by the General Convention, and nearly all the bishops have given it their official recognition and blessing. It is a society existing within a Church that considers herself much more than a society, and is not too indulgent toward self-appointed organizations; and yet its subordination is so perfect, its spirit is so loyal, its methods are so wise, and its purpose is so divine, that we are all coming to love it more and more; and some among us think we see in it a divinely appointed instrumentality for quickening the spiritual life of our Church people, kindling their enthusiasm, creating among them a better *esprit de corps*, and rousing broad-brained and free-willed men to a keen realization of the meaning of their manhood and the obligations of their baptism, that "representeth unto us our profession, which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ and to be made like unto him."

SOUTH BETHLEHEM, PENN.

THE TROUBLES IN UGANDA.

BY GEORGE S. MACKENZIE.

From *The Fortnightly Review* (London), July, 1892.

"THE Pearl of Africa," as Uganda has been aptly named by Mr. Stanley, who visited the country when it was still a great kingdom, was first brought to notice in Europe by the celebrated travellers Speke and Grant. Mtesa was king when the country was discovered, and during his reign this pagan nation first came in contact with the civilisation and Christianity of the West.

Mr. H. M. Stanley's famous appeal was answered by the arrival in Uganda of the first missionaries (Protestants) who, on the pressing request of Mtesa, were sent out by our Church Missionary Society in July, 1877. Nearly two years later, these were followed by French missionaries (Roman Catholics). Two priests arrived in the country in 1879, nor was their stay continuous. It may be noted by the way that, discouraged by the prospects, they subsequently withdrew from the kingdom for two years, and only re-entered Uganda in 1885, prompted thereto by the success which had attended the perseverance of the Protestant missionaries. This intrusion of a rival Church into a field already occupied, while so many unappropriated areas were still available in every direction, was little calculated to produce good results either for Christianity or upon a people awakening out of the profoundest and most cruel darkness, and subjected to this double-barrelled discharge of doctrine. The very manner in which the Roman Catholic element was introduced was in itself the occasion of bitterness, and was far from reassuring those native minds otherwise well disposed to accept the teachings of Christianity. Mackay describes the scene that took place (*Mackay in Uganda*, pp. 120–123) when the French priests, on being introduced at the Court, refused to join in the religious service already established by the Protestant missionaries:—

> "Mtesa, in his abrupt style, said to Toli: 'Ask the Frenchmen if they believe in Jesus Christ, why they don't kneel down with us when we worship Him every Sabbath! Don't they worship Him?' M. Lourdel was spokesman. He became all at once very excited, and said: 'We do not join in that religion because it is not true; we do not know that book (the Bible) because it is a book of lies. If we joined in that it would mean that we were not Catholics, but Protestants, who have rejected the truth. For hundreds of years they were with us, but now they believe and teach only lies.'"

Mackay, as he tells us—

> "Tried to smooth the matter by saying that we had one belief in many things—one God, one Saviour, one Bible, one Heaven, and one law of life. But my friend would have no terms of peace. 'There was one truth, and he came to teach that, and we were liars.' I listened calmly to all," says poor Mackay, "and never replied to the padre. Only when the King asked me to speak I quietly told him how the 'truth' stood. I said that he should first hear more of the doctrines of the Frenchmen, and I had little fear of a man of his intelligence being able to come to a right decision. Never did I hear the word *mwongo* (liar) so frequently used."

Such was the inauguration of Roman Catholicism in Uganda, an inauguration which sufficiently demonstrated the spirit in which the French priests intruded themselves on the field of labour already occupied by the British missionaries.

Mwanga succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, Mtesa. The Italian traveller and companion of Emin, Major Casati, whose words I quote as the statements of a wholly unprejudiced witness, states (*Ten Years in Equatoria*, vol. ii., p. 274) that Mwanga—

"Inaugurated his reign by persecuting the neophytes of the British missionaries. The peace," he continues, "the benefits of which were enjoyed during the last ten years of Mtesa's government, was abruptly disturbed; Mwanga condemned hundreds of people to be burned alive, and spread terror and desolation over his country. Mr. Mackay, the chief of the British mission, was soon pointed out by the Arabs as an enemy of the King and kingdom, and suffered odious vexations and ill-treatment. He was exiled, but arrested shortly afterwards as a runaway."

These, it may be observed, were the days when the Arab slave-traders in Uganda, who had already acquired considerable influence, and aimed at obtaining supreme power, had declared war against the missionaries and everything calculated to further the influence of Europeans, and so interfere with their monopoly of trade, or expose their connection with the slave business. It was owing to the hostile vigilance and power of those Arabs that communications to or from Emin Pasha had become impossible when Mr. Stanley started on his last expedition.

"The Zanzibar Mohammedans," continues Major Casati, "did not stop their nefarious persecution, and obtained from the insane king the expulsion of all missionaries, either of the Catholic or Protestant Church; and their audacity went so far as to suggest to the King that he should eradicate and extinguish in blood the dawning idea of Christianity existing amongst the various castes of the population."

The following description of the cruelties perpetrated at these times is extracted from a letter from the late Mr. A. M. Mackay, dated Buganda, 26th June, 1886, and published in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*:—

"It is now a full month since the bloody persecution of native Christians began. Those who were at the capital and best known were, of course, first arrested. About a dozen were butchered at once. Several were mutilated (Asiatic manner) afterwards; many were speared or otherwise killed in the endeavour to capture them in various parts of the country while thirty-two were burnt alive in one huge pyre after having been kept prisoners over a week.

"Let some of our friends at home fancy themselves exchanging places with us, and see their friends, with whom they yesterday talked and ate, and prayed, to-day ruthlessly seized and hacked to pieces almost before their eyes, and their members left lying to decay by the roadside so as to produce an abominable stench for days. No such realisation is, I fear, possible in England; at any rate no such realisation exists, otherwise mighty efforts would be made, further than a passing sigh, to put a stop to such a monstrous state of things, however distant. At this moment I recall vividly the voice and face of a man who came here almost daily.

"The executioners suddenly appeared before his house to arrest him, but were afraid to enter. At the time he was engaged in holding prayers with several lads. These bolted through the thin reed wall of the house and escaped. One alone remained with him. 'Do not be afraid that I will shoot you,' cried the Christian; 'come in and take me.' They bound him and took him, as also the friend with him, before the king. 'Do you read?' 'Yes.' 'Take him and roast him,' was the summary sentence. Roberto was kept a few days in the stocks, and then an arm cut off and roasted before his eyes. Next a leg was severed, and that also burnt. How much further the torture went I do not know; I only know that what was left of the man was committed also to the flames."

The king thereafter took alarm at the new power into whose hands he had allowed himself to be drawn, and "promised the Arabs friendship and protection, but, in the meantime, secretly plotted against them, and was forsaken by all."

In September, 1888, occurred the first of that series of revolutions in Uganda which have since devastated what had been up to this time, perhaps, the most promising and powerful African monarchy. The Arab or Mohammedan party, distrustful of Mwanga, formed an alliance with the Christians against him. The former, as well as the latter, had been making converts from Paganism, and the neophytes of both were known by the name of "Readers." They discovered a plot of Mwanga's to rid himself of the "Readers" of both faiths, and, turning their arms upon him, expelled him from the country, and placed his brother Kiwewa on the throne. The principal offices of the State were then divided between the Christians and Mohammedans. This state of things, however, lasted only a month. The Mohammedans proceeded at once to deprive the Christians of their offices, and drove them and their missionaries out of the country. Later on, Kiwewa was deposed for refusing to become a Mohammedan, and a third brother, Kalema, placed on the throne.

"Meanwhile," says Major Casati (vol. ii., p. 275)—

"Mwanga, with a few of his household, repaired to Usukuma, where he begged protection from the missionaries; and the murderer of Hannington, the ferocious persecutor of Christians, the Nero of Uganda, was pompously christened at the Catholic Mission, and, if not praised, was certainly protected and forgiven."

Before seeking the protection of the Roman Catholic priests, the fugitive king

had made abject appeals to the Protestant missionaries to receive him, but, remembering his bloodthirsty persecution of the Christians, and his treacherous character, they refused to have anything to do with him. When, however, by the assistance of the Christians, he recovered his throne in 1889, the Protestants acknowledged him as king, and returned, along with the Roman Catholic missionaries, to resume their work in Uganda.

From this period the French priests have maintained an easy ascendency over the mind of Mwanga. His suspicious nature readily imbibed the idea that the British were but waiting their opportunity to get him into their power to avenge the dastardly and cruel murder of Bishop Hannington. It was under these circumstances that the British East Africa Company first came in contact with Uganda and inaugurated that action in the lake region for the establishment of British influence which the pressure of events not even remotely anticipated by its founders compelled it to undertake. When Mwanga was endeavouring to make headway against the Arabs for the recovery of his kingdom he heard of the presence, on the north-eastern side of the lake, of a large caravan belonging to the British East Africa Company. This caravan was in charge of Mr. F. J. Jackson, who had been sent into the interior in the previous year for the purpose of exploring the country and of concluding friendly relations with the chiefs and tribes inland, but without any special reference to Uganda.

It may at this point be convenient to narrate the course of events which compelled the Imperial British East Africa Company to depart so far from its original plans as to enter upon the patriotic but costly enterprise of securing to British influence Uganda and the other lake regions commanding the sources of the Nile.

The Imperial British East Africa Company was formed, as the preamble to its charter states, "with the view of promoting trade, commerce, and good government" in that part of East Africa reserved to British influence, and primarily in that portion of the dominions of the Sultanate of Zanzibar which had been granted to it by concession, and beyond which the Company's operations were meant to extend gradually and tentatively into the interior in the ordinary course of development.

During the first two years of its existence, however, the general objects of the Company were thrown into abeyance, and its resources pre-occupied in endeavouring to counteract the designs of foreign rivals to circumscribe the limits of the British sphere; and, but for the energetic action of the Company, the result would have been not only to confine British influence to the narrow strip of coast comprised between the Umbe and Tana Rivers, but to bar access to the region of the lakes and the sources of the Nile. To this end more particularly was directed the mission of Dr. Carl Peters, organized ostensibly for the relief of Emin Pasha, then known to be on his way down to the coast with Mr. Stanley. Following the course of the Tana and passing through the recognized sphere of British influence, Dr. Peters not only imposed treaties upon the tribes he encountered, distributing amongst them German flags, whilst he pulled down the British ensign wherever it had been previously hoisted by the Company's officers, but openly tore up the papers which certified the protection due to the treaties already concluded between the chiefs and the British. In the end Uganda proved to be the real aim of Dr. Peters' expedition, but a report of his death having been assiduously put into circulation, it was not till the spring of 1890 that he was heard of as having arrived at the Victoria Nyanza.

Coincidently with this movement Emin Pasha, who, on his arrival at the coast, had consented to enter the service of the German Administration, was appointed to lead a strong expedition to the lake district. These evidences of co-operative design did not fail to arouse public feeling in England, and the supposed inaction of the British Company in permitting our national interests to be jeopardized was sharply criticised in the London press.

The German Government had by this time practically assumed the administrative functions of the German Company, and the Imperial British East Africa Company, while anxiously watching the course of events, was disposed to attach less importance to the acts of private adventurers, whose proceedings that Government had formally repudiated. Relying upon the terms of the agreement of July, 1887, which were that—

> "England would leave Germany a free hand for the future in the territories south of the Victoria Nyanza Lake, and without interfering with the territories lying to the east of Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa at the back of the German Protectorate, would confine herself to opening up the territories lying to the north of the agreed line,"

the Imperial British East Africa Company assumed that Uganda lay within the British sphere, and was therefore safe against en-

croachments from without. This interpretation of the agreement was found, however, not to conform to the views of the British Foreign Office as to what was necessary in order to "secure paramount influence in Uganda." The Directors were thus forced to take action, and Captain Lugard, then surveying the Sabaki district, was promptly ordered to proceed to Uganda to establish British influence in that country. Meanwhile the caravan under Mr. Jackson, previously mentioned, having reached Kavirondo on 7th November, 1889, met, while at Qua Sundu, a messenger with letters from Mwanga, King of Uganda, and from the missionaries, imploring the Company to come to their assistance. Mr. Jackson then had no intention of entering that country; on the contrary, he had received explicit instructions to avoid Uganda or its dependencies, and to refrain from interference with the internal affairs of the district, owing to representations made by the French Government urgently deprecating the passage of Stanley's Relief Expedition through that country, lest, as it was then said, the approach of a force under Europeans should jeopardise the lives of the missionaries by producing the impression in the King's mind that it was intended by England, if not to conquer the country, to avenge the murder of Bishop Hannington. Mr. Jackson, therefore, in the first instance declined to accede to the King's request, but sent him the Company's flag, the acceptance of which would be the sign of his placing himself and his kingdom under the protection of the Company. Thus matters were allowed to rest until Mr. Jackson's return from a further expedition to the north. Learning then that Dr. Peters, after raising the German flag at Kavirondo, had gone on to Uganda, and having meanwhile received a written intimation from Mwanga accepting the flag, Mr. Jackson considered that the time and the occasion had arrived for entering into personal relations with the king.

On arrival at Uganda he found Mwanga had again fallen under the ascendency of the French priests, who had assisted Dr. Peters in his anti-English intrigues, and that it was impossible to treat with him as a free agent. Mr. Jackson's first act in Uganda was to make it publicly known that the policy of the Company was one of strict impartiality as regarded all religious sects. He explained again and again "that the Company would treat all parties alike, and make no distinction between Roman Catholics, Protestants, heathens, or Mohammedans." On the other hand, it was clearly seen then that the object the French priests had in view was political supremacy, to the exclusion of all other influence. It may be recalled how Cardinal Lavigerie, the head of the Uganda French Mission, made an attempt in March, 1890, to persuade the Brussels Anti Slavery Conference to declare the neutrality of Uganda. The negotiations between Great Britain and Germany for the delimitation of their spheres of influence were then in progress, and justified the presumption that Uganda would be assigned to the former. This was, however, the very result which the Cardinal was most anxious to prevent. The Brussels Conference ignored all such proposals as being totally outside its province. It is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that the attitude and policy of the French in Uganda were in exact correspondence with the views of their superior. It was thus obvious, Mr. Jackson's report shows, that Père Lourdel and the Roman Catholic chiefs made a dead set against the King signing a treaty in any form with the British Company. It was thus equally plain that the King had been induced to resign his destinies into the hands of the French party.

Père Lourdel died while Mr. Jackson was in Uganda, and was succeeded by Père Lombard, who, of the two, exercised the greater influence over the King, having been Mwanga's teacher at Bukumbi.

The following extract from Mr. Jackson's report is a remarkable forecast of events which have since occurred:—

> "Père Lombard is said to have more influence with the King than Père Lourdel had, and should he be opposed to the country falling under the rule of the Company he may incite the Roman Catholics to fight the Protestants at any moment."

While the French priests thus persisted in striving to control the political situation, and regulate the affairs of general administration, the attitude and objects of the Protestant missionaries are indicated by Bishop Tucker, who arrived on the scene at this juncture, and who wrote to H.M.'s Consul-General on September 14, 1890:—

"We ask not and desire not a position of dominating influence, but we do ask freedom to worship God as we think best, and to teach as we please; and this I fear we shall not get if Rome rules in Uganda."

In order to ascertain the true position of affairs, and the right of European influence, Mwanga and the Roman Catholics decided that agents should accompany Mr. Jackson to the coast, to be themselves informed by the British, German, and French Consuls-

General at Zanzibar, to which nationality the affairs of Uganda were relegated.

On Mr. Jackson's departure, Mr. Gedge became the representative of the Company in Uganda. Whilst awaiting instructions from the coast, he journeyed to the south end of the lake, where he met Emin Pasha as a German official *en route* for Uganda with Dr. Peters' treaty in his pocket. The Pasha's intentions being frustrated by the receipt of official information from the German Administration at the coast of the conclusion of the Anglo-German Agreement of July 1, 1890, which included Uganda within the British sphere, he informed Mr. Gedge, and loyally acted up to the terms of that treaty. Emin further willingly co-operated with Mr. Gedge in measures to stop the importation of gunpowder and guns into Uganda, a traffic in which the French priests at Bukumbi, with the sanction of their superior, Mgr. Hirth, acted as the agents of Mwanga and the Catholic party. It is worthy of note that as soon as the French priests found themselves prevented by the British and German officials from carrying on trade in guns and gunpowder in Uganda for the arming of their own party, they immediately moved their Government at home to apply for permission to allow arms and ammunition to be sent to them through the British sphere.

Captain Lugard arrived in Uganda in December, 1890, and took over charge of the Company's affairs from Mr. Gedge, who returned to the coast with his health quite broken, owing to the worry and constant opposition placed in the way of his administration by the French priests. A treaty was then signed by the King, placing the country under the protection of the Company, and giving the latter control over the military and fiscal arrangements and foreign relations of the kingdom.

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, Captain Lugard found himself face to face with difficulties of a trying and hazardous nature. The country was divided into two great factions, Roman Catholic and Protestant. The former were the stronger of the two, and had the King at their head. The French priests were still intent on obtaining supreme political power, notwithstanding that they had learned from Emin Pasha that the effect of the Anglo-German Treaty of July 1, 1890, was to place Uganda within the British sphere, and that the return of the Waganda ambassadors from Zanzibar confirmed this statement. Then there was also the Mohammedan party, hovering with an army on the frontiers of the kingdom, and, in alliance with Kabbarega, King of Unyoro, watching for the first favourable opportunity to march in and re-subjugate the country to the yoke of the slave-traders. "The heathen and the lawless party," wrote Captain Lugard, "and the King and his party, I knew to be against me. The Catholics were not well disposed, and the Protestants were bitterly disappointed that I had not espoused their side, and had treated them exactly as I did the Catholics." The mutual hostility of the French and British parties (otherwise termed the Roman Catholics and Protestants) rendered the position of Captain Lugard and his small force one of extreme difficulty and danger. One of the first steps taken by Captain Lugard in the interests of the public safety was directed to prevent the importation of guns and ammunition, which traders were surreptitiously introducing, not only for the use of the Waganda, but for that of the rebel Mohammedan party. In these efforts Captain Lugard was cordially and loyally supported by Emin Pasha and the German officers in charge of the Imperial station at Bukoba, on the western side of the lake.

On the reinforcement of the Uganda establishment by the arrival of Captain Williams, R.A., with two companies of Soudanese, on 31st January, 1891, Captain Lugard at once addressed himself to the adjustment of the larger grievances connected with the possession of estates. The task was one of extreme delicacy, and the decisions given, as might have been expected, exasperated the party to whom they happened to be adverse, and almost precipitated a civil war. The firmness of the Company's officers, however, averted this catastrophe, and the King, Mwanga, expressed his gratitude to Captain Lugard, and, as that officer reported—

> "Announced in *burza* (public meeting) that he had never fully believed in our impartiality and professions till now, but now he was completely convinced that we had come for the sole purpose of bringing peace and order to his country. He told them of our conversation the previous night, and how he had thought of it during the night, and saw that my words were true, and had agreed to divide Sese, and how we had now saved the country when nothing else in the world could have done so, and that without the loss of a single life, and he then publicly declared his intention of following my advice in everything."

On the 8th of April, having left matters comparatively settled in Uganda, Captain Lugard marched out against the Mohammedan party, who were burning villages within sight of the capital. On the 8th of

May he came up with and defeated the enemy, being, however, prevented from pursuing them on their retreat into Unyoro by the swollen state of the rivers. After securing the safety of the northern frontier for the time by this victory, Captain Lugard sent Captain Williams back to Mengo (the capital) with part of his force, and himself with the remainder proceeded to the district of the Lake Albert Edward to clear that country of Kabbarega's slave raiding troops. This he succeeded in doing, and is known to have returned to Uganda on the 31st December, 1891. The 8th of January is the date of the latest direct advices received by the British East Africa Company from its officers.

This brings us up to the period of the recent disturbances, of which we have had such sensational accounts from the French missionaries, and none at all, it is worthy of remark, from the British missionaries or the Company's officers. The reports of Captain Lugard laid before Parliament show how persistently the hostility of the French party has obstructed him and Captain Williams in their efforts for the pacification of the distracted country. There is no ground on which it can be imagined that this hostility has been inspired by religious apprehensions. Every assurance has been pledged that the policy of the Company as regarded religious sects would be one of strict impartiality. The Sultan of Zanzibar and the leading Arabs of the coast, who had experience of the Company in such matters, wrote to their Mohammedan co religionists in Uganda telling them to place the fullest confidence in the Company. The Roman Catholic party alone, directed by the French priests, have refused to acquiesce in the new order of things—not because it has deprived them of religious freedom, not because the decisions of the Company's officers in disputes between the parties have been other than just (each faction in turn accusing them of partiality to the other, according as decisions went)—but solely because the accession of British authority in Uganda was inconsistent with the existence of the ascendency of the French priests, the object of all their efforts, and for the attainment of which they have not hesitated to plunge the unfortunate country into civil war.

The foregoing remarks are based on the authority of the independent and, therefore, we may assume, unprejudiced and impartial, authors I have quoted, as also on the official reports of officers of the Imperial British East Africa Company, which were made public before the distorted reports of the recent events were circulated under the authority of the French Vicar-Apostolic and his superiors.

Dr. Warneck, of Eisleben, the German missionary inspector, another independent writer, points out the utter improbability of the Roman Catholic party being the party attacked in the recent conflicts, in view of the fact that the Roman Catholics number fifteen to two of the Protestants. Nor is it surprising that no such charge should have been explicitly brought against their opponents in the statements of the French party.

Another cause of the outbreak of hostilities, which may be gathered from reports in the hands of the Church Missionary Society, was that the King and the French party had sent four Roman Catholic chiefs after a leading Protestant chief, named Melonde, whose plantations lay at some distance from the capital, to kill him and destroy his property. The report, written prior to the event, predicts that "if such an act was perpetrated, nothing could avert war." The Protestant missionaries were evidently using every effort to restrain their followers from violence, but the great and constant provocation received from the French party, who saw they must act now or never if British authority were to be subverted, made this a difficult task. It was plain that the French, conscious of overwhelming numerical preponderance, were desirous of precipitating a conflict to decide the question of supremacy. Captain Lugard's arrival on the 31st December, with reinforcements recruited from the refugees of Emin Pasha's province, appears to have brought on the crisis. It was a last desperate effort on the part of the French party to exterminate the little British garrison, and so dominate its rivals the Protestants. The Catholic aggressors, so greatly superior in numbers, had every reason to look for victory; and the crushing defeat which, by the accounts of the French priests, they appear to have sustained owing to the superior discipline and military skill of the British officers, being doubtless unexpected, was rendered all the more mortifying.

For what happened in Uganda on and after the 8th January we have only the French account, which is in many important particulars so wild and improbable that all impartial critics unable to reconcile the statements will suspend judgment till complete reports from both parties are before them. Disregarding such absurd charges as that against Captain Williams "shooting down women and children" with Maxim

guns, which (the reverend narrator says) "fortunately did not injure them" (!), and the imprisonment and maltreatment of nuns by British officers, the principal accusations are that they distributed rifles amongst the Protestants, and made prisoners of certain French priests.

As regards the issue of rifles, which Bishop Lavinhac described by telegraph as the cause of the "disaster," it is conceivable that, in the face of a general attack by the Roman Catholic forces, Captain Lugard may have tried to augment the strength of his little garrison by serving out to his supporters, and those who placed themselves under his protection, to whatever sect belonging, whether Protestant, Catholic, Mohammedan, or Pagan, any spare rifles he possessed, necessarily a very limited number. What else ought he to have done under the circumstances? From the description furnished by Mgr. Hirth himself there can be no doubt, however, that the attack by the Roman Catholics upon the small garrison in the fort was of the most determined character, and that if it had succeeded there would be few of its occupants left to tell the tale. Had Captain Lugard not done everything in his power to make the most of every available resource against so hostile an onslaught, the "disaster" would certainly have been all the other way. So much for the alleged issue of rifles. As to the reference made by the French to the Brussels Act as prohibiting the issue of rifles to natives, I would only remark that the Act specially provides for the arming of natives by the Government of the country in their own defence; but, apart from this, the Act was not then in force in Uganda, seeing that France had, for her own ends, prevented its ratification up to the time these events took place.

As for the "prisoners" in the fort, &c., M. Ribot, in his representation to our Government, is understood to have referred to six French priests as being detained in the fort by Captain Lugard. But Mgr. Hirth, in his letter of February 10th, fully explains (unconsciously, no doubt) the circumstances under which the priests came to be in the fort. The missionaries were in danger of being burnt to death in a hut in which they had taken refuge, when Captain Lugard came personally to their rescue, and escorted them to the fort, where they were well treated. This is Mgr. Hirth's account of the matter, and the French *Review of Catholic Missions* gives it independent confirmation. "The missionaries," says this official report, "and the remnants of the Catholics were forced to retire to the English fort." Nothing can be more damaging to the testimony of the French version than this evidently reckless misrepresentation of facts.

I have, I regret, found it necessary, in quoting the words of my authorities, to term the rival factions "Roman Catholics" and "Protestants," but the sequel of events proves that true religious feeling or belief cannot have governed the actions of the rank and file on either side. At best they can only be designated nominal Christians. For practical purposes, and to avoid all sectarian feeling, the one party might as well have been termed "Heathen" and the other "Pagan." I fear the teachers on both sides have, through jealous rivalry, allowed an excess of spiritual zeal to outweigh their judgment and common-sense, and thereby strong party, rather than true Christian, feeling has taken such hold of their ignorant adherents as to have put them entirely beyond control when it came to a death-struggle for temporal power and supremacy. Happily, Captains Lugard and Williams were present in Uganda at the time of the outbreak to hold the balance; and the settlement to be arrived at, we may be sure, will be dictated by a sense of strict justice, irrespective of creed or religion.

It must not be supposed that because I seek to eliminate all sectarian feeling from the subject that I do not fully appreciate the work done by the noble men who have sacrificed, and those who are still devoting, their lives to teaching and enlightening the heathen in Africa. They have much cause for thankfulness and encouragement, with many signs of a rich and abundant harvest, which I trust will reward their labours in the near future.

Uganda is, I believe, the only self-constituted so-called Christian State in Africa, and as such is a field as interesting as it is promising for mission work. It may prove to be the morsel of leaven which is to leaven the whole lump. The martyrdom of Christians before referred to is conclusive evidence of conversion to the faith. That genuine converts were made is, indeed, incontrovertible; but these are not the masses who, following implicitly the political chiefs, have taken sides in a conflict of creeds. We have not, however, to go to Uganda to understand the situation in that country; there are parallel cases both in past and contemporary history nearer home of the evils which are apt to be bred in any country wanting a strong, honest, and courageous central government.

While acting as the Company's administrator at Mombassa it was my happy privilege, in giving effect to the Company's declared policy of religious toleration, to settle disputes between the Protestant missionaries and the Mohammedan slave-owners in a manner satisfactory to both.

The printed records of the "Congrégation du Saint-Esprit et du Saint Cœur de Marie" acknowledge the gratitude of the Vicar-Apostolic of Zanzibar for the ready assistance and cordial reception he (Mgr. de Courment) and his fellow-priests at all times received at the hands of the Company's officers when travelling in British East Africa. It affords me much pleasure to add my testimony to that of others who have come into personal contact with Mgr. de Courment and his devoted, self-sacrificing, and zealous fellow-workers, by certifying to the excellent work these French missionaries are carrying on at Zanzibar and Bagamoyo in so thorough and unostentatious a manner as to command the admiration and respect of all classes, European and native alike. It is, therefore, with feelings of the deepest regret that we have to deplore the unhappy and unnecessary conflict which has arisen in Uganda. It has been suggested that when the field of operations is so wide certain spheres should be reserved for certain creeds. It has, while in Africa, frequently occurred to me that such an arrangement might also with advantage be worked out even among the different denominations of the same creed, for it must be very puzzling to the ignorant natives to draw distinctions between the teachings of different sects of professing Christians, and must lead them to cast doubt upon the real truths they are invited to accept. But this is a policy which could only be brought about by mutual good feeling and toleration.

Much has been made of the dearth of intelligence from the English party, and it has been asked how it is that the French priests have managed to get their letters to the coast while no news by either route is being received from the former? It should be remembered that the French party and the adherents of the fugitive King hold the country south of Uganda, and command the route leading to the German sphere, and it seems almost certain that hostile bands also hold the left bank of the Nile, and so have been in a position to intercept the messengers despatched to overtake the caravan in Kavirondo, which has recently arrived at Mombassa through the British sphere without the mails. In either case the messengers would be disposed of, and Captain Lugard and Captain Williams would remain in ignorance of the miscarriage of their dispatches, and would be unconscious of occasion of alarm or anxiety. Again, if hostile bands were raiding the country the mail would need a strong escort. The detachment of a large party for this purpose would be necessary, and Captain Lugard might not feel justified in reducing his small force even by a few rifles. It is, at any rate, gratifying to know that a Company's caravan from Mombassa, due to reach Uganda in May, would provide a substantial reinforcement, and whatever may have been previously the condition of the route round the north end of the lake, it is certain now to have been cleared, and that erelong the mails will be sent down to Mombassa.

Pending the arrival of authentic news, the above details may serve to clear away the misapprehensions raised by partisan suggestions. The question is one of public interest, and in setting out the position in Uganda I seek to make no special appeal on behalf of the British East Africa Company or of the Protestant missionaries. The reader will note that the Company had not the intention originally of occupying Uganda, that it went there on the pressing appeal of the King and missionary bodies and in response to official declarations respecting national requirements. The occupation of these remote regions has in no way contributed to the benefit or advantage of the Company; on the contrary, in the absence of any material help from the Government, it has imposed a heavy and expensive burden, to which the Company's resources are wholly inadequate. Ample notice of this was given, when the resolution to retire was taken in August last; but yielding to the pressure of the friends of the Church Missionary Society the directors subsequently consented, should £40,000 be found towards expenses of occupation (the cost of which is estimated at from £40,000 to £45,000 per annum), not to withdraw Captain Lugard and his force before end of December, 1892. Of the sum required only £26,000 was subscribed, of which £16,000 was provided by the friends of the Church Missionary Society. The limit of time is now fast approaching its end, and it is for others to devise what shall be done on the Company's retirement. Whatever the consequences may be, the responsibility will not rest upon the British East Africa Company.

The Company has thus so far faithfully and completely safeguarded the various interests committed to its keeping: it has already done more than its duty for the

national interests in East Africa, and for the future it must restrict its attention to the remunerative working of its concessions, under which it holds in perpetuity 400 miles of coast line. With the development of its lands, and the growth of a custom revenue, which has already proved its capacity of rapid expansion, it has sufficient work to employ its remaining capital and energies for the benefit of its shareholders, without spending more in maintaining Imperial objects.

In the prosecution of similar enterprises France, Germany, Italy, and Portugal have provided or supplemented the means necessary to undertake the development of the territories reserved respectively as the spheres of their influence. The Imperial British East Africa Company alone has enjoyed no such advantage.

Nevertheless, the Company has proved an important factor in the international delimitation of East African territories, and but for its presence Great Britain could not have secured the Protectorate of the Sultanate of Zanzibar, which otherwise must have passed into the hands of a foreign power. It has also secured for the nation the right of maintaining occupation of the important regions which control the navigation of the upper Nile and the Equatorial Provinces bordering on the Egyptian Soudan.

The cost of the retention of such a vast territory is obviously the duty of the nation ; the strain would be too great for any private company.

The subject involves such far-reaching and varied Imperial interests that it cannot fail to command the earnest consideration of statesmen of all parties. The question may well be asked, What will be the effects of even a temporary withdrawal at the present time of the British Company from the important outpost of Uganda, and how are the evils likely to result therefrom to be averted ?

Captain Lugard, we know, by the enlistment of 1,000 Egyptian soldiers, refugees from Equatoria, has rendered his position at the present time safe and even strong. It is possible, indeed, that Captain Lugard may be able himself to find a solution of the question, and succeed, as Emin Pasha did in the Equatorial Provinces, in raising sufficient revenues to cover the expenses of administration, a privilege still denied to the Company within the coast zone. Mwanga's flight has opened the way to the establishment of an effective administration, and if the report be well founded that Captain Lugard has placed at its head a Mohammedan chief, rather than risk the recurrence of religious feuds by favouring the pretensions of either of the rival factions, such a course would be conformable with the condition of things in the native states of India, and in the Protectorate of Zanzibar, and would be justified by the tried loyalty under British officers of the Soudanese troops, originally enlisted by Baker and Gordon, men of the same class and race as those forming at this time the main body of Lugard's and Williams's forces. The rumour of Mbogo's nomination, however, needs confirmation. It is not consistent with the more authentic announcement that Captain Williams had come to Muanza at the south end of the lake, and had brought news that fighting was ended in Uganda, and that hopes were entertained of coming to terms with Mwanga and his adherents.

In recent years, prior to the dismemberment of his territory, the Sultan of Zanzibar—in whose councils Sir John Kirk, then British Consul-General, had an all-powerful voice—exercised controlling influence, not only along the coast to which his dominions are now restricted, but over the extensive regions reaching from the Zambesi to beyond the Juba, and away back into what is now recognised as the Congo Free State. Uganda then sent embassies to Zanzibar, and the British Consul's personality was represented wherever the Sultan's subjects went. The position is now simplified by the establishment, in virtue of an international agreement, of a British Protectorate over the Sultanate of Zanzibar, by the concession in perpetuity to a British Company of his Highness's coast territories, which contain three magnificent naval harbours, and by the action of that Company under the provisions of a Royal charter in concluding treaties, and securing sovereign rights with all the native chiefs in the interior. Courts of justice have been constituted, and judges and magistrates appointed, with jurisdiction throughout the British sphere, a general control over the whole territory being assigned to the recently appointed British Commissioner. The way has thus been cleared for the independent assumption of a British protectorate in the interior, to which the transition would be easy, and not costly.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the foregoing was written a telegram has been received from Mombassa, stating that letters had been received *viâ* Zanzibar (through the German sphere) from Captains Lugard and Will-

iams. The letter of the former was dated from Kampala Fort (Mengo), 11th February, and that of the latter from Bukoba (the Imperial German station), 7th March. "Captain Lugard's report," the telegram states, "shows that the disturbance commenced with the murder of a Protestant by the Roman Catholics, followed by a direct attack upon the Protestants and himself. Williams refers to the critical position as being over." It need not be pointed out how completely this authentic intelligence confirms the conclusions indicated on page 32.

THE HOMESTEAD STRIKE.

BY JOSEPH D. WEEKS, EDITOR "AMERICAN MANUFACTURER AND IRON WORLD."

From *The Christian Union* (Undenom.), New York, July 16, 1892.

To comprehend the question involved in the labor difficulties at Homestead which have resulted so unfortunately, it is necessary to understand the methods by which labor is paid at these works. Piece-work is the rule. Most of the employees are paid by the ton of product, and these tonnage rates or wages are based on the selling price of steel billets, one of the crudest products of this mill for which there is a market price. For each class of labor at a mill or furnace, as the heater in the slabbing mill, the roller in the 119″ plate mill, the melter at the open-hearth furnace, a rate of wages is fixed for each hundred tons of product made by the mill or furnace. The earnings will, of course, depend on the number of tons produced. As the price of billets advances, these tonnage wages advance without limit; as the price falls, wages fall down to a certain point called the "minimum." Any decline in selling price below this minimum brings no reduction in wages. This system of payment is known as a "sliding scale," and is a recognition of the now generally accepted theory that wages are paid out of product, and that the wages question is a question of the distribution of product.

The wages scale in force up to June 30 of the present year was agreed to in 1889, at a time when steel billets were selling at $26.50 a ton. It had as a minimum $25; that is, any reduction in the selling price of billets below $25 a ton brought no reduction in wages. This minimum was reached early in January, 1892, and the selling price fell rapidly until in June the quotation was $22.40, or $3.60 a ton below the minimum.

In the three years that this scale had been in force, some very important and expensive improvements have been made, that have greatly increased the production, reduced the amount of labor required, and in some instances the skill, and, of course, as wages were paid by the ton, increased the earnings of the workmen.

It was also believed that it would be more advantageous to have the scale expire at the close than at the middle of the year. As most large contracts for the sale of product are made early in the year for the entire year's supply, it would be better to know what the wages would be for the entire year.

As I understand the situation at Homestead, then, three questions are involved:

First, a reduction in the minimum of the scale from $25 to $23.

Second, a change in the date of the expiration of the scale from June 30 to December 31.

Third, a reduction in tonnage rates at those furnaces and mills where important improvements have been made and new machinery has been added that have greatly increased their output and consequently the earnings of the workmen. Where no such improvements or additions have been made, no reduction in tonnage rates is asked.

To these should be added a refusal to recognize any longer in the settlement of wages questions the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the labor union which represents the skilled iron and steel workers. The scale for the year will be published, and any workman choosing to accept employment at the wages and on the terms offered will be given employment.

As to the first question: The claim is that if wages are based on selling price, the workmen must be willing to follow that price down, at least to a reasonable minimum, and that, in view of present selling prices, $23 is a fair minimum. It is conceded that if the reduction in selling price below the minimum is exceptional and temporary, it should not be reduced, but when such reduction is possibly permanent, or, at least, will prevail for some time, the fact should be recognized and the minimum reduced. There certainly is force in the claim of the manufacturers that if the men demand that they be paid on a sliding scale the wages shall follow the selling price down, as well as up; that they must take the bad with the good; that if the rule applies to high selling prices, when the manufacturers can afford to pay high wages, it should also apply in times of low selling prices, when they are less able to pay.

The workmen argue, on the other hand, that there must be a minimum; that to continue to follow prices down indefinitely would at last reduce their earnings to a point where they could not live and maintain their producing powers; that this constant reduction in prices is unnecessary; that it results from unjustifiable competition among manufacturers; and that, should they accept a reduction in the minimum, it would lead only to further reductions in prices.

As to the second question, the change in the date of the expiration of the scale: Practically all wages scales, in both the iron and steel mills of the West, are settled in June. A National Convention of delegates elected by the various lodges of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers meets in Pittsburg each year early in June, formulates these scales, and presents them for discussion and acceptance either to individual manufacturers or to committees representing bodies of manufacturers. The practice of having all wages settlements at one time in June has much in its favor from the workmen's standpoint, but there are elements of no little weakness in this rule, and possibilities of contests that would not arise if scales as diverse as those of the iron mills and mills similar to Homestead were settled at different times. It is well that manufacturers should know, if possible, what wages they must pay during the entire year, so that they can make contracts for the year accordingly; but, on the other hand, if a contest must come, it is better for the workmen that it should be in summer than in winter.

But, after all, the important question at issue is the third, the reduction in tonnage rates.

There is a decided misunderstanding in the public mind as to what is covered by this proposed reduction, how many are affected, and what the effect of the proposed reduction will be on earnings.

The proposed reduction in tonnage rates applies only to three departments in the works. Of the 3,800 employees only 281 are affected by these tonnage reductions, and the total number of employees who are affected both by the reduction in tonnage rates and in the scale minimum, including the 281, is less than 325—not ten per cent. of the employees. The wages of every other man in these immense works remain just what they have been for the past three years; so that of the thousands who have set at defiance all right and law during the past week at Homestead, at the most only some 325 can claim that they are doing it to maintain their wages.

Further, no reduction was proposed at any mill or furnace at which the output has not been very greatly increased since the 1889 scale was agreed to. At the proposed reduction in tonnage rates the earnings will in almost every case be greater than the earnings at the time the 1889 scale went into effect, and even on the $23 minimum of the new scale the earnings will in many cases be higher than at the $26.50 rate in force when the 1889 scale was signed. In some cases the table given below shows reduction in earnings, but this grows out of the fact that the improvements in machinery have been such as to require much less skill and labor than with the old machinery, so that the comparisons in those cases are of names and not of work performed.

For the first five months of the Homestead Steel Works wages scale, which expired June 30, 1892—that is to say, from August to December, inclusive, 1889—the average monthly products of the departments for which a new scale, from July 1, 1892, was presented by the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, to the Amalgamated Association, were as follows:

32-inch slabbing mill.....	7,681 tons.
119 inch plate mill.....	3,458 tons.
Open-hearth furnaces.... ...	20 tons per turn.

While the tonnages for May, 1892, were:

32-inch slabbing mill.....	9,265 tons.
119-inch plate mill...	5,268 tons.
Open-hearth furnaces.....	23½ tons per turn.

Showing a tonnage increase in

32-inch slabbing mill of.....	20.6 per cent.
119-inch plate mill of.....	52.3 "
Open-hearth furnaces of.....	17.5 "

A comparison of the wages paid in representative positions at the beginning of the 1889–92 scale with those which would be earned under the proposed 1892–93 scale is shown in table on the following page.

These statements need but little comment; they cover all the mills and furnaces at which reductions were proposed, and fully justify the statement made above as to increase of output and equality of earnings under the new scale.

The reasons, therefore, that have led to this demand for a reduction in tonnage rates are:

1st. That, as these rates are based on selling price, the old minimum of $25 is too high, in view of the reduction in prices.

2d. That there has been such an increase in output as to justify a reduction, and still leave the earnings of the workmen practi-

	1889-92 Scale.		Proposed 1892-93 Scale.		
	$26.50 Basis.		$26.50 Basis.		
12 Hours 32" Slabbing Mill.	Rate 100 Tons.	Daily Earnings.	Rate 100 Tons.	Daily Earnings.	Minimum $23 Basis.
Heater	$4 31	$6 37	$4 31	$7 68	$6 67
Screwman	4 61	6 81	....	....	6 41
Heater, first helper	3 07	4 53	3 07	5 47	4 75
Heater, second helper	1 73	2 56	1 47	2 62	2 27
Craneman	2 23	3 29	1 33	2 37	2 06
Roll Engineer	2 50	3 69	....	....	3 24
Roll Tableman	2 50	3 69	1 60	2 85	2 47
Sweepers	1 54	2 27	1 20	2 14	1 86
Shear Tongsman	1 54	2 27	1 23	2 23	1 94
Stamper	1 40	2 07	1 32	2 37	2 06
Shearman	2 50	3 69	....	....	4 00
Shear Tableman	1 73	2 56	1 47	2 62	2 27
Buggyman	1 54	2 27	1 25	2 23	1 94
119" Plate Mill.	12 Hours.		8 Hours.		
Roller	14 00	9 31	14 00	9 45	8 20
Screwman	11 50	7 66	11 00	7 43	6 45
Tableman	10 00	6 65	8 00	5 40	4 69
Hooker	8 50	5 66	7 00	4 73	4 11
Sweeper, Front	6 00	4 50	5 00	3 38	2 93
Sweeper, Back	5 50	3 66	5 00	3 38	2 93
Shearman, first	13 00	8 66	11 00	7 43	6 45
Shearman, second	8 50	5 66	8 00	5 40	4 69
Leader, first	7 75	5 16	6 00	4 05	3 52
Leader, second	7 25	4 83	5 00	3 38	2 93
Heater	22 00	14 66	11 00	7 43	6 45
Heater's Helper	15 00	10 00	6 00	4 05	3 52
Open-Hearth Furnaces.	12 Hours.				
Melter's Helper, first	18 00	3 60	16 00	3 76	3 26
Melter's Helper, second	15 00	3 00	13 00	3 06	2 56
Charging Machine	15 00	3 00	14 00	3 29	2 86
Ladleman, first	17 00	3 40	16 00	3 76	3 26
Ladleman, second	14 00	2 80	13 00	3 06	2 66
Pitman, first	17 00	3 40	16 00	3 76	3 26
Pitman, second	14 50	2 90	13 00	3 06	2 66
Pitman, third	13 50	2 70	12 00	2 83	2 45

cally unchanged, even at the reduced minimum ; and, further, that in the near future these earnings will be greatly increased.

In reply to these claims the workmen assert that the manufacturers get the benefit of the increased profit that comes from increased output ; which would be true if the selling price remained the same, and if the interest on cost of this new machinery and the expenses of operating it and keeping it in repair were all the same as for the old machinery, but they are not. Prices have fallen ; this new machinery represents an addition to capital of a million of dollars, and the cost of operating and of repairs are greatly increased. The workmen's claim would possibly be just if prices kept up, and if the machinery which increased output represented no additional capital nor any additional expense ; but as none of these conditions exists, the manufacturer is certainly entitled to some consideration, some reduction in tonnage rates on an increased output for the additional capital and expense. If the claims made as to increased output are true—and that they are the above statement abundantly proves—it would appear that the Carnegie Steel Company is justified in asking for a reduction. The reduction in selling price to $2 below the old minimum adds to this justification. As to what this reduction should be, that is a question of earnings. If there is any justice in the sliding scale principle, wages should not remain the same when the billets on which the scales are based sell at $23 as when they sell at $25.

EDITORIAL.

We attempt to give to our readers in this week's issue of The Christian Union a trustworthy account of the terrible tragedy at the Carnegie Steel Works, and one of the causes which led up to it. Mr. Joseph D. Weeks, who, at our urgent request, writes the latter, may be regarded as in some sense a representative of the Carnegie interests. But his course in previous labor troubles has proved him to be also a true friend of the

workingman. We believe that his statement of the facts is absolutely trustworthy.

One might well wish to keep silence in the presence of so awful and perplexing a tragedy. But The Christian Union has no right to keep silence. Our readers are entitled to our best interpretation of an event as strange as it is lamentable.

I. An armed body of men have taken possession of a formerly peaceful village and have established in it martial law. They have done this without any color of authority whatever. Their sentinels pace the streets and avenues, and determine who may be admitted and who may not. They surround with a cordon of arms the private property of a corporation, and determine who may and who may not enter the works. It is not to the purpose to say that they have preserved the property intact, and, when they failed and the property was injured, repaired the injury. It is not to the purpose to say that they have respected life and harmed no one except as they were first assailed. This statement, even if it were true, might reflect credit on the organization, but it does not alter the one indisputable and undisputed fact that a private organization has declared martial law in a village of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The first duty of that Commonwealth is to do what at this writing it is doing—to disperse the armed forces which have taken possession of Homestead, remove the armed sentries from its streets and environs, and re-establish civil order. Whoever was the aggressor in this conflict, whatever the causes which led to it, whatever deep-seated social disease it may indicate—these are not the first questions to be determined. The first question is, Shall the Commonwealth or the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers administer the government in the village of Homestead? Until that question is settled, other questions are not, for that community, in order.

II. But other communities may meanwhile study this conflict and the causes which led up to it, that they may avoid like conflicts in the future.

A single sentence, dropped as though incidentally, in Mr. Weeks's account is the key to the conflict. Mr. Weeks says:

"To these [other questions involved] should be added a refusal to recognize any longer in the settlement of wages questions the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the labor union which represents the skilled iron and steel workers. The scale for the year will be published, and any workman choosing to accept employment at the wages and on the terms offered will be given employment."

It is because the public believe that this is an attempt to break up the labor union, and because they believe that this attempt is wholly, utterly, and indefensibly wrong, that the Sheriff received no responses to his call for volunteers. The citizens of Allegheny County are neither robbers nor cowards. But they are not willing to aid, directly or indirectly, in the perpetration of this wrong. And the fact that the labor unions do often act in a despotic spirit and with indefensible methods does not shake the public confidence in the principle of united labor.

For the attempt to destroy the labor union, if successful, can result only in taking away industrial liberty from the laborer. The iron and steel worker is trained to a particular trade, generally to a particular department in that trade. There are a few mills, controlled by a still fewer number of men, and there are many workers. If a worker is thrown out of employment in one mill, he cannot turn to another employment—he has not the training; he cannot find his own employment elsewhere—there is no vacancy; and if there is, he is, not improbably, blacklisted. If the workingman must deal as an individual with capital, which is a vast and skilfully directed organization, he must take what hours, what wages, and what conditions capital chooses to offer. His sole alternative would be starvation.

III. In this attempt to break up the labor union, the Carnegie works have disregarded the public welfare, if not the public's rights. If they have not been the aggressors, they have provoked the aggression. They planted an armed stockade in the midst of a perfectly peaceful community, and brought into the community armed mercenaries from abroad. Who fired the first gun is a matter of dispute—the Pinkerton men say the mob fired it; the newspaper reports say the Pinkerton men fired it. It is doubtful whether even a judicial investigation will determine the question. But history will hold primarily responsible for the tragedy which followed, the challenge and threat involved in bringing a paid and private soldiery upon the scene. The laws of many of the States forbid this employment of private troops. The State of Pennsylvania will be accessory after the fact if she does not by her next Legislature forbid it.

IV. Back of this whole controversy, really giving rise to it and imparting to it its sig-

nificance, is the modern claim of workingmen, rarely clearly expressed, often not clearly understood even by themselves, that the true relations of laborer and capitalist are those of partners in a common enterprise. This doctrine we have never seen more clearly stated than by Mr. Joseph D. Weeks—who has been our teacher on this subject—in an admirable tractate from his pen, "Economic Tract No. XX., Labor Differences and Their Settlement." The excellence of the statement justifies the length of quotation :

"The source of this error is chiefly in the idea, inherited from feudal days and justified by much of the legislation and political economy of modern times, that the employer is the superior, the employee an inferior ; that it is the right of the former to determine, the duty of the latter to acquiesce. This view does not often express itself bluntly in words, but it does more or less unconsciously in acts. The employer assumes the sole right to determine, and refuses to discuss questions that arise in connection with wages or the details of employment, in the decision of which the employee has an interest equally with the employer, or, if such discussions take place, they are 'permitted ;' an interview is 'granted.' In case of a meeting, the employer assumes the right to dictate its method. 'No committee will be recognized.' The employer also claims the right, in many cases, to determine the relation an employee shall hold to his fellows, and prohibits his membership in a union. In all of these, and in many similar cases, there is an assumed superiority of condition which does not exist in reality, however much it may be asserted by word or act. *The true relation of employer and employed is that of independent equals, uniting their efforts to a given end, each with the power, within certain limits, to determine his own rights, but not to prescribe the duties of the other.* The employer has no more right to dictate or even decide how labor shall seek its interests than labor has to dictate to the employer. Whatever may be the views of the latter as to trades-unionism, it will be well, in most cases, especially in great centers of industry or in those employments uniting great bodies of men under one management, if, with the best grace possible, he accept the fact of combination and deal with its representatives. Such combinations, with all their faults and follies, are not entirely bad."

This claim to partnership, admirably defined in the sentence which we have italicized, is made by the workingmen, and resisted by some, happily not all, capitalists ; and it is this which gives rise to the labor war. In this claim the workingmen at Homestead are right ; in employing illegal and violent methods to enforce it they are wholly and inexcusably wrong. Revolution is never justifiable until all peaceable methods have been exhausted, and the workingmen have hardly even attempted peaceable methods.

V. The immediate occasion of this controversy is a question of wages. Whether in the proposed reduction of wages the Carnegie works are right or not only an expert can determine. The Christian Union is not an expert. But civilization has learned from Christ a very simple way of determining such disputes. It is by leaving them to the arbitrament of a disinterested tribunal. It is because labor and capital have not yet learned this lesson that labor conflicts like that at Homestead occur. The leaders in the labor unions often object to arbitration because it would render the union less necessary and the leader less important. The capitalist often objects because it would take from him the despotic power of control which otherwise is lodged in his hands. But wherever both have agreed upon arbitration and submitted to it in a spirit of mutual trust, confidence, and concession, there has been an end to strikes and lockouts.

In brief : the workingmen think that they have a moral right to be treated as "independent equals." We think so too. They see no legal remedy for the wrong threatened them by the refusal so to treat them. We see none either. They have therefore inaugurated a revolution. In this they are radically wrong. For they have the power to secure a legal remedy ; at the very least, they can try ; and they have not tried. The first duty of the hour is to disband and dismiss from the scene all armed bands, whether of workingmen or of foreign mercenaries, and restore peace, order, and liberty. But we greatly mistake the mind of the American people if these repeated conflicts do not teach them that something is to be done to establish, by private action if possible, by legislative action if necessary, that "true relation of employer and employed, as that of independent equals," which Mr. Weeks has so admirably defined in the paragraph quoted above. The orderly lawlessness of the Reading Deal and the disorderly lawlessness of the Homestead strikers afford, from different points of view, illustrations of the same spirit of disregard of public rights and public welfare.

WHAT BECAME OF THE APOSTLES.

BY PROFESSOR ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON, S.T.D.

From *The Sunday-School Times* (Undenom.), Philadelphia, July 16, 1892.

THE Acts of the Apostles close the story of Paul's labors about the year A.D. 61, or thirty-two years after the Ascension. Luke's

narrative dismisses the other apostles with the adjournment of what is called the Council of Jerusalem, some ten years earlier. From the captivity of Paul in Rome to the date of the Apologies of Justin Martyr (A.D. 148), which may be taken as the beginning of a continuous Christian literature, there intervenes nearly a century of comparative obscurity. On the first decades of that century we get some light from (1) the New Testament. From Paul's pastoral epistles we infer his missionary activity after his release from his Roman captivity, and learn that he had the purpose to visit the countries of the West. He speaks of himself (Philemon 9) as "Paul the aged,"—an expression which indicates the lapse of years since that sea-voyage on which he showed the energy of full manhood. James's and Jude's epistles give us a glimpse of their mind, rather than of their life. The same is true of Peter, with an exception I shall note below; and of John's Epistles, while the Revelation tells us of his exile to Patmos, and shows him especially interested in a group of churches, of which Ephesus forms the center.

2. Our second source of information as to the early Church is outside writers: Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny. But these, with the exception of a passage in Josephus, whose genuineness is questioned, give us no light on the doings of the apostles.

3. A third source is the writings of Christians of the next generations. For our present purpose the fragments of Papias of Hierapolis (died A.D. 163) and Polycrates of Ephesus (thirty years later), which are quoted by Eusebius, are of most importance. Next to these are the notices in Irenæus of Lyons, at the close of the second century; Tertullian, at the opening of the third; and Augustine, Lactantius, Jerome, and Eusebius, in the fourth century. The last, in his "Church History," has labored to supply all we need in the matter, but had not the critical acumen to distinguish early traditions from later accretions. Entirely untrustworthy is the "History of the Apostles" which passes under the name of Abdias of Babylon, and claims to belong to the apostolic age. It is not much older than the seventh century, and is based on the apocryphal and heretical "Circuits of the Apostles" (that is, of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul), which were published, under the name of Leucius Charinus, in the second century.

4. The fourth and last source of our knowledge is the most liable to suspicion, but it is that which tells us the most. The natural eagerness of the Church of the second and third centuries to know more fully the story of the first generations in the Church, led to the fabrication of false Acts of the Apostles, devoted to the labors of one or more of the group. More than a score of these spurious works are mentioned or quoted, and most of them still are accessible in whole or in part. Much of this literature was manufactured in the interest of heretical sects, such as the Ebionites, the Gnostics, and the Manichees; and part of it has been recast in their interest, although originally orthodox.

But it does not follow from the lack of authenticity which characterizes these documents that they are entirely destitute of historic truth. They (or many of them) were written at a time when the leading facts of the later careers of the apostles were still within the memory of men. Naturally, the authors of these fabrications would work into their narratives whatever was still commonly known. Especially when we find their statements confirming one another, and agreeing with what little the New Testament has to tell us, and also with the incidental notices of reigning princes, which we obtain from coins and other sources, we may presume that they represent traditions of a trustworthy character.

The apocryphal Acts generally start from the legend that the apostles divided the earth among them before setting out on their labors, as the apostles of the Catholic Apostolic Church did half a century ago. In one shape the story runs that just after our Lord's ascension they cast lots for the countries of the known world, and betook themselves to that which thus fell to them. There is a suggestion of fact in the statement that their fields of labor were assigned by the languages conferred on them on the day of Pentecost. There can be no doubt that Pentecost furnished the starting-point of the missionary labors of the original apostles, by bringing them into personal and spiritual contact with the Jews of the great Asiatic Dispersion,—"the lost sheep of the House of Israel," whom their Master especially and primarily sought. The world-wide mission of the gospel was a truth to which they did not rise speedily, as Paul did by a pure reaction from the narrowness of his Jewish Pharisaism, as well as in accordance with his commission from Christ. James's Epistle is addressed to "the Twelve Tribes, which are of the Dispersion;" Peter's first "to the Elect which are of the Dispersion." It was therefore to the re-

gions designated in Acts 2 : 9–11, and especially to those first named as being the largest contributors to the assemblage, that the apostles, according to early tradition, betook themselves.

In those traditions we find three great fields of labor designated,—two inside and one outside the Roman empire.

1. The regions of the Roman empire around the Black Sea, from the Bosporus to the Caucasus, were the scene of the labors of Peter and Andrew, Matthew and Bartholomew. It is true that Peter's first Epistle is written from Babylon, a city of the Parthian empire. But it evidently was written on the occasion of his temporary withdrawal from his field of labor, and is addressed to his flock "in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." It will be seen that he speaks from personal knowledge of their Christian life, and sends them the greetings from the church in Babylon. It has been suggested that "Babylon" here means Rome. That Peter ever was in Rome, we have no evidence from early tradition. That tradition locates Andrew at Sinope, the capital of Pontus, where his chair of white stone was long preserved.

Through a confusion of the Sindians (who lived near the Caucasus, and were subjects of Polemo II., the reigning king of Pontus) with the Indians, later writers have transferred both Peter and Matthew to India; and Pantænus's testimony to finding Matthew's Gospel among the Sindians has been similarly misread. It shows the Jewish-Christian character of the Church of this region, that Matthew wrote in Hebrew.

2. The second field of apostolic labor was the great Iranian empire, at the time ruled by the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids, as formerly by the Persian dynasty of the Achmænids. Since the conquest of Syria and Armenia by the Romans, the Euphrates formed the boundary line, so that Mesopotamia belonged to the Parthians. "Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia," in the assembly at Pentecost, came from beyond the boundary of the Roman empire, and were part of the great Dispersion of the Jews which still remained in the lands of the Captivity. Among them the apostles Thomas and Simon the Canaanite, and possibly Thaddeus, preached the gospel. Edessa, at this time a Parthian city, was headquarters for Thomas, and possibly Thaddeus, while Babylon is said to have been the point from which Simon the Canaanite preached, with all a zealot's energy, to the more southern part of the extensive empire. A later tradition transfers Thomas to India, and this is why the Nestorians of India call themselves "the Christians of St. Thomas." But the Indian king Gundaphorus, under whom he preached, is now discovered to be the Parthian prince Gondophares, reigning probably at Herat; and the transfer of prince and apostle to India is traced to the Parthians' calling the south-eastern part of their empire White India. As the Jewish dispersion had not passed beyond the Parthian boundary, Thomas had no errand to India.

It is questioned whether Thaddeus—or "Addai the Apostle," as the Syrians call him—ever labored in Edessa. Another tradition confines his labors to Syria, and represents him and Peter as martyred at Arad, in Phœnicia.

3. The apostles John and Philip are pretty well known to have labored in the Roman province of Asia,—Philip in the interior or Phrygian half of it, and John in the regions bordering the Ægean Sea. Early tradition identifies Philip with "Philip the Evangelist" of Acts 21 : 9, and brings his "four daughters, virgins, who did prophesy," to his field of labor. His residence was Hierapolis, one of the most beautiful watering-places of Asia, and the birthplace of Epictetus. It lay near Colosse and Laodicea, all of them sites of churches founded by Paul, as we learn from his Epistle to the Colossians. As Papias, the friend of Polycarp, was bishop of Hierapolis in the first half of the second century, and took great interest in collecting the traditions of the labors of the apostles, we may regard these facts as authentic. At the close of that century, Polycrates of Ephesus writes to Bishop Victor of Rome that Philip and three of his daughters died and were buried in Hierapolis, and the fourth at Ephesus.

That John labored at Ephesus and the surrounding cities of Asia is indicated very distinctly in the Revelation. The Latin fathers, Tertullian, Augustine, and Jerome, relate various circumstances of his life,—as his being thrown into a caldron of boiling oil under Nero, his drinking a dose of poison unharmed, his rescuing a robber chief from his sins, his addressing his people, in old age, with the words, "Children, love one another." Better authenticated is Irenæus's account of his rushing from the bath on finding that the heretic Cerinthus was present.

Two of the original apostles did not go out on missionary labors. James the Great,

we know from Luke's narrative, fell by the sword of Herod. James the Less, Josephus tells us, was killed in a tumult in Jerusalem. Of Matthias, chosen to fill Iscariot's place, tradition is silent.

By what death did the other apostles die? That Peter was to die by martyrdom, John, writing after his death, says was intimated by our Lord (John 21 : 19). But the latter tradition of his death at Rome is discredited, and earlier tradition points to Syria as the region. Heracleon the Gnostic, writing in the end of the second century, specifies four of the apostles—Matthew, Philip, Thomas, and Lebbæus, or Thaddeus (whom he calls Levi)—as not having died a martyr's death. If this be authentic,—and we may add John to his list,—we find that Peter, Andrew, the two Jameses, Bartholomew, and Simon the Zealot are reported to have died for the confession of Christ's name. As to the manner of their death, nothing is known.

This review of what earliest tradition says of the labors of the apostles brings into clearer light than ever Paul's distinction as the apostle to the Gentiles. He is the only apostle that we have reason to suppose ever crossed over from Asia to Europe, or went to Gentiles who did not, like Cornelius to Peter, send for him. While Peter got so far as to admit that exceptional men, who feared God and wrought righteousness even without a knowledge of revelation, might be admitted into the Church, Paul addressed himself to the world of Gentile sinners as that which Christ had come to gather into the unity of eternal life.

NOAH'S FLOOD.—A CONJECTURE.

BY G. P. BIDDER, M.A., Q.C.

From *The Thinker* (London), July, 1892.

A CANDID consideration of the conditions involved, leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the Noachic flood must have been partial in extent, and not, as used to be held, universal. On the other hand, not only the Mosaic account, but all the numerous traditions of the flood, agree in representing it as being of an altogether exceptional character, sweeping away an entire race of men and prevailing to an extent which it seems hardly possible to explain by any rainfall, however severe or protracted. There is, however, an hypothesis, admittedly conjectural, but not impossible, which suggests a mode in which such a catastrophe might have happened without doing violence to the order of nature.

It is quite conceivable that, whilst the earth was in processs of cooling and solidifying, a ring of aqueous vapour should have been thrown off, as in the case of the planet Saturn, forming an equatorial girdle, as Saturn's rings do at a distance of perhaps a few hundred miles from the earth's surface. The equilibrium of such a ring might easily become unstable, and if retarded in velocity by friction with the upper atmosphere, it would in time collapse, and descend in overwhelming torrents on the tropical or subtropical regions of the earth. A local flood would result which would probably be of altogether unprecedented depth and extent, and which would abate as the accumulated water flowed away to the ocean, producing a permanent but small rise in the general sea level. It is worth noticing that this hypothesis gives a new significance to the description of the firmament in the first chapter of Genesis as "dividing the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament." It also adds force to the expression "the windows of heaven were opened." Lastly, it seems to suggest a singular appropriateness in the adoption of the rainbow as the sign of the promise that the catastrophe should not recur. Whilst the ring existed, it must usually have appeared as a magnificent arch of light across the sky. After its collapse this arch was gone forever, and with it the possibility of such a deluge. The beautiful phenomenon of the rainbow, similarly spanning the heavens, would be at once a reminiscence of the lost ring and a pledge of the non-recurrence of the deluge of which it was the cause.

THE OLD THEOLOGY.

From *The New York Observer* (Evang.), July 21, 1892.

IF there be a man less wise than the headstrong radical, it is the stolid conservative. If there be a less reasonable philosophy than that which sees the dawn of the millennium in every change, it is that which sees the golden age in every record of the past. The wise householder is not he whose parlors are burdened with bric-à-brac, nor he whose attic is filled with inherited and outworn implements of labor, but he who among his treasures preserves what is useful from the old and adopts what is serviceable from the new. A year ago we sat down in a family room in the part of the country

where the sea rolls in upon Cape Cod. In the fireplace still swung the crane which was bolted into place before the guns of Concord woke a new era; but the tallow dip had disappeared. The American citizen wears practically the same shoe worn by the Pharaohs before the exodus, but he has changed his hat. Whatever any noisy person may claim, the Bible is neither radical nor conservative, but demands proof of all things and retention only of the "good."

While rejoicing in much that may truly be called progress in the spirit and the method of the churches, we love the old-time theology, because it makes more of the Word of God than it does of human reason. Doubtless it is an "*a priori*" method of reasoning, but if God created a world and pronounced it "good," when he gave his Word, we shall not need to qualify too much our approbation of it. In the lines of Homer we read of shields and weapons which the gods gave their favorite heroes; and such equipment is the only one the bard deems it worth while to minutely describe. The gifts of heaven are not subject to such heavy discounts as the New Theology seems to assert. What if upon the outer rim of our grandmother's best china, presented to her by loving friends upon her wedding day, there be here a nick and there a crack in the enamel, we will do her friends the justice to assert that they were not there when first spread upon her board. Granted that we cannot produce the teapot and sugarbowl in their original state, we can produce some pretty good reasons for believing what their original state must have been from the known character and intent of the givers.

We love that preaching which makes much of the Bible and little of human substitutes, which quotes Moses oftener than Herbert Spencer, which is more familiar with the Epistles of St. Paul than with the poems of Emerson, and which proves an assertion by a "Thus saith the Lord," rather than by an appeal to Shakspeare.

Not the less does the Old Theology commend itself in that it makes more of faith than it does of doubt. Faith and doubt enter into the life of every man, but that which characterizes the man is the emphasis which he places upon either. The Psalmist had thoughts too painful for him, but he kept silence until some light shone upon the providence of God in the mystery of evil. Did not Job sit in ashes and be still, until the Almighty spoke for his consolation and enlightenment? Even Paul the aged felt that a part of that good fight which he had been called to make was in keeping the faith in the midst of an ungodly world, but he preached what he "knew" rather than what he failed to discover.

If, as is true, the Old Theology exalts faith rather than reason, its faith is not a blind assent to senseless and contradictory dogmas. It is a faith founded upon a Word whose events are embedded in history and were "not done in a corner." Confessing that mystery attaches to all fundamental questions, it believes in the invisible God whom no eye hath seen, just as the science of to-day believes in the primordial atom which no eye hath seen. It is essentially a spiritual faith founded upon a spiritual philosophy, just as the doubt of to-day is a material creed founded upon a material philosophy, but it knows that the demonstration of the reality of matter is as impossible as a demonstration of the reality of spirit. Edison confesses that he knows no more about the nature of electricity than the first boy who first rubbed a bit of amber with a bit of silk in the dim ages of the unrecorded past; but Edison has not waited for what he does not know to give to the world his lamp, his telephone and his dynamo. We shall never in this life attain to more than partial knowledge; but a theology which begins with what it "does not know" will never be so effective as one that begins with what it does believe.

It is true that the Old Theology makes more of human sin than it does of human virtue; but it may be perhaps because there is more of human sin with which to deal. It conceives the purpose and intent of the Church to be that of a physician, not that of an artist; it was sent to heal the hurt of sin, not to idealize the broken form into a conceptional grace. Its message is to save and not to dream.

The man of a refined literary taste, in whose library there are a thousand volumes of delightful travel and sweet song, may express his contempt for the selections of his physician, upon whose shelves he finds books upon phthisis, and pictures of eczema, and chromos of sarcoma; but the time will come when he will thank God that his sick child is under the hand of one whose studies have not been confined to poetry and art. And when in the very midst of a Christian civilization two thousand years old, nothing preserves life and property but the policeman's club and the soldier's Gatling gun, it is hardly worth while to confine the pulpit to discourses upon the rose and the nightingale.

In the heart of the Rockies, where the Bow and the Saskatchewan have their source, we come upon a lake whose waters, crystal clear, reflect a sky sapphire blue. But what attracts attention is a little line winding around the granite shoulder of a bare foot-hill, scarcely wider than a ribbon, worn by the moccasin of the Indian and the unshod hoof of his pony. And this trail, we are told, leads for six hundred miles west and north over the great divide to those still more distant lakes of whose beauty and repose we have for years fondly dreamed. It matters nothing that the path little resembles in finish the width and smoothness of a Parisian boulevard ; nor do we despise it because it is old. But in the heart there rises the hope that some day, if God wills it, we too shall take that narrow way, and beyond the summit of the distant pass find what innumerable travellers before us have already found, a sea of glass mingled with the fires of sunset, and on whose shores the weary find a rest and the care-worn exchange their burden for a song.

PAUL KOMAREVSKY'S DISCOVERY.

BY THE COUNTESS NORRAIKOW.

From *The Christian Advocate* (Meth. Epis.), New York, July 21, 1892.

For more than a year the gaunt spectre of famine, with all its attendant horrors, has stalked throughout the Russian land. The people cried in vain for bread to the great "White Czar," whom the peasants believe to be the father of their spiritual as well as temporal well-being. So dense is the ignorance of these poor creatures that they declare the emperor is God as well as czar, and when their appeal failed to touch the master's heart they lost all hope. In their despair they hurled anathemas at the "White Czar," whom they held responsible for all their misery.

In one of the once beautiful and fertile villages of the Caucasus there was even greater distress than in the less favored districts of former years. Starvation had carried off whole families, and the once happy and prosperous village was little more than a dreary waste. The peasants, unable longer to suffer the pangs of hunger, lay down by the wayside to die.

The condition of these perishing thousands was extremely pathetic. The government had failed to make any provision for such an emergency, and the people saw nothing but death before them. Some of the peasants, seeing their families disappearing one by one, became desperate and sought the highways and byways in search of plunder. Woe to the traveller who crossed the path of these desperate men, for hunger had turned them into wild animals, and many a life had gone out in darkness while journeying through the mountain wilds and fastnesses of the beautiful Caucasian land. Others of the peasants burst open the granaries and storehouses of their native province and took by force what the governor denied them as their right. In many villages the starving peasants were subsisting on roots and bread made of the bark of trees. Imagine, if you can, such a state of things existing in America.

In the village of Dombovitza, in the province of Kuban, which was one of the very worst of the famine districts, there lived a peasant named Ivan Komarevsky. The family consisted of himself, his wife, his three children, and his aged mother. Ivan belonged to the better class of the peasantry, and the years preceding the famine had been very prosperous ones indeed.

At the close of the harvest the barn was filled with grain. The cattle had thriven and multiplied, and the two horses were sleek and strong. That was only two short years ago, but now all was changed. The lowing of the cattle was no longer heard, and the two sleek horses (alas ! thin enough before their master parted with them) had been taken into the city and sold. But, worst of all, the barn was empty, for the harvest had failed.

One cow had been kept till within a few weeks of the events which I am about to relate. This cow had been kept for the sole use of the aged grandmother and the youngest member of the family. It was nearing Christmas-tide, and during the long autumn nights the little family went many times hungry to bed.

Ivan, although distressed by the misery which his household was forced to endure, bore his sufferings in silence, sternly refusing to apply to the village authorities for aid. He had seen his neighbors refused even a loaf of bread, in addition to being treated with the greatest harshness. The cry was everywhere heard : "Give us bread ! Bread for Christ's sake !" This appeal was always met with the same response, and the petitioner would sadly turn his head aside as he muttered : "It is always the same—no bread."

Little Paul was the youngest member of the Komarevsky family. But five summers

had passed over his golden head when the famine began to ravage the land. That was just one year ago, and between that time and the present the once bright and joyous child had strangely changed.

His young eyes rested on sorrow on every side, and often was his little head bowed in grief as he saw his playmates, one after another, sicken and slowly die.

Then in his own once happy home he saw nothing but misery and want. His sisters, both older than himself, had grown very thin and white and silent, and they no longer took him for long walks through the quiet forest. The father, once so proud of his only son, now scarcely noticed him, and when he did chance to glance at him it was with eyes filled with pity, for he felt that if relief did not soon reach them they must all perish of hunger.

The lamp suspended before the holy image in the "sacred corner" had long ceased to burn, for the stricken family were too poor to purchase oil. Still, night and morning they prostrated themselves before the patron saint of the little home, praying that they be not allowed to die like dogs.

Paul, as they believed, without at all understanding what he was doing, followed the example of the other members of the family, and clasped his tiny hands and moved his lips as if in prayer. One day he startled his father by asking why the great "White Czar" allowed his people to die of hunger. Was he not also the God of whom they had told him so much? Why, then, did he not send food to his famishing thousands?

Ivan Komarevsky was at first greatly frightened on hearing his child ask such strange questions. He, like his neighbors, had been taught to believe that the czar was their father and protector in all things, and they never for a moment thought of doubting the teachings of their earlier years. It had been a long time since Paul's father had given a thought to a higher being than his emperor, in whom all his hopes of the present and a hereafter were centered.

The child's questions aroused a train of thought which had long lain dormant, and in his simple way he tried to tell little Paul that the Creator of the universe was a greater and nobler being than their czar.

Paul, with his small hands clasped, and his little woebegone face turned to his father, listened in silence. The suffering of the last year had made the boy strangely precocious, and as he heard his father unfold the wonderful story of the unseen God a beautiful smile illumined his haggard little face as he said:

"We will no longer pray to the great 'White Czar,' but to the greater God who made him—the God whose home is in the bright blue heavens, where the sun shines by day, and where myriads of stars twinkle by night. Dear papa, let us all pray to Him, for I am sure He will send us some corn and keep us from starving."

The father looked upon his child with a sort of awe, as if an angel had dropped into their household. He realized for the first time how cruel had been the hardships which his boy had undergone, and how old he had grown during the trial. He supposed that when Paul knelt with the others he did not understand what they were doing, but was simply following their example. But the child's present intelligence told its own story.

When the family afterward knelt night and morning Paul knelt with them, but never once did he turn his eyes in the direction of the "Sacred Corner."

The days went by, and the Yule-tide was slowly approaching. The famine continued unabated and the misery increased. Whole families had died off, and there was scarcely a young child left in the village.

Ivan Komarevsky and his family were reduced almost to skeletons, and had become so weak they could only with the greatest exertion move about the house. The aged grandmother had grown too feeble to leave her bed. Little Paul alone of all the once happy family retained his spirit, and they called him the angel of the household. With childlike faith he told them that he always prayed to the great God whose home was away up in the blue sky, and that if they would only be patient the corn would surely come. Ivan had of late been Paul's constant companion, and many and strange were the questions the boy asked his father.

When Christmas Eve came round the family of Ivan Komarevsky had reached the lowest depths of despair. They had not tasted food for twenty-four hours, and there seemed nothing left for them but the slow death of starvation. Paul, though dreadfully weak and emaciated, still retained his new faith.

Christmas Eve dawned clear and cold. Snow had been falling all day, but with the dying sunset it had ceased. The snowy mantle covered the ground to the depth of several inches, and when the moon peeped from behind the clouds and looked down

upon the earth its frozen surface shone like a great sheet of polished silver.

No fire burned in the home of the Komarevskys, and its genial warmth was sadly missed. No other light than the silvery rays of the moon lighted up the one room which now constituted the abode of the entire family. They had huddled together for warmth, and perhaps from a feeling that they would not much longer see each other alive.

It was near the midnight hour when the silence of the night was broken by some one knocking gently on the door of the humble home. Meeting with no response, the knocking became louder, and little Paul, hearing the sound, aroused the others to tell them that it was the angel he had been expecting with the promised corn. Ivan Komarevsky, by a great effort, dragged himself to the door and opened it, when he saw standing before him a man all covered with snow and looking very weary.

The stranger asked permission to enter, saying he had lost his way, and would they give him shelter for the night? Ivan explained that there was neither fire, light, nor food in the house ; but that he was welcome to remain if he wished. The stranger carried a large bag on his back, and he had evidently prepared for a long journey. Placing the bag on the floor, he first drew forth a candle, which he lighted and set on the table.

The tale of misery which the light revealed made the man's stout heart quail, and stepping to the corner where the two older women were lying with closed eyes he eagerly scanned their faces to learn if life still remained within their shrunken bodies. Becoming satisfied that they were breathing, he hastily took from his bag a small bottle of medicine, a few drops of which he poured down the throat of each. The stimulant caused them to open their eyes and look about them with astonishment.

The entire family were by this time aroused, and the famished people greedily ate the bread and salt which the stranger produced from the depths of his wonderful bag. Little Paul alone seemed indifferent to what was going on around him, and when they offered him some of the welcome food he only shook his curly head as he turned restlessly on his hard bed.

The stranger who had so fortunately appeared on the scene was from another part of Russia, and was on his way to visit friends. He had during the storm in the earlier part of the day wandered away from the road, and seeing the house he thought he would apply for shelter. He knew that famine was ravaging the land, but did not expect to meet such extreme destitution. The stranger was supplied with plenty of money, a portion of which he loaned Ivan to provide suitable food and clothing for himself and family. He remained several days in the humble home, and when he took his departure he carried with him the blessings of a grateful family.

Only one shadow darkened the hour of deliverance. Little Paul, the idol of the household, lay sick unto death. For days he tossed to and fro, muttering praise of the angel which the great God had sent with the corn. Over and over again he repeated the story of how he had prayed to the God whose home was in the blue heavens, and how he had asked them all to be patient and have faith.

For ten days the angel-child tossed in the delirium of fever, the golden head was never still, and the large blue eyes had a strange, far-away look in them. Toward the close of the tenth day, just as the sun was sinking to rest, the tired eyes closed and the little hands crossed themselves as the angelic spirit of little Paul winged its way to the great God in whom his childish faith had been so strangely placed.

THE TERCENTENARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

BY THE REV. J. H. BERNARD, D.D.

From *The Sunday-School Times* (Undenom.), Philadelphia, July 23, 1892.

In July, 1892, the University of Dublin celebrates her three hundredth birthday, and scholars from all parts of the world assemble in the metropolis of Ireland to offer their congratulatons on her past history, and their good wishes for her future. Not so old, nor so rich, as many colleges at Oxford or Cambridge, the corporation of Trinity College, Dublin, is yet one to which any man might be proud to belong, when he considers the long list of her famous sons, and the remarkable history of her steady growth in dignity and usefulness throughout three centuries in a country ever torn by faction and distracted by party strife.

Several attempts were made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to establish a university in Ireland which might bear comparison with the great sister universities

of the sister kingdom, but it was not until the closing years of the reign of Elizabeth that any permanent result was arrived at. Partly through the political intrigues of a sagacious Yorkshire priest, Adam Loftus, but mainly through the exertions of a respectable Dublin family bearing the honored name of Chaloner, a royal charter was obtained from the Queen in 1591, and a college which was intended, as the charter vaguely says, to be *mater universitatis* ("the mother of a university"), was established on the site of the old monastery of All Hallows. This site was the gift of the corporation of the city, and has now become of great value, but in those days was worth little. None the less, the college will gratefully commemorate, at her Tercentenary Festival Service, as in days of old, her benefactors, "the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of Dublin." The worthy aldermen of the day gave as they were able; and, whether we have regard to the generosity of the intention or the magnificence of the result, they deserve to be held in grateful remembrance.

From these small beginnings the college grew, though at first but slowly. The number of persons in Ireland in the sixteenth century who desired university education was not large, and inasmuch as the original foundation excluded from its benefits Roman Catholics, who have always formed the most considerable section of the population in Ireland, the number of possible aspirants to academic distinction was still further reduced. But among the first batch of students who matriculated at the new college was a boy afterward known throughout Europe as the greatest scholar of his time,—James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh. His curious and exact learning fixed the attention of learned men thus early upon the little college that he claimed as his *alma mater;* and, though he is now best known, perhaps, as the originator of the system of chronology with which the margins of our ordinary English Bibles are furnished, yet he has many more serious and really valuable claims to the veneration of students of Holy Scripture. He was one of the few men of his day who interested himself in textual criticism; and the number of ancient manuscripts, both Syriac and Greek, that he collected and collated during his lifetime would stock a good-sized bookcase. He would no doubt have been provost of the college, had he not received ecclesiastical preferment early in life; and it may be doubted whether the gain to the Church by his episcopal labors was not too dearly paid for by the loss of his wise counsels during the internal dissensions that continued throughout the opening decades of the seventeenth century. The early provosts were imported from England, and in many cases they proved themselves incapable of understanding the Irish character or the conditions of Irish education.

The students at this period were mostly mere boys, and they seem to have needed the restraints that we are more accustomed to associate with school than with college life. For instance, here is an entry from the Book of Censures in the time of Provost Temple (1617): "T. Cuff and J. Travers, for their irreverent and savage carriage in the presence of Sir John King, to make three public acknowledgments of their faults at three several times in the hall; to forbear going out into town for six months, except to hear sermons; and for six months not to keep company with each other. Cuff, for wounding with a knife the scullion of the kitchen, to lose his privilege of adult age, and to rest subject to the rod until he graduates."

But despite these frolics, serious pursuits were not neglected. Hebrew and Greek were read by divinity students, and the study of the Irish language was encouraged by successive provosts, notably by Provost Bedell. Mathematics was little thought of until late in the eighteenth century. In this Trinity College, Dublin, but followed the example of the more ancient seats of learning throughout Europe. Logic and metaphysics always formed part of the curriculum, and Locke's Essay, adopted as a text-book shortly after its publication (1692), has ever since remained in the philosophical courses as a subject of study. But Locke's work is connected in another way with the history of Trinity College. It was from it that George Berkeley derived his first notions of psychology, and the idealist philosophy with which Berkeley astonished the thinking world of the early eighteenth century was the natural outcome of the development of Lockian principles. "When Bishop Berkeley," sang Byron, "said there was no matter, 'twas no matter what he said." And, though this simple and easy dismissal of a system so foreign to the instincts of mankind has always been popular, yet thoughtful minds ever since look back to Berkeley as, through Hume, the father of modern philosophy.

How Bishop Berkeley's chivalrous efforts to found a college in the Bermudas for the benefit of the native population fell through for want of funds and helpers, cannot be

told here, for want of space; but there is no chapter in the history of philanthropy more deeply interesting than the account of the struggles of Dean Berkeley, as he then was, and his devoted friends, to carry on their self-imposed task in the cause of humanity far away from home and kindred.

Other names not unknown in the early days of the college are those of William Congreve, the dramatist, now best remembered as the author of the often parodied lines, "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast;" of Dudley Loftus, the Orientalist; of Nahum Tate, the versifier of the Psalms, and poet-laureate of his generation. But none of these names are so familiar as those of the men of the eighteenth century. Take him all around, George Berkeley was probably the greatest genius that the University of Dublin ever produced; but his works are "*caviare* to the general."

For one reader of Berkeley there are a hundred readers of Burke, there are a thousand readers of Swift or of Goldsmith. "Gulliver's Travels" and "The Vicar of Wakefield" are probably as well known as any works produced in the English language in the eighteenth century. Swift is peculiarly associated with Dublin; indeed, the only piece of church preferment that ever fell to him was the deanery of St. Patrick's Cathedral,—that stately church where his bones still rest, *ubi saeva indignatio cor ulterius lacerare nequit*, as his mournful epitaph still records. Poor Swift! Understood but imperfectly by the men of his own generation, and still less by ourselves, his life and character furnish one of the saddest and most perplexing problems which meet the student of literary history. His academic career was not brilliant; but it speaks well of the acumen of the college dons who were responsible for the discipline of that wayward intellect, that, in an old document preserved in the archives, it is recorded of "Swift, Jon.," that his mathematics were "poor," his classics "middling," but his essay "very good." The only reminder from old times of Goldsmith that remains is a bit of glass out of the window of his former chamber, with his name cut thereon in bold characters; but a few years ago a noble statue of him was erected in front of the college, where, along with Burke and opposite to Grattan, he is portrayed in bronze only less lasting than the writings with which he has charmed the English-speaking world.

It would not be of general interest to continue to note the names of the first magnitude that appear in the matriculation books of the college. Flood the orator, Hamilton the mathematician, Barrett the eccentric Orientalist, Hincks the decipherer of cuneiform writing, Molyneux the correspondent of Descartes, were all well-known men who left their mark; but it would be of little service to apportion with precision their meed of praise. The visitor to Dublin will see their pictures and busts in the examination theatre or the library, but unless he be specially conversant with the life-work of each, he will not be curious to make inquiry into their antecedents. To such a visitor, the first thing that will strike him, especially if he be fresh from Oxford or Cambridge, is the stateliness of the college buildings and the spaciousness of the courts. The library will bear comparison with any building devoted to a similar purpose in Europe, and the area covered by the quadrangles is noteworthy when it is remembered that Trinity College stands in the midst of a crowded city, where every square foot of land is of great commercial value.

The foreign visitor will also be shown the college plate, much of which is worth seeing. The mace, the loving-cups (each with its own history or legend), the great silver bowls which almost speak of the hospitality of days of yore, when the measure of a man's sociability was his capacity for consumption of punch; these are displayed daily at dinner in the Commons Hall. There was a pious custom formerly, that each student on graduating should leave behind him a piece of plate as a memento of his undergraduate days,—a custom which is now unhappily more honored in the breach than in the observance.

These old traditions are beyond price in a great institution, and it is mournful to see them dying away with the growth of the modern utilitarian spirit. We have a cup, for instance (used every day), given by Lord Mornington, once professor of music, who was the father of the great Duke of Wellington; we have Ussher's books; we have the original manuscript of Berkeley's "Principles of Human Knowledge;" we still recite before the "commons" dinner the Latin grace prescribed in the Caroline statutes, and commemorate our benefactors: "*Elizabetha regina hujus collegii conditrice, Jacobo ejusdem munificentissimo auctore, Carolo conservatore, caeterisque benefactoribus nostris.*" We still show the old mulberry-tree in the fellows' garden, old when the college was founded, and it stood in the orchard of the monastery of

All Hallows; we can still drink of the water (though few of us do) where St. Patrick is said to have baptized multitudes of our heathen forefathers.

These traditions are worth more than buildings, than money, ay, than present reputation, though it seem absurd to say so; for the very life of an old institution consists in the ever-present consciousness of its continuity with a past of splendid traditions, of an inheritance of which it is the duty and the privilege of the men of to-day to pass on unimpaired. And it is these legends (idle, and without monetary value, if you will) that keep alive and foster this feeling of continuity. You cannot invent them to order; they are a slow growth, and, be it observed, they never grow except where there is preserved the remembrance of an honorable past.

Of the present condition and prospects of Trinity College it is not fitting for a member of the corporation to speak. There are about twelve hundred students on her books, of all religious denominations. She has schools of divinity, medicine, law, and engineering; but as yet she has not forgotten that her main business, the chief function of a university, is to give a liberal education in arts, to train men not so much to be good lawyers, doctors, or parsons, as to be gentlemen and scholars.

Trinity College, Dublin.

A LADY had just completed a book for children, and Dr. Wendell Holmes kindly consented to read the manuscript. When it was returned to her she naturally looked it over with eagerness to see what criticisms her distinguished friend had made. She turned page after page, but found no erasure, mark, or marginal note, until at length, nearly at the end of the story, she came to a single neatly pencilled line in Dr. Holmes's fine handwriting. It was placed against a passage upon which she had rather prided herself—a vivid description of the picnic feast of a group of children in a grove. First reading the paragraph to see if she herself could find anything amiss, she next read what he had written. It was this: "Don't let those children eat pickles." Much relieved to find that it was the doctor, not the author, who had found fault with her work, the lady at once drew a line through the offending viands, and when the story of the picnic appeared in print, pickles were omitted from the bill of fare.—*Exchange.*

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. (Expositor's Bible.) By MARCUS DODS, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College, Edinburgh. Volume I. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1891. 8vo, pp. xiii., 388, $1.50.

Dr. Dods is now so well known to biblical students that everything from his pen is sure of a warm welcome. This volume is an exposition of the first eleven chapters of the Gospel of John. The author's estimate of the Fourth Gospel, from a literary standpoint, is succinctly stated in the introductory note: "In the whole range of literature there is no composition which is a more perfect work of art, or which more rigidly excludes whatever does not subserve its main end. From the first word to the last there is no paragraph, sentence, or expression which is out of place, or with which we could dispense. Part hangs together with part in perfect balance. The sequence may at times be obscure, but sequence there always is. The relevancy of this or that remark may not at first sight be apparent, but irrelevancy is impossible to this writer." He adopts De Wette's discovery that the thought which gives unity to the work is the manifestation of Christ's glory.

On these eleven chapters there are twenty-four discourses of moderate length. There is no continuous exposition of the text verse by verse, but the fundamental thought of a paragraph or section is taken as the theme of a homily, and while the theme is illustrated and enforced by a skilful use of the Gospel material, it would be useless to seek in this book for Dr. Dods's interpretation of particular verses. The basic conceptions of the Fourth Gospel are set forth with clearness, candor, and abundant learning, but for detailed exegesis one must look elsewhere. So, too, the range of topics treated in the New Testament introduction is wholly excluded. Occasionally a disputed point is glanced at, as in the statement that it may be doubted whether the feast of v. 1 is the Feast of Tabernacles or Purim; but there is no discussion of such matters. This book is not a guide, then, to one who is seeking to thread his way through the mazes of the Johannean question. It would be unfair, however, to say that it gives no help for the solution of that question. It does not lead the reader to every cool spring and shady retreat in the Gospel country, and make every foot of its soil familiar, but it does bear him up to the successive mountain peaks and unroll the grandeur and glory of the Messianic realm. A thoughtful perusal of this book cannot fail to produce—at least in the average reader—a clearer and truer conception of the character and glory of Jesus Christ and of the religion which He founded.

The style is simple, clear, and straightforward. The writer's one aim is to make Gospel truth perfectly intelligible. The apologetic element is somewhat prominent, but there is nothing antiquated in the theology defended. The treatment is thoroughly modern in its tone. The essentials of Christianity are emphasized, but there is avoidance both of outworn theological formulas and of over-confident affirmation about uncertainties.

The following quotations fairly represent the style and tone of the volume:

"The preservative against any definite form of sin is a strong spiritual life, a healthy condition not easily fatigued in duty, and not easily over-

come by temptation. Perhaps the Gospel has come to be looked upon too exclusively as a remedial scheme, and too little as the means of maintaining spiritual health. So marked is its efficacy in reclaiming the vicious, that its efficacy as the sole condition of healthy human life is apt to be overlooked" (p. 212).

"Good men, as well as others, have their narrow views and illiberal prejudices, and mark off in their own minds as hopeless and barren whole religions, sects, or countries out of which God determines to bring that which is for the healing of the nations. To rise above such prejudices we must refuse to accept current rumors, traditional opinions, proverbial or neat dicta which seem to settle a matter; we must conscientiously examine for ourselves, as Philip says, 'Come and see.' He instinctively knew how useless it was to reason with men about Christ's claims so long as they were not in His presence. One look, one word from Himself will go further to persuade a man of His majesty and love than all that any one else can say. To make Christ known is the best way to prove the truth of Christianity" (p. 64).

"And as the Teacher taught by living, so must the scholar learn by living. Christ brings light by passing through all human experiences and situations, and 'he that followeth' Him, not he that reads about Him, 'shall have the light of life.' There are very few men in the world who can think to much purpose on truths so abstruse and complicated as the divinity of Christ and the atonement and miracles; but there is no man so dull as not to see the difference between Christ's life and his own" (p. 282).

A few strictures of minor importance may be added in conclusion. It seems to be the author's purpose to prefix to each discourse the passage upon which it is based, but vi. 1–59 is wanting, and there are other less important omissions, as iii. 22–36, iv. 27–30. It is gratifying to note that the Revised Version is used throughout. There is an admirable exposition of vii. 17 on p. 252, but strangely enough, on p. 311 the usual misquotation finds place, "He that *doeth* the will of God."

Those who read this volume will eagerly await the issue of the second.

Frank E. Woodruff.
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.

Anthropological Religion. The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1891. By F. Max Müller, K.M. London and New York: Longmans, 1892. 8vo, pp. xxvii., 464, $3.

As the title of this course of the Gifford Lectures, like that (Physical Religion) which preceded it, seems at first a little obscure, we may at the outset give the author's own explanation as follows:

"The principal object of the study of *anthropological religion*, in its historical development, is to learn how man has been searching for the god-like element in human nature, just as a study of *physical religion* showed him to us as bent on discovering something Divine or infinite in that objective nature by which he found himself surrounded" (p. 351).

In his somewhat elaborate preface the learned lecturer proceeds to defend himself against the severe criticisms which had been made upon his former course, and he does not disguise his expectation that more criticisms are to follow his present effort.

In tracing what he supposes to have been the true historic development of man's search after the infinite, he departs far enough from the teachings of Christian theology; he knows nothing of a preternatural revelation, of an infallible Bible or of miracles in any form; but, on the other hand, he very positively rejects the extreme views of some of the most popular advocates of evolution. The idea so often advanced by Lubbock and others that races of men are found without any worship or even conception of God, he represents as now exploded and by all true scholars abandoned (p. 172).

From page 150 to 154 the lecturer pours discredit, if not ridicule, upon the facility with which such authors as Herbert Spencer have paraded as facts the statements, made by sailors and traders as well as missionaries, as to the religious beliefs of men of which they had had but the most superficial observation, and he shows a sort of pity for those ardent disciples who find it hard to part with the convenient authorities which seem to support their pet theories. "I do not wonder," he says, "that those who depend for their information on the tabulated extracts published by Mr. Herbert Spencer should be unwilling to surrender these convenient 'aids to faith' without a struggle." They are part of the bridge which it is fondly hoped may yet close up the wide abyss between the man and the ape.

Professor Max Müller also takes issue squarely with "the few biologists, who, undeterred by the absence of facts, still profess a belief in the descent of man from some known or unknown animal species" (p. 185). Referring to Virchow's challenge to Haeckel to produce any proofs on this point, he says, "Surely a challenge from Virchow cannot be ignored; why, then, has it never been taken up?"

On page 299 our learned lecturer deals a blow at Mr. Spencer's theory that the intuitions of men result from the experience of ancestors. "How could it be said," he asks, "that a belief in universal justice arises from repeated experience? Surely no one would say that our experience teaches us again and again that the good are rewarded and the bad punished in this life. One might even go so far as to say that it is the repeated experience of the very contrary—namely, of the misfortunes of the good and the triumphs of the bad, that provokes an appeal to and a belief in a higher justice."

But the most sweeping criticism which the author makes against some of the popular theories which now go by the name of science is that in which (p. 133) he condemns Mr. Spencer's dictum that all religion had its origin in the worship of ancestors. He says: "In expressing my strong difference of opinion with regard to the facts and theories in his 'Principles of Sociology,' I can clearly see that the responsibility lies less with him than with the 'tabulated evidence' on which he founded his theories. . . . I make no secret that I consider the results of Mr. Spencer's one-sided explanation of the origin of religion as worthy of the strongest condemnation which a love of truth can dictate."

Max Müller does not appear to believe that all races of men have pursued precisely the same path in reaching their religious faiths. Ancestor-worship has had its place; but before man had a conception of supernatural power in the spirits of the departed (animism), he must have first conceived of the animæ (soul), if not of a higher—a Divine

soul. In his previous lectures on *physical religion*, the author took the position that mankind began with a worship of the visible powers of nature, especially with fire and the heavenly bodies. That the concepts of God and of the human soul were developed together is the point specially emphasized in the present volume.

While the author's theories of the development of religion in man seem more plausible than those of Spencer or the totem theory of Miss Amelia B. Edwards and others, they will not gain the suffrages of Christian theists. They will prefer the fact presented in Max Müller's earlier works, that so far as real history and traditions can be traced, there seems to have been a simple henotheistic conception of a supreme God implanted "where only it can be implanted in the heart of man."

On the whole, the present volume is one of great interest. The web of its argument is not evenly woven, but it is all the richer for its liberties of style, as it introduces a vast amount of instructive matter, and it shows, as do all the works of the learned author, a vast range of research.

F. F. Ellinwood.

New York University.

An Introduction to Ethics. By J. Clark Murray, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Professor of Philosophy, McGill College, Montreal. Boston: De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. vii., 407.

The Crisis in Morals. An Examination of Rational Ethics in the Light of Modern Science. By James Thompson Bixby, Ph.D. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1891. 12mo, pp. viii., 315, $1.

The highest praise is due to Dr. Murray for his admirably written book. Though an introduction merely, it is far more valuable than many works more diffuse. Following a natural order and marking an important distinction, the material is grouped into two main divisions—ethical psychology and ethics proper. In the first, the chief interest attaches to the analysis of the moral consciousness. Especially good is the outline of the development of this consciousness in the concrete, showing, as the author maintains, a uniform tendency to recognize a practical rule of universal validity and to expand its sphere till the whole of human conduct is brought under its decisions. In the second book, the first inquiry concerns the supreme law of duty, determined, on its part, by the conception of the sovereign good. The conflicting theories are classified as Epicurean and Stoical, according as they do or do not regard the ultimate aim of action to be pleasure. The consideration and candor shown everywhere in the treatment of opponents is here conspicuous; but it involves no lack of firmness in criticism. It is successively demonstrated that pleasure is not the ultimate object of all human action in practice; is not, even though it were, the necessarily most desirable object; is not a criterion of rightness that can be practically applied; and does not correspond to the code of morality which civilized nations inculcate. But the various attempts to formulate more precisely the objective end demanded by the opposite theory are also criticised. Dr. Murray himself accepts the Kantian view that the sovereign good is the completely formed will (p. 402); but at this point he merely urges that the uncertainty of moral theories does not materially affect the practical determination of duties. In the discussion of duties, next taken up, considerable space is devoted to the ethics of social problems. The notion that the law of supply and demand is a *moral* law is emphatically rejected, and the important principle is enounced that every man should receive "such a share of the whole wealth produced as is equivalent to the share which he has contributed by his industry" (p. 312); but there is nothing *doctrinaire* in the treatment of these subjects. The form of society best adapted to secure its ends is wisely left to be determined by political and economic science. The doctrine of moral athleticism advocated in the concluding section on Virtue is worthy of all attention, particularly by those who have to do with the moral training of the young.

The present crisis in morals, due to the disturbing influence of the doctrine of evolution on traditional theories, can only be met by a thorough examination of the new ethics and a thorough reconstruction of the old. This task Dr. Bixby essays in the volume before us. The theory specially selected for attack is Herbert Spencer's. The author aims to show that Spencer's theory is a thoroughly inconsistent Hedonism, tacitly conceding its own insufficiency, shifting at convenience from Utilitarianism to Intuitionism, never really getting into the proper sphere of moral judgment, the motive and will, and having a natural tendency to disastrous consequences in practice. Mr. Spencer is certainly not free from inconsistencies, and his language is often singularly open to misconstruction. In the main, Dr. Bixby's criticism is temperate and fair. It is, however, a perversion when he interprets his opponent's account of the psychological genesis of our "feeling of obligation in general," as though it were meant to be a logical deduction of morality. Mr. Spencer has himself strongly protested against this assumption. It is also a perversion to treat the "illusive independence," of which Spencer speaks, of the abstract idea of duty, in psychological reference, as though it were tantamount to regarding the existence of duties itself as an illusion. Again, a cardinal point in Mr. Spencer's system—the conception that conduct is to be determined by an ideal of social relationships in which human life is completely realized through voluntary co-operation, receives no adequate recognition. It does not seem to be essentially different from the author's own view that the test of moral action is its tendency to promote the ideal perfection of the race. In his positive reconstruction of ethics "on the basis of evolution and scientific knowledge," Dr. Bixby tells us that what the world has at heart is to bring forth *consciousness*, and that consequently our duty is to conform our motives to this objective indication of the essential nature of things. But why? If we believed that conscious life were essentially miserable, it would be hard to persuade us that its mere being were desirable, or that we were under any obligation to promote it. After all is said, therefore, an element of Hedonism does remain in our conception of the highest good; but the point that it is not the supreme principle of action is maintained with manliness, acumen, and a refreshing moral enthusiasm, and no one can read the book without profit.

H. N. Gardiner.

Smith College.

The Story of the Token, as belonging to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, by *Robert Shiells*. (New York: John Ireland, 1892, 12mo, pp. 170, $1.) To many, even to many Presbyterians, this story will come like an archæological tale or a page from an unknown history. The "token"

was a ticket of admission to the communion table given to those who were adjudged fit after an examination more or less thorough. It has been in vogue in almost all lands to which the sentiments and practices of Scotch Presbyterianism have gone. While Scotland was its home, in pre-eminent degree, the origin of the custom is traced backward by the author through France, Holland, Switzerland, and other countries even to the Post-Apostolic times, and in its fundamentals even to the days of the apostles. Rev. ii. 17, 2 Cor. iii. 1, seem to have some bearing upon the development of the "token." Mr. Shiells does not claim to have made an exhaustive study, but as his account is based upon a collection of 800 specimens and upon a quite extended reading and investigation, it is well worthy of a careful perusal.

The World and the Man. By Hugh Miller Thompson, D.D., Bishop of Mississippi. The Baldwin Lectures, 1890 New York: Thomas Whittaker. 12mo, pp. 258.

This is the fourth book which Bishop Thompson has published, and it is one of the best. The author has a way of coming to the point with a tremendous downrightness and plainness of speech, and he sees his points so clearly and states them in such terms that even he who runs may understand them. He has a very keen sense of what our questions are, and reduces them to their simplest statement. His object is to show that our Lord understood what was in man, and that what He did as the Christ and as the Incarnate Son of man was equal to the world's needs. The excellence of Bishop Thompson's book is that he sees very clearly a few determining points in his subject, and that he works out his convictions from these principles in a thoroughly original and personal manner. His style is crisp, simple, almost rough in its plainness, and there is not a reference throughout the volume to any other writer who has dealt with this subject. His volume does not fail in vigor or in interest. He simply takes up some facts in the work of Christ in a fresh and original way and presses them, with all the force which he can command, on the reader. His best lecture is the one entitled "The Law of the Case," in which he puts the distinction very simply between natural and supernatural law. It is refreshing to find a writer who does not dilute his thought, but with this primitive vigor there goes a great deal of roughness which will deprive Bishop Thompson's thought of the large consideration which it ought to receive. His book will be read and studied because the author has something to say, but his manner of expressing himself is often far below the dignity of his subject. It is not necessary for a man to be boorish in his writing in order to be brilliant and forcible. Many things in the volume should have been left unsaid, or have been said better. Bishop Thompson's great merit is that he knows how to prick a great many religious bubbles, and has no toleration for theological nonsense.

Brookline, Mass. Julius H. Ward.

Our Sacred Commission. By the Rev. Frederick R. Wynne, D.D., Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Dublin, etc. New York: James Pott & Co., 1891. 12mo, pp. 220, $1.

This modest book is worthy of unqualified praise. Its contents formed originally part of a course of lectures on pastoral theology to a class of divinity students. They are among the very best words of the kind which have been spoken. They are full of "sanctified common sense." They are the words of a sagacious, broad-minded, devout man. They have that *simplicity* which appears so easy and which is so difficult to attain, and they are illuminated by that sense of humor which attends always upon the highest wisdom.

There are three short lectures on "Ministerial Character"—in fact, they begin and end with this, for the writer sees, what not everybody does see, that a clergyman's work is worth just what he himself is worth, no more and no less. The final efficiency of a sermon or a counsel by a minister is fixed by the propulsive power of the man himself—that is, by his character.

There are chapters on "Dealing with Beginners," "Dealing with the Doubting," "The Conduct of Public Worship," and on "Sermon Preparation," which are most admirable. It would be hard to find a small volume which one would prefer to place in the hands of the newly ordained deacon. It is better even than Bishop Wilberforce's addresses. S. D. McConnell.

Philadelphia.

Thomas Carlyle's Moral and Religious Development. A Study, by Ewald Flügel. From the German by Jessica Gilbert Tyler. With a Portrait. New York: M. L. Holbrook & Co., 1891. 12mo, pp. xiv., 140.

To an old student and lover of Carlyle, whose mind was seeded down in youth by that sower of his time-field, no title could be more attractive than this. But perhaps no one but a Scotchman of Carlyle's own type could fulfil its promise satisfactorily; for, after all, the mind of that great son of Britain was British, not Teutonic, and it could scarcely be given to a German, however admiring and appreciative, to enter wholly into its ways of life and thought.

Dr. Flügel (until lately professor at Leipsic University, we believe) has laid out his task with German thoroughness of method. He begins with Carlyle's belief in something higher than the visible, and his dislike of mechanism in ethics and philosophy. Thence he passes to his attitude toward that group of interests which may be classed under such terms as Christianity, God, the Church, dogmatic theology. Successive chapters deal respectively with his relations to science, to art and poetry, to history, and to ethics; but all this interesting thoroughness is in method rather than in execution. The work has been mainly done by assembling Carlyle's utterances on the subjects indicated above, and leaving him to speak for himself; but the whole question is one of interpretation and deduction. There are some of us who think that Carlyle was, on the whole, always much nearer the Calvinism in which he was brought up than sometimes appeared in the explosive momentum of his own utterances when under the stimulus of a strong insight, at the instant, into the prominence of some especial aspect of a many-sided truth. He certainly uses orthodox expression abundantly; also he as certainly says much in pantheistic language; the perpetual standing question is, how to put yourself inside his mind, and see exactly how far and in what sense he meant either. No mere citations of his

words, however ample, meets the difficulty of the case. The author has indeed made some comments as he passes, but we think the book fails to justify wholly the promise of its title. The reader will not learn from it exactly with what regiment Carlyle marched, even as a free lance. The little book is good and interesting as far as it goes, but probably its best use is that its orderly marshalling of Carlyle's highest utterances, each under its topic, will give a fresh impression of how essentially religious, in the generic sense of that word, was the atmosphere in which that great man and writer lived, and thought, and wrought.

The translator's part seems well done, but there is some careless proof-reading.

MANCIUS H. HUTTON.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

SYNOPSES OF LEADING ARTICLES FROM PERIODICALS.

THE July number of *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* contains a very interesting and very instructive article, "Theological Thought among French Protestants," by Professor A. Gretillat. An American reader cannot fail to observe that at several vital points the article touches certain forms of American theology, and the system of Ritschl, to which the author ascribes a decisive influence upon the movement described, has recently been spoken of more than once in our religious press as a probable element in the coming theology of America. The author goes back to the revival which took place in the French Protestant Church between 1820 and 1830, and which to us is principally represented by Vinet. As a reaction against this revival developed the so-called liberal Christianity, principally through Scherer. Scherer stands in the history of the Church as a psychological problem almost insoluble. When he first attracted attention, in 1843, he was at rest in implicit faith under the traditional authority. "Conscience, indeed, varies among different people. . . . Without revelation moral ideas will be nothing more than opinions more or less individual." In 1849 he had discovered, however, that "there is a *naïve* and self-conscious faith that embraces an entire system without examination, and there is a critical faith that weighs a system before receiving it." And in 1854 he was done weighing the system, and had found out that those "arguments drawn from the prophets and miracles, those vicious circles that pretend by texts to establish the authority of texts, cannot persuade a man to submit to a book that will not speak to his soul." Of course, he and his followers ended in a church without a priesthood, a religion without a catechism, a morality without dogmatics, and a God without an obligatory system. As a party, however, liberal Christianity had only a fleeting existence, but when it disappeared it left behind a horror of all doctrinal authority or dogmatics external to and superior to the *ego*, and the seemingly insoluble dilemma is still the same; either there is liberty of investigation and the authority investigated is no longer an authority, or there is external authority, blind and implicit faith, and—where is individuality? The method by which contemporary thought believes that it can find the solution of this antinomy is *experimental*. For reason, which formerly was accepted as the supreme criterion of truth, the adversaries of all external authority now substitute the testimony of the Christian consciousness or of inward experience, and this reaction of men's minds has become a fact so general in French Protestantism that it is hardly possible any more to receive a production either by the masters or pupils of the theological schools or by a pastor without meeting the influence of this predominant idea; but this method is certainly a German importation. It is the method of Ritschl, a return to the nominalism of the Middle Ages, a reappearance of contemporary positivism in the domain of theology. Every general idea of genus or species is discarded, and the sole demonstrable verity retained is the particular fact, that which concerns the individual and has become an integral part of individual experience. Among the adherents of this experimental method there are at least some who claim that, starting from their Christian experience, they have recovered the whole objective content of Christian revelation, up to and including the doctrine of the personal preexistence of Christ. They contend that this fact or this doctrine is the necessary presupposition of their own Christian experience, which without it would be an effect without a sufficient cause. As the representative opponents of all external and coercive authority, the author then mentions the philosopher, M. Charles Secrétan, the late M. Edmond de Pressensé, and M. Astié, Professor of the Free Theological Faculty of Lausanne, for Switzerland, and M. Sabatier, Professor of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris, and M. Leopold Monod, a nephew of Adolph Monod and pastor of the Free Church of Lyons, for France, and gives a clear, precise, and very vivid characterization of their respective standpoints.

As a supplement to this article may be read, with great profit, another in the current number of *The Andover Review*, "The Ethics of Creed Conformity," by Professor J. Macbride Sterrett. Indeed, one feels tempted to say that the true solution of the above problem is found and demonstrated here—at least so far as our times is concerned—in the *historic* method; for surely the historical spirit of to-day will recover for us the worth of creeds that the vulgar rationalism of an unhistorical age criticised almost to death. The sympathetic study of other great world-religions is producing a vaster and more complex appreciation of the spirit of humanity, and it is but fair to suppose that in due time the same spirit will rescue Christianity from the Philistines of vulgar rationalism, and recognize its immense significance as a work of the spirit which nothing but a suicidal unreason will dare to ignore. This historical spirit and comparative method will soon be busy in raising from the deeps of oblivion and obloquy every form of Christian belief, not merely in the way of an amateur antiquarianism, but with genuine interest in its own spiritual heritage; for the historical method is simply that of evolution applied to the work of the human spirit instead of to nature. What were the wants and their environments that made such creeds and institutions grow, and what are the new wants and environments which may be organically related to them in further progress? How did they originate, grow, evolve, and what is the probable trend of their further development? Such are the questions which naturally arise in a mind which cannot stop with events, but demands history. Past forms of creed and cult are estimated by their own contemporary situations, problems, and solutions. When an English clergyman, being asked his opinion of the Salvation Army, replied: "Could

any one imagine Jesus Christ as an officer of such an organization?" he was aptly answered, that it was just as easy to imagine Jesus Christ as a Salvation Army officer toiling in the slums of London, as to imagine Him as a bishop with £25,000 a year and a seat in the House of Lords. Let this conception of the modern historical view of rationality be applied to the sum total of Christian creeds, instead of the former abstract conception of reason, and we shall have a very different sort of estimate of creeds. First, it will be noted that creeds cannot be abstracted from the whole context of the religious life and organism without losing their proper position and significance; then, that they have order, permanence, development, and continuity, and must be considered from that point of view. Thus the historical and comparative study of them as the ever-changing result of men's intellectual effort to formulate their religious experience will create the sympathetic spirit of appreciation of at least their results, though the end be not yet attained. The place of tradition, the worth and necessity of the great insights of great Christian men and epochs will be fully recognized, while no part of the whole past or present of Christian creed will be divorced from the central heart-principle of the person of the founder of Christianity.

THE AUGUST MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for August contains: Frontispiece, "Ernest Renan in his Study at the Collége de France," illustration for "Literary Paris," drawn by P. Renouard; "Literary Paris" (first paper), by Theodore Child; "Troth" (a story), by Rose Hawthorne Lathrop; "Corfu and the Ionian Sea," by Constance Fenimore Woolson; "Ice and Ice-making," by T. Mitchell Prudden; "Jane Field" (a novel), Part IV., by Mary E. Wilkins; "The Salzburger Exiles in Georgia," by the Rev. John F. Hurst, D.D; "Love" (a poem), by Adèle R. Ingersoll; "The World of Chance" (a novel), Part VI., by William Dean Howells; "Webster," by James Russell Lowell; "The Italian Army," by G. Goiran, General Staff Colonel; "The Passing of Thomas" (a story), by Thomas A. Janvier; "From the Black Forest to the Black Sea," Part VII., by F. D. Millet; "Domestic Economy," full-page illustration, by George du Maurier; "Editor's Easy Chair," by George William Curtis; "Editor's Study," by Charles Dudley Warner; "Editor's Drawer," with introductory story, "The Lady's Choice," by Thomas Nelson Page.

THE contents of THE CENTURY for August are as follows: Portrait of Shelley, Frontispiece; "The Ascent of Fuji the Peerless," Mabel Loomis Todd and David P. Todd, pictures by Harry Fenn, A. Castaigne and E. B. Child; "Sea-Longings," Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "La Chasse-Galerie," Honoré Beaugrand, pictures by Henri Julien; "A Servian Song," Richard Henry Stoddard; "A Sea Change," Edmund Clarence Stedman, pictures by Will H. Low; "The Colonel's Last Campaign," Ervin Wardman, pictures by C. D. Gibson; "Let the Dream Go," Anne Reeve Aldrich; "In Gloucester Harbor," Reginald Cleveland Coxe, pictures by the author; "Songs," R. W. Gilder; "The Chosen Valley," IV., Mary Hallock Foote, picture by the author; "Sonnet," Celia Thaxter; "My Shell," Theodore C. Williams; "The Philosophy of Relative Existences," Frank R. Stockton; "Tears," John Vance Cheney; "Beached," Virginia Frazer Boyle; "Architecture at the World's Columbian Exposition," III., Henry Van Brunt, pictures by E. E. Deane, O. H. Bacher, C. A. Vanderhoof and H. G. Ripley (the map in the previous article was furnished by F. L. Olmstead & Co.); "The Chatelaine of La Trinité," III., by the author of "The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani," Henry B. Fuller; "Glimpses of Wild Life," John Burroughs; "The Great Plains of Canada," C. A. Kenaston, pictures by Frederic Remington; "Paul Veronese" (Italian Old Masters), W. J. Stillman, with an engraving by T. Cole; "Storm," Frank Dempster Sherman; "Christopher Columbus," IV., The Great Voyage, Emilio Castelar, picture by A. Gisbert; "When Angry, Count a Hundred," E. Cavazza; "The Apotheosis of Golf," W. E. Norris, pictures by W. H. Drake and H. D. Nichols: "The Nature and Elements of Poetry," V., Truth, Edmund Clarence Stedman; "Shelley's Work," George E. Woodberry, with frontispiece portrait; *Topics of the Time:* "Popular Crazes;" "Trade Schools;" *Open Letters:* "Camping Out for the Poor," Philip G. Hubert, Jr.; "A Search for Shelley's American's Ancestor," John Malone; "Southern Womanhood as Affected by the War," Charles F. Deems; "The Steering of Yachts," Isaac Delano and Lewis Herreshoff; "The Battle of the Wyoming in Japan," Walter Pearce and William Elliot Griffis; *"In Lighter Vein:* "Along in June," Doane Robinson, pictures by E. W. Kemble; "Love Song," Charles Henry Phelps; "The Old Covered Bridge," Richard Lew Dawson.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for August contains: "I Have Followed the Currents Under the Branches," frontispiece, drawn by C. Delort, engraved by F. A. Pettit; "Stories of a Western Town," I. "The Besetment of Kurt Lieders," by Octave Thanet, illustrated by A. B. Frost; "Faded Pictures," by William Vaughn Moody; "A Riverside Parish," by Walter Besant (the fifth article in the series on "The Poor in Great Cities"), illustrated by Hugh Thomson; "Sun in the Willows," by Harrison S. Morris; "When the Century Came In," by Mrs. Burton Harrison; "After the Battle," by Edgar Mayhew Bacon; "Icebergs," by N. S. Shaler, illustrated by W. L. Taylor; "As One Having Authority," by H. C. Bunner, illustrated by W. T. Smedley; "Jack-in-the-Box," by T. R. Sullivan; "Guérin's Centaur," by Mrs. James T. Fields, illustrated by C. Delort; "The Triumph of Marie Laviolette," by Duncan Campbell Scott, illustrated by Chester Loomis; "Children's Rights," by Kate Douglas Wiggin; "A Little Parable," by Anne Reeve Aldrich; "How I Sent My Aunt to Baltimore" (a true story), by Charles Stewart Davison; "Historic Moments"—"Driving the Last Spike of the Union Pacific," by Sidney Dillon, with illustrations from a photograph; "The Point of View."

THE contents of THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for August are as follows: "Ariel," in Memory of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Edmund Clarence Stedman; "A New England Boyhood," I., II., Edward Everett Hale; "Townsend Harris, First American Minister in Japan," William Eliot Griffis; "A Florentine Episode," in two parts, Part Second, Ellen Olney Kirk; "The Passing of the Birds," Bradford Torrey; "Don Orsino," XVI.–XVIII., F. Marion Crawford; "The Benediction:" "Quatrains of August, I. August: II. Corn; III. Dormant Bulbs," Charles Washington Coleman; "The Persians of Æschylos," William Cranston Lawton; "The Revival of Art," W. J. Stillman; "The Promotheus Unbound of Shelley," II., Vida D. Scudder; "Furness's The Tempest;" "Matilde Serao's Il Paese di Cuccagna"; "Comment on New Books;" "The Contributors' Club."

THE contents of LIPPINCOTT'S for August are as follows: "The Martlet Seal" (illustrated), Jeannette H. Walworth; "The Newspaper of the Future" (Journalist Series, portrait), John A. Cockerill; "The Stream's Song" (a poem), Clinton Scollard; "The Indian's Hand" (illustrated), Lorimer Stoddard; "Felice Notte!" (a poem), Irene Putnam; "A Summer Wooing" (a poem), Louise Chandler Moulton; "Intercollegiate Foot-Ball" (Athletic Series, illustrated), Edgar Allan Poe; "A Race by Rail" (illustrated), Frederic M. Bird; "A Professional Plaindealer," J. K. Wetherill; "As it Seems;" "With the Wits" (illustrated by leading artists).

A DROWSY August afternoon, the light shimmering through the dense leaves of the broad-spreading beech-trees; a figure lying upon the grass holding in his hand a MAGAZINE—not too heavy—just heavy enough for easy holding—THE COSMOPOLITAN, for August; just the sort of reading matter for midsummer afternoon—full of attractive illustrations; scenes and life in the far-off Philippine Islands, with an experience of an earthquake; photographs on the Atlantic Beach accompanying a charming sketch of Jersey's "Salt Water Day," by Hamlin Garland; charming Spanish bits by the artist Chase; lovely vistas and enticing groves, illustrating a "California Farm Village," in which Col. Fitzsimmons describes the growth and development of a model community of fruit farms. Of the fiction, Henry James's "Jersey Villas" makes delightful midsummer reading, and there is an odd story of Southern Life, while "Curiosities of Musical Literature" will furnish a half-hour's entertainment for every lover of music. English high society is always an interesting subject when discussed by one who is of it, and knows it thoroughly. Henry Arthur Herbert of Mucross, formerly an Officer of the Guards and an M. P., gives in an entertaining way the cause of the revolution which has taken place in the society of London during the past thirty years. Even Murat Halstead's description of the Convention at Minneapolis is breezy and bright, and the beautiful photographs which illustrate an article on Bridges and Bridge Building would attract a very unscientific reader. The one heavy article of the number is that of the famous English writer on Evolution, St. George Mivart. It is a part of the discussion in which he seeks to harmonize the principles of Evolution with the doctrines of Christianity—one of the most important series of papers ever produced in a magazine, and attracting the widest attention among religious and scientific minds, both in England and this country.

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R.	Andover Review.
Bibl. Sacr.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. Q. R.	Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R.	Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q.	Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. P. R.	Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)
C. R.	Charities Review.
C. T.	Christian Thought.
Ex.	Expositor.
Ex T.	Expository Times.
G. W.	Good Words.
H. R.	Homiletic Review.
L. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H.	Missionary Herald.
Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
N. H. M.	Newbery House Magazine.
N. E. & Y. R.	New Englander and Yale Review.
N. W.	The New World.
O. D.	Our Day.
O. N. T. S.	Old and New Testament Student.
P. M.	Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch.	Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
S. A. H.	Sunday at Home.
S. M.	Sunday Magazine.
T. Th.	The Thinker.
T. Tr.	The Treasury.
Y. M.	The Young Man.

Abroad, Notes and Sketches, Charles A. Barry, YM.
Alston Cracis, XII.–XIII., Helen Shipton, GW.
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Amusements, What Attitudes Should the Church Take Toward, Rev. Walcott Fay, HR.
Apostolic Fathers and the New Testament, The, Hugh M. Scott, PRR.
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Athens, The Religion of, Prof. A. B. Hyde, MR.
Atonement in the New Testament, The Doctrine of, Rev. Prof. J. Agar Beet, Ex.
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Diamond Mines, Work in the, Miss H. B Allen. MissR.
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Driver's Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, Talbot W. Chambers, PRR.
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Higher Criticism, The Anti-Biblical, W. H. Green. PQ.
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CHRONICLE.

(*Closes on the 20th of each month.*)

June 15. Celebration by Scottish Episcopalians of the Centennial of the repeal of laws against Episcopacy in Scotland.

June 15–24. Conference of the (English) Primitive Methodist Church at Norwich.

June 20. Thirty-sixth Annual Mildmay Conference at the Mildmay Park Conference Hall, England.

June 20–25. Conference of the (English) Methodist New Connection at Ashton-under-Lyne.

June 24–26. Celebration by the Moravians of the 150th Anniversary of the founding of Bethlehem, Pa., and the establishment of their church there.

June 26–*July* 7. Southwestern Conference for Bible Study at Eureka Springs, Ark.

June 27–*July* 1. Convention of the British Young Men's Christian Association.

June 29. Consecration of the Right Rev. John Michaud (Roman Catholic) Bishop of Bennington, Vt.

June 29–*July* 3. General Convention of the (colored) "Christian" Churches of the United States at Nashville.

June 29–*July* 28. Reunion Conference at Grindelwald, with the view of finding a means of evangelical interdenominational comity and united aggressive Christian work.

July 2–5. Celebration of the Tercentenary of Dublin University.

July 2–13. Seventh World's Conference of College Students, Northfield, Mass.

July 7. Consecration of the Right Rev. John S. Michaud, D.D., Assistant Bishop (Roman Catholic) of Burlington, in Burlington, Vt.

July 7–10. Eleventh Annual Convention of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor in New York City.

Third Annual Meeting of the "Central Conference of American Rabbis," in Temple Beth-el, New York City. This is the advanced wing of the Hebrew people. The most important measure passed was that doing away with the initiatory rite for proselytes.

July 9–13. Jubilee of the Norwegian Mission Society.

July 12. Beginning of the sessions of the Sixteenth Summer School of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy at Prohibition Park, Staten Island.

National Education Association at Saratoga.

July 14–17. General Convention of the Baptist Young People's Union at Detroit, Mich.

July 16. Opening of Salvation Army Camp-Meeting at Old Orchard, Me.

July 18. University Extension Conference at Chautauqua Lake.

Bishop Morris, of the (Protestant Episcopal) Diocese of Oregon, has signified his intention to resign in October, because of ill health. He has been Bishop of Oregon over twenty years.

The Rev. William Chalmers, B.D., has been elected Bishop of Goulburn, New South Wales, successor to the late Bishop Mesac Thomas.

The Right Rev. Dr. Anson, Bishop of Qu'Appelle, Canada, has resigned his bishopric.

The Rev. John De Witt, D.D., notwithstanding that he has declined the call to the Chair of Church History in Princeton Theological Seminary, is to be urged to reconsider his decision. The Rev. Charles Martin has been added to the faculty as assistant in the Department of Old Testament Exegesis and Criticism. The Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., will give instruction in Semitic languages.

The Rev. Owen H. Gates, Ph.D., instructor in Biblical Philology in Union Theological Seminary, has accepted a call

to the Professorship of Hebrew in Oberlin Theological Seminary. The Rev. Charles P. Fagnani will take Dr. Gates's place at Union.

The Rev. J. K. McClurkin has declined the call to the Chair of Church History in Allegheny Theological Seminary.

The Rev. A. R. Cocke has been elected to the Chair of Theology in the Southwestern Presbyterian University at Clarksville, Tenn., and Rev. W. A. Alexander to that of Hebrew and Greek. Dr. Joseph R. Wilson has resigned the professorship of Theology in the same institution.

The Rev. R. W. Micou has been elected to the Chair of Systematic Divinity in the Philadelphia (Protestant Episcopal) Divinity School, and has signified his acceptance.

The Greek Evangelical Alliance of Turkey has elected the Rev. George Cambouropolis, of Manisa, its President.

OBITUARY.

Erdmann, Professor Johann Eduard (German Evangelical), D.D., in Halle, June 12, aged 87. He studied in the University of Dorpat, 1823–26, and at Berlin, 1826–29; was in the pastorate at Wolmar, 1829–32; became *docent* at Berlin, 1832; Professor Extraordinary at Halle, 1836, and Professor, 1839; served that University till his death, thus teaching there for fifty-six years. His works on philosophy are very numerous, including a "Sketch of the History of Philosophy," "Faith and Knowledge," "Nature and Creation," "Sketch of Psychology," and a "Collection of Sermons Preached in the Cathedral of Halle," all in German. His "History of Philosophy" has been translated into English, superseding the well-known Ueberweg.

McCauley, Rev. Charles F. (Dutch Reformed), D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, 1872), in Reading, June 19, aged 76. He was graduated from Yale College, 1838; taught school two years; studied theology at Mercersburg, Pa., graduating in 1843; was installed pastor at Mercersburg the same year; removed to Middletown, Md., 1845, serving in the pastorate there until 1855; was called thence to the charge of the Second Reformed Church, Reading, Pa., where he remained until he retired on November 16, 1891, becoming pastor emeritus. He was elected President of the Eastern Synod in 1873, and was for thirty years a member of the Board of Visitors of the Theological Seminary at Lancaster.

Mann, William Julius (Lutheran, General Council), D.D. (Pennsylvania College, Pa., 1857), LL.D., in Boston, June 20, aged 73. He was born in Stuttgart; he studied at the Gymnasium in his native town, and graduated from Tübingen, 1841, where he was a classmate of Dr. Schaff; was assistant pastor in Würtemberg, 1842–45; emigrated to the United States, becoming associate pastor of the St. Michael's and Zion's German Lutheran Churches, Philadelphia, and serving thus from 1850–84. He took part in organizing the General Synod, 1846, and helped establish the Theological Seminary in Philadelphia; became Professor of Hebrew, Ethics, and Symbolics in the same, 1864. He edited the *Kirchenfreund*, 1854–60; contributed many articles to the Herzog "Real-Encyclopädie," and to the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia; and is the author of "Lutheranism in America," "General Principles of Christian Ethics," "Leben und Wirken William Penn's," "Ein Aufgang im Abendland," "Das Buch der Bücher und seine Geschichte," and especially "Hallesche Nachrichten," which last, it is hoped, will soon be translated into English.

Marcelline (Anthony Perardi), Right Rev. Teresa (Roman Catholic), Bishop of Malabar, in Verapolly, Malabar, aged 63. He was born in Italy, entering the Order of Mt. Carmel, 1844; became a priest, 1846; studied in Rome for several years; was sent to Cochin China, 1854; was elevated to the bishopric, 1877, governing the Syrian Community till 1887. He was given to literary pursuits, and translated many devotional works into the vernacular, published several controversial volumes, and compiled a "History of the Progress of the Church in Malabar."

Marchal, Most Rev. J. J. (Roman Catholic), Archbishop of Bourges, in Paris, May 27, aged 70. He served as Vicar-General of Saint Die for some years; was appointed Bishop of Belley, 1875; and was enthroned Archbishop of Bourges, 1880.

Mendenhall, Rev. James W. (Methodist Episcopal), D.D. (Ohio Wesleyan University, 1884), LL.D. (McKendree College, 1888), in Chicago, June 18, aged 48. He was graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1864; entered immediately the service of the Christian Commission in Georgia and Tennessee; returned to study law; abandoned this for the ministry, joining the North Ohio Conference in 1869. He was elected a member of the General Conferences of 1884, 1888, and 1892; was urged in 1884 for the editorship of the *Western Christian Advocate*; was elected editor of the *Methodist Review*, 1888, and re-elected since. He was the author of "Echoes from Palestine," but his best and most noted book was "Plato and Paul; or, Philosophy and Christianity."

Thomas, Right Rev. Mesac (Church of England), D.D., Lord Bishop of Goulburn, New South Wales, is dead. He had been bishop twenty-eight years.

Voigt, Heinrich Johan Matthias (German Protestant), at Königsberg, June 20, aged 71. He studied at Halle, Berlin, and Göttingen; entered the pastorate, becoming ordinary Professor of Theology at Königsberg in 1864. He is the author of "The Teaching of Athanasius of Alexandria" and "Fundamental Dogmatics."

CALENDAR.

Aug. 1–12. Continuation of the Summer University at Chautauqua.

Aug. 4–15. Tenth General Conference of Christians at Northfield, Mass. In the absence of Mr. Moody the Rev. A. J. Gordon, D.D., will be the leader, and among the speakers will be the Rev. Dr. Pierson, the Rev. R. A. Torrey, and the Rev. James M. Gray. Mr. Sankey and Mr. Stebbins will have the direction of the musical services.

Aug. 8–14. Eleventh Annual Summer Meeting of Universalist Church at Weirs, Lake Winnepesaukee.

Aug. 11–19. Fifth Annual Interdenominational Bible Conference in Educational Hall, Asbury Park, N. J., under the direction of the Rev. L. W. Munhall, D.D. Among those expected to take part are: Nathaniel West, D.D., Rev. William E. Needham, Mr. Sankey, James H. Brookes, D.D., Arthur T. Pierson, D.D., Professor William G. Moorehead, D.D., Major D. W. Whittle, Rev. and Mrs. George C. Needham, Professor Luther B. Townsend, Edward P. Goodwin, D.D., William J. Erdman, D.D., and Rev. D. M. Stearns.

Aug. 16. United Presbyterian "denominational picnic" at Aliquippa Grove, Pa., on the line of the Erie Railroad.

Aug. 26. Chautauqua season closes.

Sept. Fifth General Conference of the Alliance of Reformed Churches in Toronto.

Second Convention of the International Old Catholic Congress, called by the Synodical Council of the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland.

Sept. 21 Connecticut State Universalist Convention at New Haven.

THE

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FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

THE CONVERGENCE OF DARWINISM AND THE BIBLE CONCERNING MAN AND THE SUPREME BEING.

BY WILLIAM M. HUGHES, S.T.D.

I.

IT is in no sense part of my object to assert the truth of Darwinism or the Divine authority of the Bible.

It is my purpose to show that each taken independently of the other points, though in different degrees and by quite different methods, to ultimate agreement both as to man and as to the Supreme Being.

Nor is it my purpose to assume any teleological, metaphysical, or theological basis in the interpretation of Darwinism as a theory.

Even so, it is not my purpose to discuss the Christian Scriptures from a purely scientific standpoint.

The Darwinism here mentioned is that of Mr. Darwin himself, of Mr. Huxley, Mr. Spencer.

The Bible here referred to is the Bible of the Church of Christ.

Whether Darwinism is true or not, or whether the Canonical Scriptures are verily God's Word or not, are questions well worthy of separate discussion ; but it is not intended to discuss them in this article.

It will be observed that I use the word Darwinism instead of the more general term evolution.

This also is for the sake of clearness. Evolution is too general a term for the point in view.

It may or may not include Darwinism. Darwinism is chosen because of all the various theories of evolution it is the only one that has a serious scientific standing.

As Haeckel says : "Darwinism is the only theory which *rationally* explains the origin of the species." He means, of course, that of all the various theories of evolution, Darwinism alone in his estimation has a sufficient experimental basis.

The convergence of evolution and the Bible may mean the convergence of merely *a priori* or subjective speculations with the Bible. They would be worth no more than the metaphysical basis of the first of the two factors.

But the convergence of Darwinism and the Bible would be the convergence of an immense and extending school of modern science and of the yet more immense field covered by the Christian faith.

Nor is such a convergence, if it really exists, of slight importance to both the scientific and religious world.

We may decisively dismiss Darwinism on the ground that it makes the Word of God of no avail ; or we may refuse to open the sacred writings of the early Christian era with any sense of reverence or faith, because they assert a basis of belief founded in the personal action of a supernatural power which Darwinism denies or ignores or contradicts. We may think that all who do not agree with us are either atheists or the dupes of superstition and credulity.

But there remains a vast number of thoughtful and earnest men who would find great comfort in the fact that perhaps one might be a Darwinist and yet not a contemner of Holy Writ, or a devout believer in the Bible and yet await contentedly or thankfully the further discussion in the scientific world of the validity of the Darwinian theory.

There have been and now are many Darwinians who accept Darwin's theory of the origin of the species, and yet hold to the Nicene symbol of the Christian faith, as, *e.g.*, the late Professor Asa Gray, but it is probably true that such are in the minority.

It is certainly true that the great majority of those who hold to traditional theology have come, and on very substantial grounds,

to regard the fundamental contentions of Darwinism as at hopeless, because fundamental and logical, divergence with the essential teachings of the Christian faith.

It is no less certain that not a few of the most noted and most logical of the Darwinians have taken every occasion to assent to this divergence and to push it to its extremest inferences.

It is but thirty-three years since Darwin's great work appeared.

Even the youngest of us remember with pain the course of the assumed or alleged irrepressible conflict between modern science and traditional theology which a dozen years since gave rise to many hasty and rather hysterical tourneys in the review, the lecture-room, and the pulpit; and wherein the several champions seemed more interested in the discussion of personalities than of exact facts.

Nor is this to be wondered at. Science and religion are in reality dealing with the same phenomena. Immense human and personal interests are involved in them. Neither can be discussed in the absolutely "dry light" of sheer intellectuality.

Consequences of immense import to the individual character, to the social well-being, and to eternal hopes flow directly from each.

If by scientific methods, which are plainly sound, conclusions are reached that are directly at variance with the religious faith of the vast majority, both a social and an intellectual as well as an ethical revolution is threatening.

Or if by religious methods traditions are established which deny room to the conclusions of progressive human thought, religion inevitably invites scepticism, the casting off of all traditions, and the unfortunate disdain of that which is forever true in faith.

There are not a few of us to whom our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is dearer far than the most acute thinker in the domain of human speculation or the profoundest student of the world as it is.

If it come to an attack or a logical denial of that which He is and teaches, we do not hesitate to make a personal matter of it.

If Darwinism, *e.g.*, as a system of ultimate postulates demands that we yield up the Lord of Life to be crucified afresh by the powers of this world, Darwinism, as such, will get no quarter. Getting no quarter, it will give none, and it becomes an internecine strife that knows no truce and admits no peace until the one or the other lies dead on the field of contest.

But if, as a matter of fact, such a conflict is really illogical, hasty, and essentially inimical to both modern science and to the Christian faith, then much is gained not only for peace, but still more for truth.

It is the direct object of this article to demonstrate, so far as demonstration is possible, that the theory of Darwin, instead of antagonizing, tends irresistibly to affirm the most fundamental truths of the Bible as commonly held by the so-called orthodox Christian world. Nay, more, not only to affirm, but to give them greater power.

Of course, in so short a space as this only the most condensed form of such a demonstration is possible. Still in one sense so simple is it in itself and so far is it from being difficult to grasp, that perhaps it is better not to multiply words even at the gain of covering certain minor points or forestalling critical queries.

It may not be amiss, however, to intrude a personal remark so far as to state that the conclusions here reached have been subjected, during the past eight years, to efficient criticism and repeated examinations.

II.

What, then, is Darwinism? Darwinism, in a broad sense, is a theory of the processes of nature which attempts to set forth the physical or natural causes that led to the different forms of existent life on this globe. It proceeds upon the assumption that the different and differing forms of that life now seemingly fixed in established species are not the outcome of separate and independent acts of the creative will, but that one is the outcome of the other, due to certain discoverable causes originally active in the first forms of life. These causes it divides into two groups—viz.: 1. Those due to the nature of the species or the individual itself. 2. Those external to it—its environment.

The first group involves (*a*) *the law of heredity*—"the offspring are like the parent;" (*b*) *the law of variation*—"that is, while the offspring are in all essential characteristics like their immediate progenitor, they nevertheless vary more or less within narrow limits with their parents and from each other;" (*c*) *the law of overproduction*—"that is, all plants and animals tend to increase in geometrical ratio, and therefore tend to overrun enormously the means of support." Hence arises a struggle for life. Only a few of the myriads born can possibly live.

The second group involves (*d*) *the law of*

natural selection, or the survival of the fittest. "If any individual of a given species of plant or animal happens to have a slight deviation from the normal type favorable to its success in the struggle for life, it will survive. This variation by the law of heredity will be transmitted to its offspring, and by them again to theirs. Soon these favored ones gain the ascendancy, and the less favored perish, and the modification becomes established in the species." I have purposely quoted these definitions from *What is Darwinism?* by Charles Hodge, Princeton, N. J., because the late Professor Gray, of Harvard University, writes: "Dr. Hodge's statement of it [Darwinism] cannot be very much bettered."

"Natural selection is the dominant note." Let us dwell for a moment on this point. This selection is determined solely by the relation of any variation to its environment. The variation may be absolutely, in itself, or when viewed by ultimate standards, a superior variation; but relatively it may be inferior simply because it is unfortunately related to its environment. The variation in itself is not therefore the determining factor. It may be a mere chance. It must be related in a certain way to its environment if it is to produce permanent results. Environment therefore and not variation is the true natural cause which determines the relative value of the variation. Environment is the mould, in other words, which shapes the character of the variation so far as it is possible for it ever to become the parent of a species.

Out of this relationship flows another consequence of the greatest possible use in securing a philosophical conception of these processes of nature; for by it we at once establish a general law which enables us to pronounce a verdict upon the character of both species and environment. That law is this: *Given an established species, we are at once enabled to disclose the general conditions of the environment which determined the establishment of this species.*

We are enabled to state that when such and such a form of life in nature became fixed into a species, such and such must have been the general characteristics of the environment. If, for example, in a certain *stratum* of rock we find predominant fossil remains of fish such as could live only in salt water, we are certain that its environment was of that character and of no other, and we gain certain trustworthy records of the conditions surrounding the establishment of that species of fish. But we can go further. We can pronounce upon the quality of the environment. A point is reached where we may safely assert that progress takes places in environment, that it manifests greater and greater room for greater and greater types of species.

There was a time in the natural history of vital existence on this globe when, according to Darwinism, the highest type of that existence was protoplasmic, amorphic, but yet animalistic. At that time, could we have stood without and have decided the type of environment thus disclosed and only upon such evidence, we should have been forced to say that the supremest environment then known to nature was mere animalism. It would have been impossible to declare an ultimate environment exhibiting any determining qualities of a higher character than that which was discernible in the species then existing.

But the moment higher characteristics are discoverable, that moment we must assert the previous existence in the environment of qualities wherein those higher characteristics found a congenial or favorable *habitat*. As in the history of geology, paleontology, biology, or anthropology we come across unquestionable evidences of higher types of natural forces, so must we advance our conceptions of the environments.

We thus reach a second law: *Given a knowledge of the ultimate species of any age in the world's history, and we can pronounce upon the supreme environment of that age.*

If this law works out, and according to Darwinism it must, we are in a position to assert, on purely scientific grounds, the supremest environment which can be rationally known by scientific methods *to this age*. In this way science enters into the domain of religion by its methods and on its own grounds.

Let us, then, seek to apply this law. What is the ultimate species known to this age? Of all forms of life it is agreed that man is the latest and the most complex. This is of the utmost value in securing a scientific and philosophic conception of the forces of nature. From protoplasm to thought; from stomach to mind; from amœba to man are definite steps traceable in the lapse of the ages. In all this endless, perhaps fortuitous variation in the midst of heredity and in all the struggle for existence, there is traceable an emerging series of survivals of the fittest until we reach man.

But man himself is variant. There are types of humanity. Is there a progressive survival of the fittest in these types which is prophetic of the supreme environment?

Can the student of history point out for us a particular type that in the struggle for existence is gradually supplanting all others?

We must at once drop the question of physical variations. We must, first, because the mental dominates the physical; and, secondly, because the strongest have long since yielded to the most cunning or the wisest. The elephant is superior to the man physically, but all agree that man is superior. We might go further and state it as a general law of all nature that the helpless offspring secure the most abject services of the full-grown parents—*i.e.*, that a mental quality controls physical superiority.

But we need not argue this point with a Darwinian. It would be difficult to find a better-equipped student of sociology than Mr. Herbert Spencer. With his clear grasp on the philosophical arrangement of an immense accumulation of material, and with a well-trained judgment as to the trend of these facts, he is entitled to speak with weight and authority when he chooses to speak at all with reference to the sociological development of man.

Fortunately Mr. Spencer has chosen to speak of what may be justly termed the surviving type of man. In a genial article on the Americans, *Contemporary Review*, January, 1883, the following words occur: "The truth is, there is needed a revised ideal of life. Look back through the past, or look abroad through the present, and we find the idea of life is variable, and depends on social conditions. Every one knows that to be a successful warrior was the highest aim among all ancient peoples of note, as it is still among many barbarous peoples, etc. We have changed all that in modern civilized societies, especially in England—still more in America. . . . The duty to work has taken the place of the duty to fight; and in the one case as in the other the ideal of life has become so well established that scarcely any dream of questioning it.

"Is this modern ideal to survive throughout the future? I think not; . . . may we not foresee the nature of the change? I think we may. A better ideal of life may simultaneously come to prevail. When there is fully recognized the truth that moral beauty is higher than intellectual power, when the wish to be admired is in a large measure replaced by the wish to be *loved*, that strife for distinction which the present phase of civilization shows us will be greatly moderated."

This, then, is the progressive change which Mr. Spencer believes is to be discerned—viz., that moral beauty, culminating in the desire to be loved for such moral beauty, will be the characteristic variation in the coming man, which will "survive throughout the future."

Outside of the ever-living Word of God, I do not know where a more hopeful conclusion, and a truer one, has been recorded in literature.

The regnant, surviving type of man is no longer the man of muscle; he has already given place to the man of trade; and Mr. Spencer tells us that the man of trade must yield to the man of moral beauty, whose chief aim will be to be worthily *loved*. The coming man, the ultimate type or species, is the good man. Even mere mentality must yield to an ethical force or variation.

But how good, why good? What is the particular type of moral beauty that will draw forth the world's love? Darwinism has only one method to determine this point. It is to be determined by the environment that will naturally select the variant types of goodness. Amid the sum total of the unlimited influences which go to effect the sociological development there is a general trend among the advanced races toward that which is named democracy.

Whether for good or evil, the pressure that comes from the great mass of the people is becoming more and more irresistible. We see its effects on all sides. In social life the aristocracy of birth, which is rigid and exclusive, is giving way to the aristocracy of education or wealth, which is open to all who can secure these. In political life the Czar and the Emperor are giving way to the Prime-Minister and the President. It is probable in the course of events that industrial monopolies under private management will yield to national ownership. The discoveries of science, the spread of information, and the new conditions to which they are plainly tending are producing a civilization apparently more heterogeneous, complicated, and varied and yet better organized and adapted to serve its ends than any in history. If so, it is, at least from a Spencerian standpoint, an ethically advanced civilization. It is, in short, the supremest civilization yet known. As yet it exists more as a tendency than as an accomplishment; but yet it exists so powerfully even now as to promise supremacy in the future. A word more as to this democracy. Its underlying principle is the welfare of the many. Its irresistible tide is made up of the aggregate desires, ambitions, and moral ideas of the many in mass. The

striving of democracy, whether blindly or wisely guided, that which is making it the upheaving force of modern civilization, that which attracts to it the service and the sacrifice of thousands, is the belief that it will advance beyond its present position, and more hopefully than any other social force, the well-being of the great mass of humanity. For this reason it is essentially an ethical advance. Whatever makes a demand upon us to adjust or merge our individual rights into universal duties is an ethical advance. Such, then, is the environment which, according to Darwinism, will inevitably select the type of moral goodness which Mr. Spencer prophesies. It will be the type whose goodness, whose moral conduct, will be best adjusted to the conditions established by democracy. Its differential characteristic will be the possession of an ethical standard and the practical application of it which finds its mainspring of motive in a desire to serve the many. It points to the coming man.

Watch, now, the outlines of the face which the unfaltering hand of modern thought, guided by a belief in the theory of evolution and working according to the methods of Darwinism, is inevitably, though unconsciously drawing. Watch it as it limns the salient features. It is the face of the man who best serves his fellow-men. Watch it! Whose face is emerging from the canvas? What but the very face of the one man who above all other men "gave His life a ransom for many." What but the face of Jesus Christ? Literally and truly the face of Jesus Christ! The outlines are only broadly given as yet. Many details are to be worked in; but yet the "Son of man" is there. To fill in that outline in all its marvellous beauty and force we turn to our Bibles. But the one fits with the other so far as they do touch upon common points with absolute accuracy.

If that "better ideal of life" which "may come to prevail" finds its expression, according to Mr. Spencer, in "the truth that *moral beauty* is higher than intellectual power, and when the wish to be admired is in a large measure replaced by the wish to be *loved*," then what ideal is it but the ideal taught us in our very Bibles for the past eighteen hundred years?

Darwinism and the Bible unite in one of the most important fields of truth—viz., as to what is the most advanced, the most perfect creation known to man on earth. There is, of course, this difference, the ideal of Darwinism is slowly, through many a struggle, coming to sharp and definite existence. The ideals of life have been in history "variable, dependent on social conditions." They are consequently not plain to all; only to be reached by much thought, by a prophetic grasp on the coming man, and are not, in fact, practical working ideals for the "wayfaring man."

In the Bible, in the concept of Christianity as it works itself out in the history of the faith, this ideal, however, has been sharp, clearly defined, most human and workable, so that in spite of enormous adverse environment it is getting a firmer and firmer grasp upon all the elements of modern life. Jesus Christ, as the Son of man, is the realization in past history of the highest ideals of the future; is the one man of all men in whom "*moral beauty* is higher" (or at least more salient) "than intellectual power," and whose splendid achievement is that we do not so much admire as we *love* Him.

And the question can be very fairly as well as thoughtfully put, where else but in the civilization produced by that part of the world which has accepted the ideal man of the Bible can any student detect evidences which would lead to such conclusions as those quoted from Mr. Spencer? Has not the historic ideal of the Bible made possible the scientific ideal of Darwinism?

The convergence between Darwinism and the Bible on this vital point is neither forced nor imaginary nor speculative. It is here as a fact. It only remains to make use of it. There is truth in it—a truth that may be preached. If Darwinism in its strong, broad outlines is portraying the face of Christ Jesus, so far as it touches upon His human perfection, and is really holding Him out as the ideal to be believed and followed in the future, why can we not apply St. Paul's words: "What then? Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice; yea, and will rejoice" (Phil. i. 8).

III.

As has been said, it is entirely apart from the purpose in hand to argue as to the truth of Darwinism or the Bible. It is only intended to show that, accepting them both as true, each on its own independent grounds leads to a common conclusion as to the ideal of the best human life.

What Jesus is, beyond the relations which He bears to life in this world, is a matter

of theology, and is to be dealt with solely from a supernatural basis. There is no competent explanation of the Jesus of the Bible which omits or denies His supernatural relations.

The mere facts of the case completely baffle any attempts to reduce His life to purely natural causes. One might go much farther and, relying upon the history of the past fifty-five years, affirm that it is almost, if not altogether impossible to reduce the Bible record of His life to merely natural causes. The record of the life of Jesus is an historical phenomenon which reasonable men must reasonably account for.

The attempts to do this have been so many that we are no longer left either to speculation or to *a priori* premises. After all, the historical problem of this age is to account for the Jesus of the Gospels.

This problem remains, persistent and insistent, except as we solve it on the basis of the supernatural. Every attempt to eliminate that basis has failed to withstand the assaults of a more critical examination. Strauss, Renan, and Baur, Ritschl and Harnack mark the progress of an attempt to account for the historic Christ on purely natural grounds; but it is a progress more and more toward a necessary recognition of the Divine authority of Jesus.

Accepting the solution of the problem on the basis of the Nicene Creed, supernaturalism becomes dominant, but it none the less becomes rational and necessary.

While, however, with reference to our Lord Himself we pass out of the realm of the natural into that of the supernatural, and consequently cannot introduce His environment into an argument of this sort, still we are bound to account for the "coming man" of Mr. Spencer as selected by the dominant environment and by recognized natural forces. Let us study this natural environment, taking as a basis the most highly developed species known to earth.

We do this in accordance with the law laid down on page 403: "*Given a knowledge of the ultimate species of any age in the natural history of the world, and we can pronounce upon the supreme environment of that age.*" We have been given this "knowledge." We have seen that the "better ideal of life," which is to follow preceding and less worthy ideals, will yet exhibit itself in a species of man or in a condition of organized society, wherein *moral beauty* and a desire to be "*loved*" for moral beauty will survive in the struggle and conflict of the present and future.

Slowly but surely this species of man will conquer its way. But why? Simply because it is naturally selected. Simply because in the environment which surrounds all forms of existence that variation wherein "*moral beauty*" and the desire to be "*loved*" are most developed will last longest and propagate its kind with greatest safety from destruction. It survives thus because the supreme environment is more inimical to all other forms than to this one; because it finds its own characteristics, its own nature best reflected in this. We are absolutely, then, in a position to pronounce upon the general character of the supremest environment from a purely natural standpoint. What is it? Plainly, it must be an environment whose dominant forces are forces that favor moral beauty and love, and the moral beauty and love which are practically underneath a truly democratic civilization; a moral beauty and love that find their best field in the largest exercise of unselfish helpfulness.

Now what must such a power be, so far as we can express it in terms of human speech or grasp it by means of intelligent thought?

It must be an environment wherein mere animalism, mere physical force, or mere "unconscious will" has progressed to a condition wherein "moral beauty" and "love" with an ethical motive find their "natural life" more powerfully, more persistently, and more supremely than any other of the variant forces known to natural existence.

It must also be an environment superior, as well as prior, to any individual man or families of men in whom "moral beauty" and ethical "love" are now dominant or prophetic of the coming age. Darwinism forces us to assert that this dominance is due to the fact that when this type first appeared it "survived" and became the parent of all coming good men, because the environment was already there to select it. Whatever else this supreme environment is, its dominant quality must be that wherein the ethically "loving" man shall survive all other types.

Mr. Matthew Arnold has asserted that history demands our acceptance of "a power not ourselves which makes for righteousness."

Darwinism goes still farther, and assuming the authority of science, affirms that there is a power not ourselves which makes for moral beauty culminating in love.

Yes, and more, Mr. Arnold did not say that the power which he asserts is the supremest power. It was only a powerful

stream or tendency; whereas Darwinism affirms that this power which makes for love is the supremest environment known to science.

Watch now, again, the outline which the hand of modern science is drawing of its conceptions of the supremest power in nature!

When it drew its ideal man, and stated that he is the coming man, we saw emerging in dim but definite outlines the loving lineaments of the Redeemer.

And now, in tracing its conceptions of the supremest power in nature, what do we read but another version of the supremest revelation of the Bible, "*God is love.*"*

IV.

The convergence between Darwinism and the Bible is brought out still more significantly by a careful examination of the Bible itself with reference to its definition of the Supreme Being.

Inductive theology, using as its *data* the writings of both the Old and the New Testament, asserts that God is omnipotent, omnipresent, and eternal; that He is just, holy, and perfect; that He is one, invisible, and immutable.

But this particular definition asserts a quality which is plainly intended to be decisive; the one supreme characteristic by which all other definitions are to be tested; by which the biblical concept of God is differentiated from all others; by which, in short, the ultimate teachings of the Bible concerning God are to be adjusted.

As Archdeacon Farrar says: "St. John, the last writer of the New Testament, in traversing the whole field of Christian theology sets the seal of perfection on all former doctrine."

Let us turn, then, to this logical conclusion of Darwinism as expressed in the supremacy of love founded upon moral beauty and as contained in the words of St. John, "God is love" (1 John iv. 8, 16). Let us see if, as a matter of fact, the assertion can be made good as to its being the dominant revelation of the Bible.

If, when the Church came to a complete self-consciousness of its maturest knowledge of Divine truth, it did, in fact, announce this definition of God as the decisive one, then we have also secured the proper standard by means of which we can finally compare with it the conclusions of the most modern science.

And if, as is here asserted, a clear and definite convergence is found, then all minor discrepancies lose their force as finalities.

In studying this definition of St. John we must go, of course, to the original Greek: "ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν" (*o Theos agape estin*).

The word which we have critically to examine is the word ἀγάπη.

Now there is no one English word that adequately expresses the sense of the original. Its force can hardly be given in a dozen words; and yet as the one word which is used to give the supreme definition of God, how overwhelmingly important it is!

The fact is, this word yet remains to be fully explicated even in systematic theology. Since the days of the first Christian era it has not been given its rightful supremacy from a purely literary and critical standpoint.

If its origin and subsequent history were fully unfolded from such a standpoint, it seems quite certain that a whole flood of light would be thrown upon the ethical and moral movements of the purely biblical era.

Apart from a somewhat obscure and really uncertain use of it in two or three instances in Alexandrine Greek, it belongs exclusively to the New Testament and to subsequent writings.

Its first decisive and definite use is certainly of purely Christian origin. It is a word, and a word to express a concept which Christianity has given to mankind.

Its equivalent even is not to be found in classic Greek or Latin, nor in any modern language. Its Latin translation is *amor*. Its English, both love and charity. But *amor* and love are really translations of the Greek word ἔρως, and the ethical difference between ἔρως and ἀγάπη is, in one respect, the difference between paganism and the Christianity of St. Paul or St. John. Even the English word, noble as it is, falls very far short.* Why, then, did the writers of the New Testament either coin or seize hold of a new and original substantive, when they wished to express their inspired conception of that which is greatest in the Christian faith, and then use it as the definition of God, unless it were because they

* To obviate the natural difficulty which might arise in making "love" an environment in the processes of nature, *i. e.*, speaking of it as if it were an independent phenomenon, it may be well to quote Mr. Spencer's words as to this point: "The final outcome of that speculation commenced by the primitive man is that the power manifested throughout the universe distinguished as material is the same power in ourselves which wells up under the form of consciousness," and which, we add here, is specialized in that emotion called love.

* Modern writers of the scientific school have coined and made somewhat current the word *altruism* in order to express their conception of the noblest ethical force in sociological development. It is significant that this word expresses more accurately than any other the germ thought in *agape*.

were bent on teaching the world a truth revealed to them which no substantive then in existence could be made to convey?

But not only is this word *agape* in its definite use a New Testament word, it has also a history in its use there which should be traced. It is a word which plainly grew in significance and supremacy with the increased experience of the apostolic age. Its overwhelming and overshadowing emphasis appears in the latest writings of St. John. It is not found at all in St. Mark, and once only, and that with no especial significance, in St. Matthew (xxiv. 12) and St. Luke (xi. 42).

Is there not in this fact a most cogent proof from a purely literary standpoint that the three synoptic Gospels belong, as tradition declares, to the earliest apostolic age?

It is not at all difficult to detect the writer in whom this word *agape*, with its corresponding concept, became the one word most expressive of the mind and life of Christ, the one great word of the Gospel, the one great aim of the revealed truth of God.

We can trace its distinct use in St. Paul's writings, which come between the first three Gospels and the last one, up to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, where a whole chapter—the thirteenth—is devoted to it, and wherein its final and utter supremacy over all other Christian graces is expressed in words that burn with the fire of intense conviction: "And now abide faith, hope, charity (*agape*), but the greatest of these is charity."

And, again, he urges: "Διώκετε τὴν ἀγάπην"—pursue after love, make ἀγάπη your chief object as Christians. The writings of St. Peter, too, contain such words as these: "More than all else have fervent charity (ἀγάπη), . . . for charity shall cover a multitude of sins." St. Jude adds as the final word of direction to the saints: "Keep yourselves in the love (αγάπη) of God."

And when we turn to the last of the New Testament writers, we plainly see that this word and the corresponding conception had become the dominant and decisive note of the revealed truth of God. When, then, he would sum up in one word his supreme and final, his dominant definition of God, what was left him but to use the greatest of all Christian words, the sublimest of all Christian thoughts, and write: ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν, *God is love.*

And what wonder if, when science approaches the great inquiry into the supreme power that is to-day shaping the destiny of all men, she also begins to spell out in increasing reverence and joy the same supreme fact, "The power that environs all is love"?

THE ALLIANCE OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.*

BY THE REV. WILLIAM H. ROBERTS, D.D.

The Fifth General Council of the "Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian System," will be held in Toronto, Canada, September of this present year. The opening sermon will be preached by the Rev. William Caven, D.D., Principal of Knox College, at 11 A.M., on September 21st, in St. James Square Presbyterian Church. Under the arrangements made for the Council the programme cannot as yet be published, but the list of topics and of speakers from both the Old and the New Worlds make certain a meeting of great interest and of momentous influence upon the work of the Alliance.

The number of Church organizations maintaining the Presbyterian system of doctrine, polity, and worship is much greater than is commonly thought, and their strength in various portions of the globe, as a rule, is much underestimated by the general public. The number of Presbyterian denominations at present in existence on the five continents is eighty-one, and the more important of them, with few exceptions, have entered into an alliance under the title of "The Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian System." This Alliance was suggested first by the Rev. Dr. James McCosh, in 1870, and was formally organized at London, England, in 1875. The preamble of the constitution indicates the ends sought through organization, and is as follows:

"*Whereas*, churches holding the Reformed Faith, and organized on Presbyterian principles, are found, though under a variety of names, in different parts of the world;

"*Whereas*, Many of these were wont to maintain close relations, but are at present united by no visible bond, whether of fellowship or of work;

"And, *whereas*, in the Providence of God,

* For fuller information, see article in Hays' "Presbyterians," pp. 511–536, 8vo. New York: J. A. Hill & Co., 1892.

the time seems to have come when they may all more fully manifest their essential oneness, have closer communion with each other, and promote great causes by joint action; it is agreed to form a Presbyterian Alliance, to meet in general council from time to time, in order to confer on matters of common interest, and to further the ends for which the Church has been constituted by her Divine Lord and only King. In forming this Alliance, the Presbyterian churches do not mean to change their fraternal relations with other churches, but will be ready, as heretofore, to join with them in Christian fellowship, and in advancing the cause of the Redeemer, on the general principle maintained and taught in the Reformed Confessions, that the Church of God on earth, though composed of many members, is one body in the communion of the Holy Ghost, of which body Christ is the Supreme Head, and the Scriptures alone are the infallible law." As this indicates, the object of the Alliance concisely stated is "co-operation without incorporation."

The first Council of the Alliance was held at Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1877; the second at Philadelphia, Pa., in 1880; the third at Belfast, Ireland, in 1884; the fourth at London, England, in 1888; and the fifth will meet as above stated, this year, at Toronto, Canada. The organization includes the churches known as the Reformed churches as well as those distinctly claiming the name Presbyterian. The Reformed churches of France and of Hungary, for instance, though not Presbyterian in name are thoroughly so in organization, and maintain steadfastly the great doctrines of grace sometimes called the Calvinistic and sometimes the Augustinian system of doctrine. The preceding statement is also true of the Evangelical churches of Belgium, of Greece, of Switzerland, of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church in Wales and in the United States, and of the Waldensian and the free churches of Italy.

The outlook for the growth of the Presbyterian churches is most encouraging, and their prosperity in many lands, notably Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, is marked. The churches needing special effort and prayer are those upon the European Continent, some of them in connection with the State, and as a result struggling under the difficulties and burdens which affect purity of doctrine and check energy of Christian life wherever the State authoritatively controls the Church. The ideal church must always be a free church in a free State, acknowledging Christ alone as King, and obedient to His laws. This principle, enunciated by Knox and maintained resolutely by all the Scotch and American churches, is now one of the controlling principles of the great majority of Presbyterian organizations, and should be accepted and acted upon by all of them.

For convenience in the administration of its affairs the Presbyterian Alliance is divided into two sections, the Eastern and the Western Section, the one with headquarters in London, the other with headquarters in New York. The President of the Alliance is the Rev. W. G. Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., of Edinburgh, Scotland; the General Secretary is the Rev. George D. Mathews, D.D., and the General Treasurer, Mr. R. T. Trumbull, both residents of London, England. The officers of the Western Section are: Chairman, the Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D.D., of New York; Secretary, Rev. William H. Roberts, D.D., LL.D., of Cincinnati, O.; Treasurer, George Junkin, Esq., LL.D., of Philadelphia, Pa. The organ of the Alliance is called the *Quarterly Register*, issued as its title indicates every three months, and giving full information respecting all work proposed or accomplished. In addition to the *Quarterly Register*, four large volumes of the Proceedings of the Councils have been issued, which contain an immense mass of material connected with the history and work of the several churches, and which are invaluable to all who desire to become familiar with the great evangelistic and educational movements, which have always been distinctive features of the work of the denominations connected with the Presbyterian Communion.

The following statistical table indicates in a concise manner the strength of the Presbyterian and Reformed churches in the several countries where they are found:

COMMUNICANTS AND ADHERENTS, 1892.

(Includes the Dutch and German Reformed Churches.)

Countries.	Communicants.	Adherents.
Great Britain:		
Scotland	1,110,000	3,500,000
England	67,000	240,000
Wales	143,000	400,000
Ireland	115,000	400,000
Europe:		
Austria Proper	.....	15,000
Bohemia	.....	70,000
Moravia	.....	40,000
Hungary	.....	2,100,000
Belgium	7,000	25,000
France	.....	850,000
Germany	.....	1,300,000
Holland	.....	2,500,000

Countries.	Communicants.	Adherents.
Italy	20,000	70,000
Poland (Russia)	7,000	20,000
Spain	1,500	5,000
Switzerland	.....	1,700,000
America :		
United States	1,650,000	5,700,000
Canada	170,000	600,000
West Indies	11,000	40,000
Mexico and Central America	6,250	20,000
South America	7,500	20,000
Africa	140,000	400,000
Asia :		
Japan	9,000	25,000
Persia	2,269	6,000
Colonial Churches and Missions	23,000	300,000
Australia :		
Australia	35,000	120,000
New Zealand, etc	23,000	70,000
Total		20,536,000

THE TEACHING OF OUR LORD AS TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE RIGHT REV. C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

From *The Expository Times* (Edinburgh), March, 1892.

II.

The Two Theories.

We now enter definitely into a full consideration of those statements as to the Old Testament which are regarded by foreign writers of eminence and learning as fully established by modern criticism ; and which, further, are said to be very generally admitted by writers and scholars who have made the nature and composition of the Old Testament their especial study.

We may ourselves admit, at the very outset, that there is an amount of accordance between foreign scholars and critics as to the general structure of the earlier books of Holy Scripture, and even to some of the more important details, considerably beyond what we might have expected, when the differences of the points of view of the writers are properly taken into account. It is startling, for instance, to find a venerated writer like the late Dr. Delitzsch in accordance with Professor Wellhausen in many essential matters connected with the Book of Genesis, and to find coincidences of opinion in regard of some of the characteristics of the Pentateuch between writers as divergent from one another in theological principles as Dr. Dillmann of Berlin and Professor Kuenen of Leyden.

But we must not be unduly led away by these accordances. In the first place, we have to deal with men who have many psychological characteristics in common—great industry, unexampled patience in sorting entangled facts, singular insight into the true adjustment of complicated details ; but, with all this, a rashness and precipitancy in conclusion, and, not unfrequently, a very discernible want of proportion in their setting forth of results and ultimate principles. If it be not insular prejudice to say so, we can hardly fail to recognise the absence of that cool common-sense which, in subjects such as those we are now considering, is a gift, a veritable *charisma*, which can never be dispensed with ; and without which no amount of industry, no accumulations of learning, will ever ensure trustworthiness, or even verisimilitude, in the results ultimately arrived at.

In the next place, this must not be forgotten,—that there is a fascination in these investigations, in these excursions into the unknown, which exercises a very powerful influence over those who, from any reason, enter into them. It may seem to be due to the simple desire of arriving at truth ; but only too often, if an honest analysis of mental motive be made, it will be found that the attractiveness of theory-making, and of forming some consistent view of perplexing phenomena, will account for much of the sort of contagious interest that is felt in Old Testament analysis, and will explain the confidence that is felt in the development of this speculative criticism. It certainly was so, some three-quarters of a century ago, when the origination of the Four Gospels was a subject of the theological activity of the time. Sober writers were led into the most elaborate schemes of Gospel construction. Coincidences of opinion were found among scholars of very different theological views ; agreement was almost arrived at as to what was to be deemed the aboriginal Gospel, just as now we are assured, in regard of the Pentateuch, that the primal document—the "Source" as it is termed by Wellhausen—is a discovery of modern biblical analysis about which no reasonable doubt can be entertained.

We must then certainly not place too much reliance on the alleged agreement of leading critics and scholars as to the composition of the early Books of the Old Testament ; and most certainly we may pay little heed to the assurance of a recent writer* on this subject, that the modern

**Lux Mundi*, p. 357.

development of historical criticism is reaching results as sure, where it is fairly used, as scientific inquiry.

But it will be well now to enter into details, and to proceed to place these alleged certitudes in contrast with that Traditional view of the characteristics and composition of the Old Testament which, with some modifications, has existed for two-and-twenty centuries; and which, we may very confidently say, will substantially remain to the end. Modifications there may be. Each age as it passes suggests, it may be, some rectifications. Each period of controversy like the present necessitates a closer study, both of matter and of language, and consequently a clearer perception of those details in which surer knowledge enables us to introduce rectifications and corrections. These modifications we may expect, but subversive changes in the estimate of the true nature of Holy Scripture, such as those which we are now invited to accept, will never enter into the *credenda* of the Catholic Church.

We begin, then, by defining what we mean by the term that we are using,—the Traditional view of the Old Testament. We mean that view of the contents, their authorship, and their trustworthiness, that prevailed in the Jewish Church after the final formation of the Canon of the Old Testament,—that is clearly to be recognised in the New Testament,—and has continued in the Christian Church, with but little substantial modification, to this nineteenth century of salvation. Now, however, in the closing years of this century, we are told that this view must, to a great extent, be given up. We are, in fact, called upon to set aside the greater part of the beliefs of the past, and to see in the Old Testament a collection of ancient documents, many of highly composite structure, which came consecutively into existence centuries later than when they have been supposed to have been written; and which, after various re-editings and redactions, only received the form in which now we possess them, in the later, if not the latest, period of the Exile.

What general answer have we to make to these startling demands? Well, to begin with, certainly this,—that the view that we are thus somewhat summarily called upon to dismiss may in substance be recognised as dating from the time of the Apocrypha. We find in the writings of that period not only the same recognised divisions that were current in the days of our Lord, but a deliberate ascription of sacredness to the ancient books, and especially to the Mosaic Law and to its author, into whose soul Wisdom herself vouchsafed to enter. The Books of the Old Testament were apparently ascribed, as we now ascribe them, to prophets,—the term prophets in the Apocrypha being applied not only to men who "showed what should come to pass," and who spake "from the mouth of the Lord," but who were guided by His Spirit, and ranked with the "friends of God."

We may recognise substantially the same views in Philo, though in a more exaggerated form. With him the Old Testament is ever regarded as one divine whole, breathed through by the Spirit of God, one inseparably connected holy Word, of which the Pentateuch is to be accounted the crown and the glory. The same views are expressed by Josephus, though in more restrained and moderate terms. He too regards the sacred Scriptures as a divine whole. They were written by a succession of prophets, the greatest of whom was the inspired writer of the Pentateuch,—true prophets, yet with separate gifts,—some writing under immediate inspiration from God, others only truthfully and faithfully recording the events of their own times, though never without some measures of divine guidance and direction.

Such generally were the views entertained in the Jewish Church after the formation of the canon of the Old Testament; such the views in the time of our Lord; and such, though not without various modifications in detail, the views entertained by the early writers in the Christian Church, the Eastern Church involving more of the speculative element, the Western more of the formulated and traditional. The broad principles that were maintained were the harmony of the teaching of the writers of the Old Testament, the organic unity of the two Testaments, the self-sufficiency of Scripture for the setting forth of truth, and its blessed and plenary perfection. It is only in heretical writings, and particularly in the Clementine Homilies, that we find any traces of that kind of criticism of the Old Testament with which this nineteenth century has made us so painfully familiar. Even from early days controversy has prevailed in regard of the nature of the inspiration and the infallibility of Holy Scripture, but it is only in the last hundred and forty years, and particularly in the last quarter of a century, that the broad principles of the Traditional view have been deliberately and even contemptuously flung aside, and the genuineness, integrity, and

trustworthiness of the Old Testament impugned and traversed by the industrious ingenuity and really limitless assumptions of modern analysis.

This destructive criticism has, however, not been without its uses. It has at last compelled us to study more diligently and systematically the Old Testament. For a very long period the critical study of the Old Testament has been comparatively neglected by biblical scholars. The Hebrew language has to a great extent dropped out of the curriculum of modern theology; the critical questions that have been now brought to the front by men of singular acumen, as well as of untiring industry, come upon us with a kind of startling novelty; and we find ourselves, as it were, taken by surprise, and brought suddenly face to face with questions pressed upon us by experts, to which we are uneasily conscious that we can give no answers that can stand five minutes of steady criticism.

This state of things is, however, passing away. We are at length beginning to realize the gravity of the present state of the Old Testament controversy. The Traditional views are being re-examined under the light of modern discoveries; and efforts are beginning to be made fairly to put in contrast that inspired and trustworthy record of the past bearing the name of the Old Testament, and sealed with a belief of more than two thousand years in its genuineness and integrity, with that strange conglomerate of myth, legend, fabrication, idealised narrative, falsified history, dramatised fable, and after-event prophecy to which modern critical analysis has sought to reduce that which our Church, day by day, calls the "most Holy Word" of Almighty God.

Such a contrast we are now endeavouring to make,—a contrast which it is believed will in itself go far to reassure the perplexed and the doubtful, and will show what we must term the dangerous credulity of those who are advising us, for the sake of the shaken faith of young men at our Universities, to accept the leading conclusions of this revolutionary analysis. To strive to help failing faith is a noble endeavour, but there are limits to the extent to which that help is to be carried. Are we to have no thought for the countless numbers of those simple trustful believers who, in the language of a modern poet, are leading "lives of melodious days," because clinging to the old faith, and accepting what Apostles and Evangelists, yea, and the dear Lord Himself, have expressly guaranteed to them? Are these babes in Christ to be forgotten? Are good and earnest men to be so over-eager for the comparatively few, as to lose sight of those whose very salvation may be endangered by this precipitancy of literary credulity?

At any rate, let us make our contrast. Let us state succinctly on the one side what we have termed the rectified Traditional view of the composition and authorship of the Old Testament, and, on the other side, the modern Analytical view; and then, further, those modifications of it which English Churchmen of earnestness and piety advise us to accept as helpful to weakened faith, and as that which, to use the words of one of these writers, may "legitimately and without real loss be conceded."* Conceded, and to whom? To Edward Reuss and to Graf, to Kuenen and to Wellhausen, and to their followers in this country who adopt, in a greater or less degree, their conclusions. When the contrast has been completed, we will, without entering into any technicalities, let common sense be brought to bear upon the contrast, and endeavor to make a rough but equitable estimate of the preponderance of the probability which the Traditional view may claim over the Analytical view, and the real insufficiency of the arguments on which this latter view appears principally to rely. This done, we will then make our appeal to far higher and more conclusive authority.

JOHN KNOX: IN A SERIES OF HISTORICAL SONNETS.

BY JOHN STUART BLACKIE, LL.D.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), August, 1892.

After Wallace and Bruce and their brave compeers, Scotland owes her character for manly self-reliance and independence to no name more than that of John Knox. And yet it is to be feared that his name, after the lapse of centuries, is not so potent now to stir the Scottish heart as the name of the great patriot who stained the stream of the Forth with English blood in the reign of the first Edward, and the royal soldiers who drove the second Edward in hasty flight from the little burn of Bannock to beyond the Tweed. Why is this? There are causes which have operated strongly, and more strongly with the years, to defraud of its due supremacy in the Scottish mind the name of John Knox. The first is religion,

* *Lux Mundi*, p. 362.

than which, where it does not succeed in being the key-stone of national unity, no cause acts more powerfully in distorting the features of the noblest characters, and clouding the aspect of their brightest deeds. Though the great heart of the Scottish people in the sixteenth century was decidedly Presbyterian in polity and anti sacerdotal in principle, there were not a few persons in the upper classes who favored Episcopacy as a sort of ecclesiastical aristocracy, and who were more ready sometimes to shake hands with a Roman Pope than with a Scottish Presbyterian. In the age when the courage and intelligence of Knox, in the face of all danger, freed them from the yoke of sacerdotal dominion, these ecclesiastical aristocrats were few, and their principles did not loom largely in the public eye; but as the years advanced, and the Stuarts, both in Scotland and England, showed a decided tendency to mould Scotland on the Episcopal type, it became more and more fashionable for the hunters after Court favour and their servile followers to speak disparagingly of the great apostle of Scottish Protestantism, and to refuse the reverence that was naturally due to him as the Luther of the Scottish Reformation and the liberator of the nation from the tyranny of a foreign priesthood. In the next century, when the Stuart kings had paid the penalty of this unholy alliance of bishop and king to crush the last remnant of free Bible study in Presbyterian Scotland, an enemy of a very different description appeared, working in the same direction with very different weapons. This was the literary men in the flat age of the Georges, with no sympathy for religious heroism in any shape, and with whom it was a sufficient reason for ignoring Knox that he was possessed of a sacred earnestness which made him a Scottish representative of St. Paul, and a popular power which made him as much a sacred name in Scotland as Luther was in Germany. Add to this cooling process of a heartless philosophy, such as that of Hume, the sympathy which a certain class of literary sentimentalists naturally felt for the unfortunate Mary—the wrong woman certainly in the wrong place—and you will see at a glance how it was that our great religious reformer was gradually shorn, at least in certain influential quarters, of his true representative honour; for that he is a typical Scot, in his independence of mind and his sacred fervour, his intelligent piety and his manly courage, there cannot be a moment's doubt. A third cause which contributed not a little to the depreciation of this truly great representative man was the sad fact that in Scottish schools and universities, where the hopeful youth of the nation were painfully crammed with a formal array of grammatical rules about Latin and Greek, anything like a patriotic inculcation of national history was not to be found. In the faculty of Arts, history in general, and specially Scottish history, is a blank; historical memory died out; and in the minds of our educated Scotsmen, the curious fancies or the soulless science of the present, usurped the place which in all systems of national education properly belongs to the inspiring memories of the past; and, to crown all, from the degradation into which the Scottish University teaching had fallen from the neglect of the middle schools, young men of the best hope and promise were sent, in increasing troops, to Eton and Oxford, whence, after a due course of Episcopal indoctrination, they returned to their native country, venting a sceptical sneer at Jenny Geddes and her Presbyterian stool as a myth, and John Knox, with his manly firmness in face of the seductive smiles and pitiful tears of a crowned beauty, as a savage and a barbarian. Such is history: here a glorified record more truthful than the true, there a flaunting robe of lies covering the wretched fragment of a fact.

Knox was born in the year 1505, twenty-two years after Luther saw the light in Germany, and just in time to receive as a young man of twelve a baptism of fire from the theses which the great Saxon Reformer kindled at Wittemberg in the year of grace 1517. The exact place of his birth was long debated between the village of Gifford, a few miles south-east of Haddington, and the town of Haddington itself, at a house near the Gifford gate, the locality now supported by the most recent authorities.* This, of course, is assumed in the following verses:

I. Birth.

Praise me no battles, blood shed from the greed
  Of subject lands grasped by rapacious hands!
One fight there is that serves our noblest need,
  His for free manhood's right who stoutly stands,
By threats undaunted, unseduced by smiles:
  Thy praise, brave Knox, who for our human right
To be ourselves feared not the treacherous wiles
  Of priestly craft, or despots' lawless might,
Firm as a mountain pine that to the sun
  Flings forth its branches and defies the storm!
  Let others gaze at Roman piles enorm,
Hold of proud Cæsars, I to Haddington
  Prefer my steps, his cradle and his home

* See the article "Gifford" in the "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland." 1886.

Who burst the hated bonds that bound free souls
to Rome.

Knox, as a young man, had the advantage of a liberal education, the best the age could furnish, in languages, philosophy, and theology, under a well-known Professor Mair, or Major, in the University of Glasgow. After finishing his student career there, he delivered public lectures in the University, and at the perfect age of twenty-five years, or a little before it, took orders as a priest. Being touched, however, by the noble moral contagion of the age, and feeling strongly the rottenness of the Church at that date, he did not enter into the active service of the Church, but contented himself with the useful, though less ambitious, work of acting as a teacher to young men preparing for the University. In this capacity his two principal patrons were Douglas of Longniddrie and Cockburn of Ormiston, well-known stations in the vicinity of Haddington; and after some years he removed with his youthful charge to St. Andrews. He was thirty-seven years old when he made an open profession of Protestantism. In May 1546, Cardinal Beaton, the haughty lord of the castle whose ruins are still seen on the north cliff at St. Andrews, and who, in the name of the Pope as God's vicegerent, had murdered Hamilton and Wishart, was paid back in his own coin, and assassinated by stout men who did not acknowledge the right of an insolent priest, at Rome or St. Andrews, to commit wholesale murder of all men who preferred to hear the gospel of peace direct from the mouth of the Saviour than as translated and perverted through the mouth of a self authorised interpreter. Knox was now safe to take up a residence with his pupils within the very walls which had so long hung up sentence of outlawry and treason on all who were guilty of the crime of reading the Bible otherwise than as interpreted by Rome, and praying to the Father of spirits in direct spiritual communion without the intervention of priests. To this early stage of our Reformer's life, before he appeared as a recognised evangelist of the reformed faith, and when Scottish Protestantism was fermenting silently on the memory of Hamilton and Wishart, rather than shouting loudly in the thunder-voice of Knox himself, the following sonnet refers:

II. St. Andrews.

All hail, St. Andrews! Andrew gave thy name,
But Knox, and Wishart, and young Hamilton
stamped
Thy fame on Scottish hearts. When Popery
ramped
Rude o'er the land, loud-glorying in her shame,
Tracking her path in blood, then had we been
Slaves to the fancies of a prideful fool
Beyond the Alps, had not these three foreseen
The coming curse, and hurled the Romish rule
From Scottish hearts; brave hearts, who, when
the fire
Of priestly hate enswathed our martyred youth,
Uprose in tempest of indignant ire
Against the murderous crew, who for God's
truth
Sold lies, and in the holiest of names
Gave Scotland's holiest manhood to the flames.

Patrick Hamilton, our proto-martyr to Protestantism, born just a year before Knox, had sealed his testimony by his death of fire and fagot in the year 1528; and Wishart, the next precursor of our thundering Jove of ecclesiastical reform, shared his fate in the year 1546, shortly before the bloody Cardinal's death. These dates will show that Knox's separation from the then Mother Church of Christendom was no sudden flash of conviction, such as tells dramatically in the life of not a few famous apostles of Christian truth, but a gradual growth from the seed sown by his martyr predecessors. It was not till the year 1547 that he accepted a formal call to be the minister of the congregation of the church of the garrison at St. Andrews, at the time when, after the death of the bloody Cardinal, he and other men marked for martyrdom by the dominant Church found a refuge in the castle of their assassinated persecutor. To this comparatively late date of his public appearance among the expectant martyrs of the age the following sonnet refers:

III. St. Andrews.

Slow was thy growth—all goodliest growth is
slow—
Thou noble Knox! Let fools despise thee; I
Am what I am from thee, and boast to know
The fountainhead that, when the land was
dry,
Flowed forth from Knox, and to a mighty
stream
Of fruitful breadth outspread. Him Wishart
first
Touched with divine contagion to redeem
His soul from bonds of priest-made law, and
thirst
For strength direct from Christ's free quickening grace;
Thence stage by stage he grew, till in yon
tower
That tops the cliff he saw Christ face to face,
And his whole manhood swelled with re-born
power;
And as when Jove makes clear the sultry air,
He thundered, and all felt a voice from God was
there."

But the extreme modesty and self dis-

trust which he displayed when first invited to come forward as a public preacher in the garrison church, as given in McCrie's "Life" (Period II.), deserves special commemoration, and here I give it in verse :

IV. St. Andrews.

No babbler he, with eager lust to show
His might of speech, like some loud-thundering Jove,
Before admiring men, who hotly strove
In holy war against the Romish foe
To make him captain of the preaching clan ;
But he, with drooping head and reverence low,
While down his cheeks the hot tears freely ran,
To their beseechment answered sadly, No !
Then home he went ; and in his private cell
He prayed and wept, and wept and prayed again,
Till to his heart a voice came, strong to quell
All doubtful fears, and pleasure bring from pain :
"Go forth ! and I, who went with Paul, will go
With thee, and lay the prideful Pontiff low."

Only taken along with this incident will the electric power of the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* in Knox be properly understood. With the greatest minds strength grows out of weakness, as the huge tree out of the little seed.

Of all the incidents in the Scottish Reformer's life, the one which to me decidedly stamps him as a great man is that which, in the eyes of no small number of his depreciators, is put forward in the front of his offences—viz., his behaviour to Queen Mary. During the long period that elapsed between his deportation in the French galleys in 1547, and the formal entrance of the young Queen into her Scottish capital, in the year 1561, Knox, a homeless wanderer from place to place in France, in Germany, in England, and in Switzerland, had ample opportunity of knowing what were the intentions and the plans of the great Popish party with regard to Protestantism. They had bound themselves by an oath, and on their own sacerdotal principles were bound to bind themselves, to leave no stone unturned to root out what they deemed the most damnable of all heresies. With whatever pious horror the conservators of the public health would look on a druggist who systematically sold arsenic for medicine, with the same justifiable vengeance were the bearers of a divine commission for the salvation of souls bound to persecute and to hound to the death a form of Christian faith which, in their opinion, poisoned the soul and led to the perdition of those who entertained it. On these principles of masterful sacerdotalism, coupled with a belief, universal in that age, that Church and State were one, and that wherever the Church lifted its voice to curse the State must lift its arm to strike, the fair young Frenchified Queen entered, and could not but enter on her sphere of social action in Scotland as a God commissioned agent to do everything in her power to wash her subjects clean from the taint of such a damnable heresy ; and, though she had sense enough to keep her intentions at first as much as possible in the background, yet they were certainly there, rooted as firmly in her nature as the graceful birch-tree in the hard granite rock, and only the more dangerous because masked for a season, and trusting rather to the charms of a seductive smile and a fair face, the special armour of her sex, than to the sword of sharpness and the hangman's rope, which, as a last resort, she was entitled to use. Knox knew this, and, like every brave man, appeared before the lady armed with that freedom of speech which belongs to the true prophet, and that manly courage of the Christian soldier when called on to contend with what St. Paul calls principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places. And this is what the calumniators of our great apostle of religious freedom call rudeness ; on which it is enough to remark that there is not a prophet in the Old Testament, nor an apostle in the New, that might not be denounced on similar grounds as rude and unmannerly with equal justice. The details of Mary's intercourse with Knox will be found in McCrie (Period VII.). Their general type and character we attempt to give thus :

V. Edinburgh and Queen Mary.

Well spoken, Knox ! A woman's pleasing face
Hath conquered many, but not moveth thee ;
Sooner may Jove from rebel Titans flee
Than thou from God's truth make a backward pace
To win a woman's smile. A woman, yea,
A queen, a lovely queen, a lady crowned
With beauty more than jewels, and cinctured round
With pomp of courtly splendour, strong to sway
The stoutest heart. But not of courtly stuff
John Knox was made, with smooth discourse to glide
Into a woman's honey-grace, and hide
Stern truth from men, because its touch is rough
To dainty souls. "I dare not shape," quoth he,
"My tongue to lies ; God's truth I leave with thee !"

Another grave impeachment of our brave Protester comes from the æsthetical side, to the effect that, as a perfect Vandal, he pulled down recklessly the walls of the most beautiful temples for divine worship, and trampled their graceful decorations in the dust. These accusers forget two things : first, in the moral world, as in the physical, at recurrent periods, tempests and earth-

quakes arise, which will do their rough work in spite of all that dainty spectators may say; and again, that, though images in themselves carry no harm, and in these days of enlarged intelligence may be tolerated and enjoyed in all churches, whether Protestant or Popish, in those unreformed days they were so intimately connected with superstitious imaginations and debasing ceremonial that their disappearance under the rough hand of popular wrath did a moral good which largely outweighed their æsthetical harm. The student of history will search in vain for any proof that Knox gave any formal command for these violent outbursts; only, as a philosopher, in the circumstances he might well have made the pleasant remark, that in some cases "to pull down the rookery is the best way to get rid of the rooks."

VI. and VII. Perth.

Fair city where the regal rolling Tay
Invests the broad skirts of thy meadow green,
And, northward far, huge Bens in grand array
Look on the fruitful splendour of the scene,
I love thee well; for here much love to me
Flowed from friends worthy of so fair a home;
But chiefly in thy storied streets I see
Brave Knox, who shook the pride of purple Rome
With thunder voice in thee! "Deem not," he said,
"God is a juggler to turn blood to wine
By mummery of words, or flesh to bread;
Nor that dumb idols in a painted shrine
Can help thy need. Pray to the living God,
Who smites the proud, and lifts the lowly from the sod."

He spoke, and every heart beat with a new
Pulse of long palsied truth. Him to defy,
A hooded monk a gilded curtain drew
From the shrine's face, and to the general eye
A pomp of jewelled images displayed
Uprose a boy, and, as brave boys will do,
A pointed stone flung at the gay parade;
And forthwith stone on stone, with loud halloo,
Flew from the fevered throng; and, like a troop
Of soldiers eager for a glittering prize,
With vengeful glare and with unsparing swoop,
They stormed the shrine. "Not wise," said Knox, "not wise
Was this wild rush; but when the rooks no home
Can find in Perth, one waits for them in Rome!"

One main cause of the disparagement of our great Reformer, as hinted above, is the matter of Church government, the antagonism of Episcopacy and Presbytery, which unfortunately in Scotland, in not a few districts, separates classes which in a healthy state of the body social ought to act harmoniously together. Of course all questions relating merely to the form of Church government are secondary matters, not in any wise affecting the vitals of the Christian Church as the great divinely appointed instrument of social regeneration; and in the mortal struggle which Luther initiated in Germany to free the Christian conscience from the arbitrary despotism of the Pope, bishop and presbyter had a common interest to assert the rights of the individual conscience in contest with sacerdotal infallibility. The appeal to the Bible, as the religion of Protestants, of course led Knox and other protesters to examine carefully what indications might lie in the written word in favour of an aristocratic government of the Church by gradations of rank, or of a democratic form on the principle of equality; and as the indications of apostolic practice in this matter are few, and by no means laid down in an imperative form, Knox had a full right to conclude from the language of St. Paul in his Epistle to Titus (i. 5–7) that bishop and presbyter were only different names for the same functionary. The other party had an equal right to plead the long succession of the three orders of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, both in the Greek and the Latin Church, through a period of nearly 1500 years, to the age of the great Saxon Reformer. So far, with reasonable judges, there could be no offence. There is no reason to suppose that Knox was opposed to Episcopacy absolutely as a matter of principle, but he certainly rather inclined to Presbytery; and if he did on some occasions express himself strongly against the aristocratic side of the question, it was because Episcopacy in those times was supported not always from any conscientious conviction of its divine right, but from a desire to keep the bishoprics and their revenues in the hands of certain influential persons for their own selfish purposes, to the great detriment of the Church and the educational establishments of a Presbyterian country. How deeply this was felt by the Church is evident from the resolutions passed by the Assembly at Perth in 1572; and if Knox, in face of this ignoble conduct in a worldly-minded nobility, might have been tempted occasionally to use severe language against the whole system of the three orders, nothing could be more pardonable. You wish bishops, he naturally said, to use their revenues for yourselves, and their names to give a fair colour to your despotism; we would rather abolish them altogether as a punishment for your servility, and as a fund for such necessary expenses as belong to a reformed Church and school establishment. Some outbreak of this kind, natural to his noble mind, when brought face to face with such

baseness and selfishness in high places, I have endeavoured to express as follows :

VIII. Bishops or Presbyters.

Bishops and priests ! No, no ! I choose to stand
On brotherhood of equal man with man,
Like holy Paul, what time he gave command
To the brave elders of the Gospel clan
In great Diana's city to pursue
Their work with godly care.* Nor Pope I find,
Nor bishop there ; and to his pattern true
I shape my doing ; not to pomp inclined
Of mitred heads and flaunting skirts, to catch
The gaze of gaping fools, and where I go
Behind my prideful coming to attach
An idle rabble itching for a show.
God's truth shines like the sun that rules the day,
And scorns all gilded trappings for display.

Such an indignant burst of what now, in this hour of quiet retrospection, we might call extreme ecclesiastical democracy or radicalism, was greatly justified in the days of Knox, by what bishops had done in past times, and were doing then, and were forward to do in the century immediately following, when, in significant approval of King James's motto, "No bishop, no king," they lent themselves to stamp the name of God on the infamous conspiracy of the Stuarts to crush freedom of conscience, and to persecute with sword and fagot and the hangman's rope all the noblest manhood and the purest saintship of our country.

One scene remains ; his death. Tossed through a stormy life at home and abroad, with sorrows of heart that touched him more than any mere bodily privations in French galleys or elsewhere, he had, shortly before his death in the year 1570, a smart shock of apoplexy, which left him a weakened man. He lived to hear the murderous news of the massacre of the Protestants in France on St. Bartholomew's Day ; and after beholding James Lawson, sub-principal in the University of Aberdeen, nominated as his successor in the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, on November 26th, 1572, he resigned his breath into the hands of his Creator at the age of sixty-seven years.

IX. Death.

Weary and worn and willing to depart,
But worn, thank God, with worthy work, I lie,
With one warm prayer breathed from my failing heart,
That as I lived and strove, so may I die
For Scotland's good. When prince and priest combined
To mar her Gospel march, and choke her breath,
I thank His grace who mailed my purposed mind
With manful faith that takes the sting from death
And now farewell, land of my love ; for thee
A troubled time I see, and may not hide,
Faction and feud, and dark conspiracy,
Hatred and lies, and battle's bloody tide ;
But fear them not, march bravely on, and be
True to the God whose truth gave strength to me !

And now I hope every real Presbyterian Scot and every large-hearted Catholic-minded Episcopalian will be prepared to say with me :

X. Farewell.

Bless thee, brave Knox ; my soul feeds on great men,
Not on far-wandering spheres or curious dust,
But on a strong arm braced with truth, as when
Thy weighty stroke broke through the gilded crust
Of priestly creeds, and bared the lie within.
Be thou my guide. I take my stand on thee
As on a rock, and when the blastful din
Of billows smites the cliff, I stand on thee.
On Knox I stand, and glory in his name
Who made the Scot wise by pure Bible law,
And brought the Popish jugglery to shame
With words that stirred the soul with holy awe.
Let mitred priests lord it o'er feeble flocks,
I stand a freeman when I stand on Knox.

* Acts xx. 17 and 28. Here the word which appears in our version as "overseers" is the same as that which in Titus i. 7 is translated "bishops."

THE RITSCHLIAN THEOLOGY.

BY REV. PROF. J. ORR, D.D., EDINBURGH.

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One of the most noteworthy facts in recent German theology is the rapid rise and widely extended influence of the school which takes its origin from Albrecht Ritschl. Not so long since Ritschl's was a name comparatively unknown in this country. Those who did know him knew him best through his valuable monograph on *The Origin of the Old Catholic Church*, in the second edition of which, in 1857, he read his recantation from the Tübingen theory of early Church history. His great work, *The Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, appeared first in the years 1870–74, yet already his theology divides Germany into contending camps, and his disciples hold the chairs of leading universities. Scholars on this side the Channel are becoming aware that a new power has arisen abroad, and every year an increasing number of students find their way from our shores to sit at the feet of some of the representatives of the fresh teaching. A phenomenon like this needs some explanation. For an effect of this magnitude there must be some adequate cause. It is worth our while to inquire what it is.

There can be no mistake as to the depth and intensity of this youngest religious movement. Ritschl himself died in 1889, but he has left behind him a band of able and enthusiastic followers, who carry on his work with a zeal and determination which show no sign of abatement. Probably no impulse of quite the same intensity has been given to theology since the days of Schleiermacher. The Ritschlian movement resembles that of Schleiermacher in this respect also, that the term "school" hardly describes the exact character of the relation of master and disciples. Ritschl's followers are affiliated to him by certain fundamental aims and tendencies, but already their theological standpoints and modes of apprehending Christian truth show wide divergencies. The chief part of Ritschl's influence lay, as can easily be perceived, in his large and impressive personality. He communicated impulse along fresh lines, and his disciples are working out his thoughts, each in accordance with his own individuality. None the less on this account is there any want of positiveness in the tone in which their various conclusions are given out. The representatives of the rising party boldly proclaim that they are in possession of a new and revolutionary method, which yet they hold to be the legitimate working out of the principle of the reformation, and they have already taken great strides in applying their method to all the principal spheres of theology. Hermann in Marburg, and Kaftan,* the successor of Dorner in Berlin, represent the party in scientific theology. Harnack is its Church historian ; Schultz carries its spirit into Old Testament theology ; Wendt into New Testament theology, &c. Other able members of the party are Gottschick, Reischle, Bornemann, Sell, several of whom are associated in the conduct of the new magazine, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, which exists to propagate their distinctive views. All this speaks to activity and enterprise, and the shoals of books and pamphlets which issue from the press on one side or other of the controversies evoked constitute an exceedingly lively chapter in theological polemics.

It would be easy to give a sketch of Ritschl's own positions in systematic form, adding some remarks on those of his followers, but this is not precisely what I wish to do. I wish rather to raise the question, What is the secret of the influence of this school ? From nothing, nothing comes, and unless there were something both true and important in this Ritschlian theology, something that meets a real want and interest of the times, it could not take the hold it does. Simply to assail it, to point out its weaknesses, its inconsistencies, its defects, is not enough. It is not its inconsistencies and defects—and these are patent enough—which have given it its hold over men's minds. There must be truth and power in it somewhere ; something which accounts for the influence it exerts over most diversely constituted natures, with the result of inspiring them, as it undoubtedly does, with a new enthusiasm for religion and for theological work. There is plenty of criticism of Ritschlianism ; plenty of refutation and of impassioned defence. What I think there is some need for is a calm attempt to see where the good lies. Then from this we may proceed to appraise the defects which undoubtedly exist.

Wherein, then, it may first be asked, lies the secret of the influence of this new theology ? Several answers might be given to this question, but perhaps the most explicit, and the one which comes nearest the centre of the matter, is this. It lies in the attempt to find a ground of certainty in religion which shall be independent of, and unassailable by, all critical theories and metaphysical speculations. We live in a time of great confusion and uncertainty of opinion. Controversies are raging on the most fundamental questions of religion. Criticism of the Old and New Testaments—investigations into the age and authorship of books—is revolutionizing old beliefs. The natural sciences seem driving out belief in the supernatural. The philosophical schools give the most varied answers to the ultimate problems of thought and life. It is obvious that all this raises a serious consideration affecting Christian faith. Must a Christian—it may be asked—have gone through all this mass of conflicting opinion, have investigated and satisfied himself on all these disputed points, before he is entitled to certainty in his religion ? Must he, *e.g.*, have gone through an exhaustive course of criticism and apologetics, have arrived at certain conclusions in each of these departments, have settled his philosophical questions in a particular way, before he can be certain that he has salvation in Christ ? If he does attain certainty in this way, what is the value of it ? Is his assurance not liable to be overthrown again by the next new theory that is started, the

* Kaftan, indeed (*Das Wesen*, Preface) rather disclaims being a follower of Ritschl and representative of his theology, while acknowledging his obligations to him. But in the wide sense above indicated, which is the only sense in which we can speak of a Ritschlian party at all, Kaftan undoubtedly is a Ritschlian.

next turn in the wheel of argument? But if this is *not* necessary—and it would be fatal to Christianity to assume that it is—there must be some ground of faith independent of criticism, and of all scientific and metaphysical theories. And if there is, what is it?

The answer which the Ritschlian theologians give to this question is—There *is* a certainty of Christian faith which puts a man in a position of independence to all these extraneous subjects. It is the special claim of the school to have shown that there is this ground of certainty, and wherein it consists, and how it can be justified. No one has spoken with more clearness and decision on this point than Hermann, and his views may be accepted as fairly representative of those of the party. Hermann's explanation of the matter is somewhat in this wise. The certainty of faith, he holds, springs immediately out of the experience of the revelation of God in Christ. It is the result of the direct impression (*Eindruck*) which Christ makes upon the soul historically confronted with Him. You come into the presence of Christ as He meets you in the Gospel page. The impression He irresistibly makes on you is that in Him God is drawing near to you. It is not so much a doctrine of God you receive as a vivid perception that God is there present and acting before you. Christ does not merely speak to you of a new relation to God; He sets that new relation before you in actual, living fact. It is not a matter of theory or speculation at all. God there meets you in actual history. Christ as an historically existing person irresistibly draws you to Himself, and to the Father whom He reveals. In His presence you not only gain the knowledge of God, but courage to trust God. He lifts you above your guilty fears. The spiritual greatness you discern in Him is combined with a love and grace which banishes the natural distrust of your heart towards God, and gives you power to fulfil your moral destiny. All this is prior to theology or reflection. It is no reasoned conclusion, is connected with no metaphysical view of the person of Christ, but is simply a *faith*—the result of the irresistible compulsion (*Zwang*) exercised by Christ over those brought spiritually into contact with Him.

This thought of the immediate *Eindruck* or impression of Christ on the soul confronted with Him is the key to so much in Ritschlianism—especially in Hermannism—is reiterated so often by leading writers, that I make no apology for dwelling a little further upon it. The reader will no doubt feel the expressions used above to be vague, but a study of the literature would probably convince him that the vagueness is not in my statement, but in the Ritschlian presentation itself. It is clear that the Ritschlian theologians build everything on the positive revelation in Christ. But it is not so clear what precisely it is in Christ which, according to them, produces this irresistible conviction within us of the reality of God's presence and working in history. Hermann's statements would seem to suggest that the essence of the matter lies in the impression we receive of Christ's spiritual greatness and superiority to everything else in the world, which forces on us the conviction that there is a Power working in and with Him which is over all things—a Power gracious and good as Christ is. The following is only one out of many passages which express this idea:—

"Our certainty of God is rooted in the simple fact that in Jesus we meet with a man who must hold His own against the world For he who experiences such a compulsion (*Zwang*) through the image of Jesus that he must concede to Him this dignity, receives therewith at the same time the thought of a Power over all things, which is not otherwise moved than through the disposition from which the life-work of Jesus has proceeded. God gives Himself to us to be recognized as this Power which is with Jesus. But then we are compelled to say that the existence of Jesus in our world is that fact through which God so touches us that He opens up intercourse with us." *

Is not our apprehension of God on this showing, after all, not immediate, but of the nature of an inference?

An additional extract or two from Hermann will further elucidate his meaning. I take them from his interesting rectorial address on *Evangelical Faith and the Theology of Albrecht Ritschl* (1890). He says there:—

"In this, before all, consists the being a Christian, that one gains this life-content. But this does not spring up in the soul of itself, but presses on us out of the history in which we stand. Not to despair of the world, and not to despair of ourselves, because Jesus Christ is an actual constituent of this our world—that is the beginning of Christian faith. To understand this, one must be able to see the peculiarity of Jesus, through which He lifts Himself clear away from everything which else may meet us in the world."

More explicitly:—

"The ethical furtherance which we experience from others always brings this with it, that we get a quicker sight for what is distorted in them. Thus they themselves take care that the ideal which we thought to find in them always grows beyond them. If it happened to us in quite the same way

* *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*, pp. 26, 27.

with the person of Jesus, there would be no Christianity in the world. Assuredly we draw near to Him before all others only by questioning our consciences, and measuring Him by the ethical demand. But the nearer we come to Him, just the more does He become the interpreter of our consciences. . . . The ethical ideal does not grow beyond Him. For He makes it evident to us as something inexhaustible, which seizes our heart and life, and makes us feel in our deepest part how widely we are separated from it. It is simply a fact that the appearance of Jesus handed down in the New Testament acts thus upon us. Whoever will combat Christianity must before all dispose of the fact that numberless men are so laid hold of by Jesus. . . . But," he goes on, "with this alone that the historical appearance of Jesus so lays hold upon us, faith is not yet founded in us. It also happens that the same Man who becomes Judge and Conscience to the men affected by Him interests Himself in these men with a patient and unequalled love. While He makes the sinner insecure by the simple power of His personal life, He gives him at the same time a support by His friendliness. The men who through Him were brought painfully to feel how it stood with them felt themselves nevertheless on this account drawn towards Him. In this way then He forgives sins. . . . In that which he finds in the person of Jesus it becomes certain to the Christian that the power of the good not only judges but redeems him. Thus is constituted Christian faith." *

Here then, according to the Marburg theologian, is a ground of faith absolutely independent of criticism, or of any kind of results brought from quarters outside itself. Suppose, then, you ask—Is this faith really independent of criticism? What, *e.g.*, if it could be proved—an extravagant supposition, of course, but one which, for that reason, better serves our purpose—that the Gospels were forgeries of the Middle Ages? Would not this affect our faith? For then what was held to be true on grounds of faith would be proved to be untrue on grounds of fact. Hermann has his answer ready. It is in substance that your Christian faith is a guarantee to you that such critical results cannot possibly be true. It is not a faith grounded on criticism, but, having it, you know as a certainty that revelation in Christ is a reality, and that any critical results which would conflict with this must be in error. In his work already quoted, *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*, Hermann expresses himself on this point with great distinctness. Through this impression which Christ makes upon us, he affirms :—

"The doubt whether the image of Jesus which works on us in the Gospel belongs to myth and not to history is forthwith excluded. The evidence of the historical reality of Jesus grounds itself for the believer always upon the significance which the message of Jesus has won for him. Only after this has been taken to heart as an indubitable fact of his life does that which testifies for the historical reality of Jesus stand out clear and visible before him. . . . Through a judgment resting on grounds of historical investigation, we cannot reach higher than probability. But to Christian faith it is certain that Jesus has lived as the man who with His message of a kingdom of God has opened to men the possibility of an eternal life, and who at the same time was conscious that the existence of His person in its life and death will realize this kingdom of God for all who do not pass Him by." *

Well, but—this is the objection which will next be urged—in entering on criticism, you cannot, from this standpoint, enter on it with an unprejudiced mind. How can your inquiries be impartial and presuppositionless, if you have already decided the most essential part before you begin? Hermann, in reply, boldly concedes the case to be as the opponent states it. The Christian, he says, does not come without presuppositions to his inquiries. A presuppositionless criticism is a myth. The Christian least of all comes to his task with a perfectly unformed mind. He comes with his faith in Christ already given, and he cannot lay it aside. And though this cannot warrant him in tampering with historical facts, it gives him the certainty beforehand that the results will not contradict the verity already won. This, however, it should be added, only applies to the general and total result. It does not guarantee every detail, every miracle in the evangelical narratives. It does not guard against mistakes. This is an important qualification which opens up, as we shall see, a wide door to subjectivity.

Thus far every one, I think, will agree that the Ritschlian school has got hold of some sound and true positions, though perhaps not quite so novel as Hermann and his *confrères* are inclined to represent. It is surely a true and important view to take, that theology must begin with the living and historical Christ. The emphasis laid on this truth is the service of the new school as against a one-sided rationalism and idealism. It turns back from scholastic dogmatisms and speculative subtleties to the freshness and reality of historical revelation. I would agree also that faith in Christ is the true ποῦ στῶ for dealing with critical and other questions which threaten the destruction of our Christian certitude. This faith, born, as Hermann says, of the direct impression which Christ makes on us in the Gospel, yields us the certainty that He who lives, speaks, and acts as Jesus does in the

* Pp. 20-22. The same doctrine is taught in nearly similar language in many passages of his *Die Gewissheit des Glaubens.*

* *Der Verkehr*, pp. 92, 93.

evangelical records, is no creature of fiction, but the veritable Son of God, and Saviour of the world. Hermann's argument is but another way of stating the self-evidencing character of the Gospel revelation. It is true that in Christ God draws near to us, and that the Divinity alike of Author and of message is irresistibly borne in on us, in proportion as our natures are thrown open to the influence they exert. Such certainty does this faith give, that the Christian is confident that no results which criticism can ever yield will overturn the essential basis on which the Gospel rests. But there is obviously a danger here, against which the Ritschlian school has not always duly guarded itself. In its desire to exalt the certainty of faith, this school is apt to push its independence of critical results too far. As if to show how independent it is of the worst that criticism can do, it is wont to make very wide concessions indeed to destructive criticism—concessions which, in fact, imperil its own principle. For after all it is to be observed that in the Ritschlian view independence of criticism does not mean that any and every critical theory is compatible with faith. It means that faith has a certainty which antecedes, and is not derived from criticism, but which at the same time involves the assurance that criticism can permanently establish nothing to its real disadvantage. For example, it is evident that a theory which utterly denied the trustworthiness of the Gospel records would be incompatible with the faith which affirms the historic reality of the Gospel portraiture of Christ. But the members of the Ritschlian school are wont to make such concessions in regard to the New Testament as are barely reconcilable with belief in its trustworthiness. They maintain the Gospel narrative in bulk, but allow it to be freely questioned in detail. Sayings and doings of Christ which do not suit them are easily got rid of on critical principles. The presence of legendary and non-historical matter —sometimes in large quantities—is freely admitted. Harnack does not hesitate to affirm that there is no historical proof for the Resurrection.* Thus, instead of using their principle of faith as a check against the inroads of destructive criticism—as, if it has any worth, they ought to do—they make concessions to opponents which practically mean the cutting away of the bough they themselves are sitting on.

Quite similar to the way in which the Ritschlian theologians would seek to make faith independent of historical criticism is the way in which they would keep it from all contact with philosophy, or what they call "Welterkenntniss." Here we come on another of their most characteristic positions. For, given this faith and its contents, the question next arises—What are we to do with it? Can we help turning round upon it, and trying to relate it through intelligent reflection with the rest of the knowledge we possess—with, *e.g.*, that given through science or philosophy? No, says this school, this it is which has been the very bane of theology. It is this entanglement with philosophy—this attempt to rationalize Christian doctrines—this failure to distinguish between the method proper to theology and the method proper to the theoretical sciences—this mixing up of the pure dicta of religious faith with the results of speculation, which has been the evil leaven of theological science. We strike here, then, on another cardinal tenet of the school—the absolute separation of theology from philosophy and theoretical knowledge generally. Two kinds of knowledge are distinguished by Ritschl—the one, religious knowledge which moves solely in the region of what he calls worth or value-judgments (*Werthurtheile*), *i.e.*, judgments which express not the objective truth of things, but their value to us as subjects of pleasure and pain; and the other, theoretical or world-knowledge, which deals with things in the light of the causal judgment, and seeks to establish their objective (phenomenal) relations. The application of this distinction to the matter in hand leads to the entire separation of the two spheres in theology. Theology, according to Ritschl, is the expression in forms suitable to the religious consciousness (faith-propositions, as Kaftan would call them) of the content of the Christian revelation—"the right and complete limitation and clear fixing of the religious representations or represented facts which are included in the notion of Christianity."* Its safety is to keep its expressions in this purely religious form (co-ordinating and relating them to each other as a whole), and not to attempt to translate them into any other. Ritschl and Hermann seek to justify this position by a theory of religion on the one hand, and a view of the nature and scope of the theoretic activities of the mind on the other, which exclude from the latter any possibility of a real knowledge of God, or indeed of a real knowledge of anything. Ritschl is thoroughly at

* *Dogmengeschichte*, i. pp. 74, 75.

* *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, iii. p. 14 (3rd Edit.).

one with Kant in thinking that the theoretic reason can give us no knowledge of God, or proof of His existence. We are thus driven back on practical postulates and religious *Vorstellungen*, beyond which, as it would seem, even Revelation cannot raise us (for Revelation cannot take us outside the essential limitations of our faculties).

On this subject, beyond most others, the Ritschlian theology seems to me to put itself in a distinctly false position. Faith and reason are stretched apart till no point of contact is allowed to remain between them. Religious knowledge is put in one compartment of the mind, theoretical or scientific knowledge in the other, and no relations of friendship or agreement are allowed to subsist between the two. It is a matter of indifference to theologians—so maintains Hermann in his work on *Metaphysic and Theology*—whether philosophy be deistic, pantheistic, or whatever it is.* I humbly submit that this attempt to create a divorce between our religious consciousness and the theoretic reason must always prove a failure. The mind cannot be thus divided into two parts; we cannot hold contradictory propositions together; we cannot but seek to unite the different parts of our knowledge, from whatever source derived, into one whole of truth. Religion, says Ritschl—and his followers echo him—has to do not with theoretic propositions, but solely with judgments of value. That is to say, it is not objective truth we have to deal with in religion, but conceptions in the form adapted to satisfy our religious needs. One may spend months over this distinction of Ritschl's, and in the fluctuation and vagueness of his expressions not be sure that he understands him after all. Taken literally, his words would seem to land us in the purest subjectivism. Yet it is certain that Ritschl does not mean this. The truth seems to be that Ritschl has got hold here of a real distinction, but turns it to a wrong use. It is true that there is a distinction to be drawn between religious and theoretic knowledge. The religious mode of apprehension is dominated by a practical motive, and, in its immediate form at least, makes large use of the figurative element. It is emotional, poetic, imaginative—throws out words at its object, as Matthew Arnold says, without taking pains to subject its ideas to very rigorous analysis. It contains, as Hegel would express it, a large admixture of the *Vorstellung*. Theoretic knowledge, on the other hand, aims at being cool, clear, formally and scientifically exact. The language of religion, therefore, and the language of science are cast in very different moulds. The personal interest we have in the assertions of religion may warrant us to speak of them as worth or value-judgments, in contrast with scientific judgments, which are supposed to be perfectly objective and dispassionate. But to allow this is very far from granting that religious truths form one class by themselves, and scientific truths form another, and that the two classes can never be brought into any sort of relation with each other, or that it is wrong to try to bring them into such relation. My view of religion leads me to think (in this agreeing with Hegel) that it is at bottom because man possesses a rational nature, that he is capable of religion at all. Religious truths are not arbitrarily to be cut off from reason, but rather, we must hold, are in deepest harmony with reason, and, rightly understood, contain in them the deepest satisfaction to reason. One thing I am sure of: a system which sets itself in antithesis to reason will not long maintain itself. To say that in the revelation of Christ *only* we have knowledge of God—that there is no such thing as natural theology, or any rational evidence for the existence of God—which is the assertion of this school—is practically to make the understanding an atheist. It is to set up dualism in the house of the soul. The sceptic will not be long in replying that, if reason and nature can give no evidence of God, that to him is a strong reason for believing that no God exists.

It has often been remarked that it is those systems which most decry metaphysics which generally are at bottom the most metaphysical. The Ritschlian school, with its denial of the right of metaphysics to have any say in theology, is a signal instance of this. To gain a footing for their position as non-metaphysicians in theology, the Ritschlians have been compelled to do the very thing they deprecate—commit themselves to a particular speculative theory. Ritschlianism has a metaphysic, and a specially dangerous one, for its aim is to cut at the roots of theoretic certainty, and to leave us, in the sphere of religion, dependent on practical motives alone. So far, besides, from keeping their theology independent of their metaphysics, Ritschl expressly lays down that the right construction of theology depends on the theory of knowledge with which we start.* His aim, no doubt, is like Kant's, to establish a theory of knowledge which will leave religion free

* See also Hermann's remarks in *Die Religion in Verhältniss zum Welterkennen und zur Sittlichkeit*, pp. 92, 93, and *passim*.

* Thus in his *Theologie und Metaphysik*, he says, "Each theologian is under necessity or obligation as a scientific man

from theoretic control. The awkward matter is that in their theories of knowledge the Ritschlians are neither at one with their master, nor with one another. Hermann, *e.g.*, rejects the peculiarities of Ritschl's theory of knowledge, and is nearly a pure Kantian. Kaftan, again, renounces Kant, and goes back to a basis of empiricism. It follows from this difference in the theoretical basis, that while agreeing in the point from which they set out—the positive revelation of God in Christ—the Ritschlian theologians go widely asunder whenever they begin to construct a theology in detail. It becomes evident, in short, that what really governs much of their construction is not the objective revelation, but their particular theories of religion, and the views they hold of what is necessary for the realisation of man's practical ends.* Hermann's system, *e.g.*, wears quite a different complexion in detail from Ritschl's; Kaftan differs in fundamental respects from both; while Bender, of Bonn, another disciple of the school, has gone off in the direction of pure subjectivism, not without some justification, it must be owned, in the fundamental premisses of the school. This moving off of prominent members of the party on different and irreconcilable lines is justly regarded by its opponents as already indicating a tendency to dissipation and disintegration. Its real cause, I believe, lies just in that absence of hold upon objective truth which springs from the divorce of faith and theoretic knowledge. There are signs that this weakness in the original position of the party is making itself felt, insomuch that leading writers, as Kaftan and Reischle, are now taking up much more positive ground on the relation of faith and knowledge than is to be found in Ritschl.† Indeed, along the whole line indications are not wanting that under the stress of controversy the school is beginning to modify some of its extreme positions, and the result will probably be, as happened with the followers of Schleiermacher, the movement of a section of the party nearer to confessional orthodoxy, while some, emphasizing the negative tendency, will go further away.

What, then, it may now be asked, since their theological systems are thus divergent, holds these writers together, and still leads to their being spoken of as one party? In answer to this I would say that, in addition to the general affiliation to Ritschl, there are certain common aims and outstanding points of agreement which on the whole form a bond of union among them.

1. There is first that which I have already emphasized—the strong contrast they all draw between religious and theoretic knowledge.

2. There is the insistence on the positive revelation in Christ as the source of all true religious knowledge and life—that which alone can ground a right and satisfying relation to God.

3. Next—and this is a most important point—there is the central position which they all give to Christ's great conception of the Kingdom of God. This is one of the principal merits of Ritschl—the new prominence he has given to this thought of the Kingdom of God as a central idea in theology. It is with him the key to the understanding of the whole Gospel revelation. All special doctrines are to be studied in the light of it. In God's purpose to found such a Kingdom lies, from the Christian point of view, the explanation of creation and of the whole government of the world. Ritschl's conception of the Kingdom, it is true, is somewhat bald and formal—too much after the Kantian model. It is simply that of the ideal moral society—an organization of humanity, as he explains it, in which all the members act from the motive of love. To bring in and establish this Kingdom was the great end of Christ's appearance in our world, and of His life and death of love. God's end was His end, and it is in this perfect identity of mind and will with God—this "solidarity" with God in His supreme aim in the creation and government of the world—that Ritschl finds above all the meaning of the predicate "Godhead" as applied to Christ. I shall refer to this again immediately. It is only now to be observed that while Ritschl's followers agree with him in the ruling place they allow to this conception, they do not always adhere to his special way of presenting the nature of the Kingdom. Kaftan,

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to proceed according to a definite theory of knowledge, of which he must be conscious himself, and the legitimacy of which he must prove," p. 40. Cf. *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, iii., p. 16.

* It would take us beyond the bounds of this paper to enter into these theories of religion, in all of which God is simply a postulate demanded by man's nature for the attainment of certain practical ends. What these ends are is determined by the particular theory of religion (Hermann and Kaftan, *e.g.*, widely differing from each other on the subject); and while the postulates of the theory are supposed to be confirmed by the objective revelation, the test of the truth of the revelation again is its agreement with these postulates. Thus we move in a circle from which the Ritschlian theology cannot free us.

† Kaftan, of all members of the school, has given most attention to the positive relations of faith and knowledge. His views involve some important modifications of those of Ritschl and Hermann. He recognizes, *e.g.*, that faith involves a theoretic element; that the propositions of faith are capable of theoretic treatment; that truth here means the same as in other departments, correspondence with objective reality; that the system of truth is one in religion and in natural knowledge, etc. He proposes also to discard the term "worth-judgments" as ambiguous and liable to misconstruction. How Kaftan reconciles all this with his fundamental position that theoretic judgments in religion spring out of judgments of value, I cannot here show. See specially his *Wahrheit d. christ. Religion.*

in particular, shows a remarkable divergence; for while, with Ritschl, the Kingdom of God is an ideal of moral fellowship to be realized on earth, in Kaftan's conception it is precisely on earth that it *cannot* be realized, and he throws it accordingly into the *Jenseits*—the Beyond.*

4. A fourth point of general relation in Ritschlian systems of the original type is the rigorous exclusion from theology of everything transcendental—*i.e.*, which lies outside the range of positive experience. This peculiarity necessarily results from the separation of religious and theoretic truth, and the consequent restriction of religious knowledge to so-called value-judgments. The Ritschlian system is perhaps best described as one of religious positivism. It starts with *data* of experience—the immediate impression made on us by Christ, and the experimental knowledge we have of His power to give us spiritual deliverance and moral freedom. This we can be sure of, because it lies within our consciousness. But beyond the verifiable in experience, Ritschlianism will not go. In the doctrine of God, *e.g.*, it will admit no speculation or inference as to His absolute nature, His immanent modes of being, or even His attributes, beyond what is directly apprehensible in His gracious manifestation in Christ. In Christology, again, it will not allow us to go beyond what we actually find in history. The pre-existence of Christ is cut off at one end; His exaltation and heavenly reign at the other. Where Christ is now, or what He is doing, are matters beyond our ken. Enough that He has lived and died, and that His image abides with us to give us the assurance of forgiveness of sins, and teach us confidence in the fatherly love of God. Here most of all, I cannot but think, the nakedness of the Ritschlian theology reveals itself. Here most of all it displays its inability to maintain itself as a truly Christian theology. Nothing could be more unsatisfactory than Ritschl's Christology. He grants the "Godhead" of Christ, but the term, when analysed, is only a title of honour. Nothing metaphysical is to be imported into it. The attribution of divinity to Christ is only a value-judgment; that is, it states not what Christ is in Himself, but only the value He has to the believer as the revealer of God to him. The view of Christ's atoning work which follows from this conception does not get beyond the removal of the subjective obstacles (ignorance, distrust, sense of guilt, fear of God) which hinder the sinner's approach to God. Righteousness as an attribute in God demanding the punishment of sin Ritschl denies altogether. God, in the Gospel conception of Him, is purely and solely love. Sin as we know it is the offspring of ignorance and weakness, and needs only to be repented of to be forgiven. Christ's death is the supreme test of His fidelity in His calling, and proof of His lordship (*Herrschaft*) over the world. In this way it guarantees to us the reality of that religious relation to God into the fellowship of which Christ invites us in His Gospel. Thus far Ritschl; but on these points also—especially on the Christology—his followers are feeling the need of some modification, and have already made several significant concessions. It is increasingly realized that we cannot stand thus simply dumb before the revelation which it is acknowledged we have in Christ, and refuse to ask who this wonderful Person is that bears the revelation, and whose personal character and relation to the kingdom of God is so absolutely unique. We cannot rest content with simply formulating the value of Christ to us; we must ask what He is in Himself. There is a self-testimony of Christ to be reckoned with, and the greater the stress we lay on the historicity of the revelation, it is the more imperative that this testimony should not be ignored. The mind will not stay in the vagueness of expressions about Christ's "Godhead" to which the suspicion constantly attaches that they are mere metaphors. Thus in spite of their wishes the Ritschlians are forced to declare themselves a little further, and it is significant that, so far as their explanations go, they are in the direction of the necessity of recognizing that metaphysical background in Christ's person against which at first protest was entered. In a remarkable passage in the *Verkehr, e.g.*, Hermann expressly states that, in his opinion, if any one wishes to follow out this question of the union of Divine and human natures in Christ, "the Christological decisions of the old Church still always mark out the limits within which such attempts must move."* Kaftan goes yet further in restoring to its place of honour in theology the idea of the exalted and glorified Christ. Thus a process of change has begun which cannot stop without considerable further developments.

5. Another feature characteristic of the original Ritschlianism is its antagonism to every form of mysticism. I have spoken of its opposition to philosophy. Not less pronounced is the opposition of Ritschl and

* Cf. *Das Wesen d. christ. Rel.*, pp. 211–215.

* P. 46. A similar passage will be found in *Die Religion*, etc., pp. 438–9.

some of his followers to mysticism, or the doctrine of any inner immediate influence of God upon the soul, resulting in direct or immediate communion with Him. It will probably scarcely be credited that such a doctrine should be questioned by responsible theologians, so accustomed are we to think of direct spiritual communion as of the very essence of religious experience. Yet there is no mistake about the matter. Ritschl has expressed himself with unmistakable distinctness on the subject ;* and Hermann has written a treatise on the *Verkehr,* or intercourse of the Christian with God, with a view to make clear this very point. The object of this latter book—one of the best for getting a good idea of the system on this side—is directly to combat this idea of any mystical communion between God and the individual soul. The one way, according to Hermann, in which God has entered into converse with men is in the historical manifestation of His Son, Jesus Christ. *There,* in history, you will meet God ; will hear Him speak to you ; may learn to trust His love and grace ; may be strengthened by Him to overcome the world. But of any coming of God to your soul *now*—of any spiritual communion with Him otherwise than through these objective historical transactions of 1900 years ago —it is not allowable to speak. Direct access of God to your soul is precluded, at least in any conscious or recognizable way. What people take to be such is illusion and phantasy. One wonders, then, how revelation ever began ; how, in the case of Christ Himself, converse with God was maintained. For He had no earlier Christ to fall back upon to mediate communion with the Father. And what of the Old Testament revelation, or the inspiration of the prophets ? This is historical positivism carried to an extreme which threatens the very existence of religion.

These outlines, brief as they are, will suffice, perhaps, to show that while the enthusiasm which Ritschlianism on its first appearance has awakened is explicable, and in a measure justified, there is considerable force in many of the strictures of its opponents ; and that, when the glow of ethical fervour with which it is set forth is stripped off, it is a singularly meagre and inadequate type of Christianity that remains. I do not think that as a system it will admit to be brought to the test of Scripture—or, if the Apostolic writings are set aside as non-authoritative, of Christ's own teachings and claims. I cannot accept its non-mystical view of religion ; I cannot accept its divorce of faith and reason ; I cannot accept its restriction of religious truths to value-judgments ; I cannot accept its agnostic denial of the right of natural theology ; I cannot accept Ritschl's practically humanitarian Christology ; I cannot accept its denial of hereditary or original sin—for this is another tenet of the Ritschlian faith ; I cannot accept its view of the Divine righteousness, which with Ritschl is only another name for God's consistency in carrying out His ends, and does not denote anything judicial ; I cannot accept as adequate its doctrine of reconciliation ; I cannot accept its ignoring of Christ's heavenly reign, and living action by His Spirit in the souls of men. The elements of value which I recognize in it are its fresh, full insistence on the self-evidencing nature and exhaustless spiritual potency of the revelation of God in Christ ; its recognition of the uniqueness of Christ's person and work as the one in whom God's purpose has come fully to light, and through whom it has obtained historical realisation ; the prominence it gives to the great Gospel idea of the Kingdom of God ; and, together with these merits, the protest it maintains against a one-sided intellectualism, and its constant reversion to the fact of a positive revelation. It may be granted to Ritschlianism that while theology and metaphysics cannot be so entirely kept apart as it thinks, there is need and room for a theology built up from purely Christian foundations, which shall give as adequate an expression as possible to the simple facts and truths of the Christian revelation set forth in their order and connections ; and so far as Ritschlianism has helped by its protests to purge theology of scholastic and metaphysical conceptions really foreign to its essence, it deserves our cordial thanks.

* Cf., *e.g., Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, iii., 20, 21, and the *Geschichte des Pietismus, passim.*

THE FUTURE OF RELIGION IN AMERICA.

From *The Review of the Churches* (London), July, 1892.

I.—By Prof. C. A. Briggs—(Presbyterian).

Religion in America is a reproduction of religion in Europe. The United States of America differ from the several countries of Europe in that they contain in their population representatives of all these countries. They constitute therefore a new Europe rather than a new England, a new France, or a new Germany. These children of Europe do not live apart in different nationalities in America as they do in

Europe, but they intermingle in the same states and cities and villages; they intermarry and become Americanized, constituting an American resultant to which the chief nations of Europe have contributed in various proportions.

The Americans are, however, more conservative in religion than in social or political relations. The different religions which have crossed the ocean have been modified more or less, and have been adapted to the new circumstances of the American people; but they still retain their original types, and remain each in its separate organisation perpetuating in many cases traditions which have become obsolete in the mother countries. The religious organisations of America are for the most part more conservative than the religious organisations of Europe. The Roman Catholic Church is probably more decidedly papal in America than in any country of Europe. The old Lutherans of America outnumber greatly those of all Germany. The American Presbyterians are nearer the type of Ulster than of Scotland. The Dutch Reformed Church prides itself upon its adherence to the canons of the Synod of Dort, while the mother Church of Holland has once for all and forever laid these canons upon the shelf. The more radical types of Scottish Presbyterianism which are well nigh extinct in Scotland still flourish in Western Pennsylvania and in South Carolina. The American Episcopal Church still has a strong Low Church party. The American Congregationalists at the London Council were regarded by their British brethren as rather antiquated in their notions—just as the Scottish Presbyterians at the Philadelphia meeting of the Presbyterian and Reformed Alliance looked upon their American brethren as obscurantists. The American Baptists are so rigid in their Calvinism as well as in their insistence upon believers' baptism, immersion and close communion as to make a British Baptist feel rather uncomfortable among them. The American Methodists are stricter in their adherence to Wesley's rules and doctrines than the Wesleyans of England. The Quakers are more faithful to their original principles, and more aggressive than their brethren in Great Britain. The Jews are stricter in their adherence to rabbinical traditions than those of any country of Western Europe.

Any one familiar with religion on both sides of the ocean will at once recognise that religion in America is a generation behind religion in Europe, and that there is a very tenacious adherence to ecclesiastical traditions in the religious organisations of America which surprises those who are familiar with the rapid religious development in Great Britain during the past twenty-five years.

And yet there have been great changes in religion in all departments, due to the irresistible currents of our age and to the external constraints of the new circumstances of a new country. In all the religious bodies of America the civil government of the country has influenced the ecclesiastical government to irresistible assimilation, not by acts of violence, but by pervasive influence. The ecclesiastical organisations have therefore approached more closely together than they have in Europe. Congregationalism has introduced not a few features of Presbyterianism in its councils—provincial, state, and national; and in the general state-superintendents of missions it has the form of bishops without the name or authority. Presbyterianism has adopted from Congregationalism the covenant of the congregation, asserts the independence of the congregation in its private affairs, and in the choice of its elders and ministers, and maintains the representative theory of church government to an extent that would astonish a Westminster Presbyterian. The Episcopal Church by its introduction of conventions, diocesan and national, with their clerical and lay deputies, has so far become Presbyterian as to satisfy certainly the ideal of average Presbyterians of the seventeenth century. The American bishops are limited monarchs, and can do nothing unless their conventions and their congregations are behind their back. Even the Roman Catholic organisation, although there are abundant examples of despotism in the management of some of the dioceses, on the whole is pervaded by the American spirit which recognises the rights of the Christian people and the representative position of the clergy. All this assimilation in ecclesiastical organisation which is in progress slowly, but surely and irresistibly, will eventually result in such external resemblance of organisation that consolidation will be easy.

In worship also a very remarkable change has taken place in most denominations. The conflict between liturgical worship, ceremonial worship, and simple worship has become chiefly a matter of traditional usage, of individual preference, and of æsthetic taste. The rights of the congregation and the freedom of the minister have resulted in a great variety and complexity of worship in most denominations. All uniformity has disappeared. The writer cannot speak for the Roman Catholic Church, but certainly the mode of worship in Congrega-

tional, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches is exceedingly varied. And in the Episcopal Church there are very great differences, within the limits of the liturgy, in the conduct of the service when one passes from the Anglo-catholic to the old High churchman, and from the Low churchman to the Broad churchman.

There is an irresistible tendency on the one hand towards a limited liturgy for common prayer, and on the other there is an imperative demand for variety in the services and freedom of adaptation to special occasions and circumstances.

In matters of doctrine the American churches are most conservative, and yet one may see a strong movement in all bodies away from systems of dogmatic faith towards simple expressions of practical faith. The old battle between Calvinism and Arminianism is so far behind us that the dogmatic statements which stereotype the differences are disagreeable and offensive to most earnest Christians. The movement towards a short and simple creed will eventually either result in the reaffirmation of the Apostles' creed, or in the construction of a new one after its model.

The American churches have been obliged to devote themselves chiefly to practical and evangelistic work. Those denominations which have been agitated by doctrinal and ecclesiastical controversies, such as the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Lutherans and the Episcopalians have been least successful in America as to their numerical gains, while those denominations which have kept themselves free from such complications, like the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Roman Catholics, have had most remarkable success, and have become the great religious bodies of the American Republic. They have enormous numerical strength, while those bodies that have carried on the internal conflicts about doctrine, worship, and polity have retained intellectual pre-eminence in the land.

There are three great forces now at work in American Christianity—the irenic force, the polemic force, and the practical force. The irenic force at present has its basis in the four propositions of the House of Bishops of the American Episcopal Church, subsequently endorsed by the Lambeth Conference. It was my privilege to be one of the first (if I mistake not the first in the Presbyterian Church) to say that these four propositions if they had no latent or implicit meaning were entirely satisfactory as a basis. The chief difficulty was as to the Historic Episcopate. We might accept the Episcopate as an historical institution, adapting it to the circumstances of our times, incorporating it with what is essential in Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, and gaining a resultant which would not be very different from what one now sees in the American Episcopal Church. But we could not accept it if it meant to bind us to any special theory of the Episcopate, or involved any reproach upon our Puritan ancestors, or any invalidation of our present ministry. We might all hold our own opinions as to the past and the present, and make an agreement for the future, which would involve some sacrifice on all sides; but only such sacrifices as every cross-bearer ought to be willing to undertake for Jesus Christ and for Holy Church. But so soon as the question was put, "What does Historic Episcopate mean?" and we received responses from different members of the House of Bishops, it became clear that they did not agree in their own interpretation. We are obliged therefore to wait until we are officially informed whether Historic Episcopate means simply the historic institution which we could accept as a basis of Church unity, or whether it will be necessary to accept something more than this, namely, the Anglo-Catholic theory of the Episcopate and all that it involves, or even the old High Church theory and all that that theory has involved in the history of British Christianity. If the House of Bishops could stand by the surface meaning of their proposition as it has been explained by some of the American Bishops, we see no reason why American Christianity might not be reconstructed so as to include all that is best in the three rival ecclesiastical organizations which have developed in Great Britain and her colonies. We agree with Richard Baxter and the Worcester Association of 1653, that "to select out of all three the best part, and leave the worst, was the most desirable (and ancient) form of government."

The polemic force that is now at work in controversies respecting dogma is also pushing mightily in the direction of Church unity. It is a revision of the principles of the Reformation. It is another effort to determine those questions which were left unsettled at the Reformation. The question as to authority in religion will never cease forcing itself upon us so long as Roman Catholic, Anglo Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical and Rationalist are all discordant in their answers. The doctrine of the Church must be re-examined in the light of Scripture, of History, and of Christian experience. Holy Scripture is now searched through and through by the micro-

scopic method of scientific Biblical criticism. Those who are resisting this criticism of the Church and the Bible are resisting the only method by which the Church and the Bible can regain their authority over the scholarship of our age, and remove the disastrous discord of Christendom. This polemic force will eventually destroy many, if not all the obstacles, barriers and stumbling-blocks which are in the way of the progress of Christ's Church, and which fence off Christians from one another and range them in hostile array. There never can be any reconciliation of Lutheran and Reformed until we go deeper into the doctrine of the Sacraments. The Calvinist and the Arminian can be reconciled only in some higher unity yet to be discovered in the wonderful reaches of the grace of God. The Roman Catholic and the Protestant can be united only when the Protestant makes more of holy love and excels in good works, and when he has something to tell about the Middle State between death and the Dies iræ, which is more consoling than Purgatory and brighter with Christian hope than sanctification by penitential discipline. The full measure of the nations will enter the kingdom of heaven only when we cease imposing upon the Oriental and African world the peculiar type of occidental, Anglo-Saxon Christianity; and rise to the conception that the Messiah was the Saviour of the world. The Jew will not accept Jesus as his Messiah until we cease trying to force him to accept the crucified, and show him that the cross was the true gateway to the throne, and that the enthroned Messiah, the Judge of the second advent, in His comprehensive work, fulfils the Messianic ideal of the Old Testament prophets. Christian polemic, if conducted in the Christlike spirit of brotherly love, is an essential part of the work of the true peacemaker who would advance the cause of the unity and concord of the Church.

It seems likely that after all the most important factor for determining the future of religion in America is Christian activity and good works. We are learning to heed the word of James: "Faith without works is dead." We are beginning to understand the Master Himself when He said: "If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from myself." There is a marvellous unfolding of Christian activity in America, not so much in ecclesiastical forms as in unecclesiastical forms. The great Christian activities in America are without the Church, and independent of the Church as a visible organization: such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Society of Christian Endeavour, numberless organizations for conflict with vice in its varied forms, and for the distribution of Christian charity. This strange development of active Christianity outside the Church, so characteristic of our times, sometimes seems to threaten the very existence of the Church. These organizations often put the Churches to shame for their slothfulness and inefficiency. One of the most important organisations of recent years is the Salvation Army. I have had great confidence in it from the beginning. Its career has not been without mistakes. What movement of man ever has been perfect, ever can be faultless? In the main it has done a work for Christ which transcends every expectation. And yet its effect upon the visible Church has been and can only be injurious. It can never do what the Church was divinely instituted to do. If it interpose as a substitute for the Church, whatever good it may do in other directions, it can only do harm in that direction. But all these movements in Great Britain and America outside of the visible Church may, after all, be productive of much good. It has thus far been impracticable to unite the different denominations in common aggressive work for Christ. It has been necessary therefore to constitute these united efforts outside the Church. They are putting the visible Church to shame. They will go on doing this more and more, until possibly Christians will eventually be so united in well-doing outside the visible Church, that they will compel the Churches to combine, or will abandon them as effete organisms in order to constitute a new organization of Christianity for real, living Christian men and women.

It seems altogether probable that the various forces now at work within the Church and without the Church will combine to produce the same result—the gradual consolidation of kindred ecclesiastical organizations, the federation of larger bodies, and the ultimate reunion of Christendom in some comprehensive organization which no man can yet discern; but which will eventually come forth as the ripe fruit of all the previous trials and struggles, triumphs and attainments of Christianity.

II.—By Dr. A. H. Bradford—(Congregationalist).

Any survey of the religious outlook in a country as large as ours must necessarily be limited, and relative to the point of view of the observer. Distances are so great, and

phases of life so varied, that even those who have the best opportunities of observation can know accurately the condition of only a small part of the field.

Congregationalism was brought to America by the Pilgrim Fathers; Episcopacy came to the Virginia Colony some years earlier, while Roman Catholicism was the religion of Columbus. The increase of the Roman Church has been chiefly by immigration; that of the Protestant Churches from those who have been long in the country. Of Protestant Churches the Methodist Episcopal is the largest; the Baptist, second; the Presbyterian, third; the Lutheran—which like the Roman, grows chiefly by immigration—the fourth: and the fifth place must be divided between the Congregational and Episcopal churches. Their membership is about the same, with a slight advantage in favour of the Episcopalian; but Congregational ministers and churches are more numerous. If the computation in both cases included exactly the same classes, probably the Congregationalists would be found to be slightly more numerous than Episcopalians. The latter, however, are growing more rapidly in the large cities than any other Protestant denomination; while Congregationalism like leaven is permeating and modifying all church organisations. In the United States there were on the 1st of January, 1891, 4,817 Congregational churches, 4,619 ministers, 506,832 communicants in the churches, with 613,810 in the Sunday-schools. But figures are deceptive when used for measuring movements of religious thought and life. The salient features of the outlook I take to be the following:—

1. The Critical wave has struck our Congregational churches, and by it they are not perceptibly influenced. Such a contest as that concerning Professor Briggs would be impossible among Congregationalists, because their theological seminaries are all endowed institutions, and dependent on the churches only for their students; consequently no ecclesiastical body can call them to account. If their teaching is false they will be deserted by their students, and lose the confidence of the churches; but they are amenable to public opinion alone. The Critical movement touches the seminaries first, for there the scholars are gathered. Of the seven Congregational theological seminaries in the United States five are known to have in prominent chairs men in full sympathy with the scientific study of the Bible. In two of the five seminaries utterance is not so outspoken as in the other three, but the influence of all is in favour of liberty and progress. The fact that the Higher Criticism has so little disturbed the spiritual life of the churches is, doubtless, due to the fact that our leading seminaries, for years past, have had in the chairs of Systematic Theology men whose definitions have been broad, and whose spirits have been hospitable to all truth. For instance, Professor Park, the incomparable theological Master of Andover, in the old days used to tell his pupils that the Bible is inspired "to teach what it was intended to teach;" but he was careful to emphasize that it was not part of its purpose to teach history, science, or political economy, and that it claimed infallibility only in moral and spiritual subjects. The question as to whether it was absolutely "inerrant," with him was of little importance. Because so many of their ministers have had such training Congregational churches are less frightened by the attitude of scholars than are other Protestant denominations. There is no panic whatever. While the professors are settling the Critical questions the ministers are preaching the everlasting Gospel. The recent controversy at Andover was in the realm of Speculative Theology rather than of Criticism. And the same may be said concerning the difficulty in our Foreign Missionary Society, where one of our Secretaries, a divine of the Old School, insisted on making narrow interpretations of Eschatology a condition of service in the missionary field. The Presbyterian Church is being severely strained by the tide of criticism which has reached it from the Old World, and there are those who do not hesitate to prophesy a division in the body. The same tide is reaching the Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopal Churches, and they are beginning to show its effects. The Congregational churches, owing to the peculiarity of their organisation and the thorough training of their leading ministers, are untroubled by the Critical movement, and devoting themselves without hindrance from it to their spiritual work.

2. The growing interest in social subjects is manifesting itself in increased activity in behalf of the neglected parts of our great cities and the equally neglected country districts. "Institutional Churches" are rising in most large centres of population. By "Institutional Churches" are meant those that provide not only for the preaching of the Gospel and public worship, but which also assist in the proper administration of charity, and seek to permeate the communities in which they are located with a higher and finer life. Among such churches are the Berkeley Temple in Boston, the Taber-

nacle, with its People's Palace, in Jersey City, Plymouth Church in Indianapolis, Plymouth Church in Milwaukee, and we may also add Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, which, since Mr. Beecher's death, has become, even more emphatically than during his life, an organic city mission centre. Two of our theological seminaries are giving much attention to social subjects, and Professor William J. Tucker, of Andover, may be said to have taken the lead in providing advanced instruction in Sociology for theological students. Professor Graham Taylor, of Hartford, has also done capital work in the same department. The Andover House in Boston is an outgrowth of the new enthusiasm in social studies which has been inspired by the teaching of Professor Tucker, and Andover Seminary. This movement is extending, and Institutional Churches are becoming characteristic features of modern religious activity. In some of them the "institutional" work is chiefly educational; in others, departments for amusement are added, by which the young are won from places of temptation and led, step by step, toward higher and finer life. The Baptist Judson Memorial and Episcopal St. George's in New York are conspicuous examples of the success which has attended similar efforts in other denominations. Heretofore the American churches and American people have given less attention than the English to social questions. The pressure of poverty, and consequent misery, is far less in the New World than in the Old, but the growth of large cities in the last two or three decades, the consequent corruption of our municipal politics, and the vast tides of immigration which, with much that is incalculably valuable, also bring to us the worst elements from many lands, have forced these subjects to the front, and they are now assuming imposing proportions. A new crusade is being organised against wickedness in high places and vice that flaunts itself in the open day, beginning with Dr. Parkhurst's courageous action in New York, and spreading to other communities; and whether the evil be social or political, it is satisfactory to be able to report that the ministry and the church are foremost in its opposition.

While our large cities have increased with phenomenal rapidity another evil stares us in the face, namely, the depopulation of the country districts. From them have come the bone and sinew of American church and civic life. Many of our strongest men passed their childhood and youth in the country, and there attained a vigour and robustness seldom found in great cities. If the present trend of population toward the towns continues it will not be long before this class will disappear. More than one-fourth of the people in the United States now live in cities of eight thousand and upwards. In the wake of this movement toward the cities has come neglect of the churches in country districts, and, consequently, in many places the lofty and noble Puritan morality has been succeeded by demoralisation inconceivable by those who have not made it a study. Thus the social problem has two factors, that of the city and that of the country, and it is difficult to say which is the prime factor.

3. There is a growing disregard of authority and creeds in all Evangelical churches. I am simply reporting facts, and leaving to others the duty of characterising them. Emphasis is more and more placed upon life and conduct, and less upon creed and authority. Many churches have ceased to make doctrinal conditions of membership, and the large proportion of those who offer them to candidates ask only a subscription to the Apostles' Creed, or phrase their requirement so as to leave liberty of interpretation. This is part of the same movement which in the Presbyterian Church is asking for the revision of the Westminster Confession, or for a new creed. This disregard of authority is found in unexpected localities. The quality of Romanism is different in America from what it is in Europe; the spirit of democracy has entered even that stronghold of ecclesiastical conservatism, and is working a transformation. The Bishop is an imposing figure in the Methodist Church, but his word is no longer the end of discussion. The Presbytery and General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church are not revered as they formerly were. The average man goes straight to the heart of things; sees no reason why, if he must give an account to God, he should be called to the judgment seat of this sect, or that; does his own thinking; forms his own Confession of Faith; emphasizes loyalty to Jesus Christ and the importance of living the life of love; and quietly disregards forms and institutions which in other years were believed to be essential and enduring.

4. Another phase of the religious outlook is more difficult of analysis and description. Our educational system has developed an independent spirit, and a conceit of intellectuality, rather than a meditative and devotional type of piety. The right of private judgment is carried to an extreme, and fishmongers, merchants, and bankers, mechanics, society-women, and dress-makers,

without regard to ability for making spiritual discriminations, attempt to bring all questions to an intellectual test. The result is a captious spirit among the people, an air of infallibility on the part of most fallible men, and especially women, which is serio-comic, if not absurd. The glory of the Divine presence is less vividly realised than formerly, and consequently the consciousness of a personal God is less distinct; there is more confidence in self, and less intense conviction of sin. As a result, the average spiritual experience is neither so clear nor so reverent as at an earlier day. The emotional side of spiritual life receives little attention in schools of theology, and is seldom regarded in the ministrations of prominent pulpits. Ministers approach the truth intellectually rather than devotionally, and their people attempt to do the same. Naturally, therefore, our sermons and services often lack much of the fervour which once was common, and which is still found among less—or, perhaps, even more—cultivated classes.

5. Coincident with the growth of interest in the study of social questions is a marked and wonderful revival of interest in Christian work. There are fewer revivals of the old type; the Week of Prayer is not observed as it formerly was; but there is more going into the highways and hedges, a more complete realisation of brotherhood, a better understanding of the Scriptures by all the people, and a growing enthusiasm in work, especially among the young, as is witnessed by the Society of Christian Endeavour, the Young Men's Christian Association, etc. The Students' Foreign Missionary Alliance has branches in many colleges, and is creating a hitherto unknown passion for evangelism. It may truly be said that there is a "Forward Movement" in the cause of both Home and Foreign Missions. Naturally, also, there is a greater appreciation of the privilege of giving. Almost every day some rich gift to missionary or educational work is made public. Millions of money have been donated for such causes during the last few years, and the number who are beginning to realise that the possession of wealth is an ordination to the service of humanity is continually increasing. Last year gifts from the Congregational Churches alone to their various Boards through which missionary movements are conducted reached the magnificent aggregate of about three millions of dollars. When to this is added what was given to institutions of learning, the total is vastly larger.

Finally. The outlook toward Christian Union was never so bright as in the closing decade of this nineteenth century. No sect now teaches that its peculiar ecclesiastical polity is Divine. Of course there are ignorant men, and inflated women, in all sects who have not given up the idea that they alone are the favourites of the Almighty, but the number of these is rapidly diminishing; and the great leaders, who form public opinion, put little emphasis upon ecclesiastical infallibility. Many prominent Baptists do not hesitate to say that they no longer believe in Close Communion, and that if they practise it, it is because it is expedient and not because they believe in the principle as mandatory Many Episcopalians, among them even some who are bishops, do not hesitate to say that they believe that the ordination of ministers outside of the "Apostolic Succession" is perfectly valid. At a recent Congregational ordination, two eminent Episcopalian ministers were present and took part, and called public attention to the fact that they knew, and were glad, that it was an ordination, and not simply an installation. When denominations cease to claim Divine authority a serious obstacle in the path of Christian Union will have disappeared.

While few have faith in the feasibility, or desirability, of uniformity of organization and worship, there is a constantly growing recognition that all who are Christ's should be one in spirit, and should co-operate in all possible ways for the advancement of His Kingdom. I say a "growing" recognition of the need of co-operation, for in small towns, and country districts, bigotry is almost as general and cruel as ever; each sect seeks to push itself without much thought of any others, except as a rival business-house regards a competitive concern. In such communities the outlook is discouraging; but the cities are the centres of influence, and in them there are signs that a better spirit is at work. Among all evangelical churches except the Episcopalian there is a constant interchange of pulpits, and many Episcopalians do not hesitate to say that they are kept from exchanging with their neighbours only by the rules of the Church. The dividing line between the denominations is so indistinct that Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Dutch Reformed ministers remove from one to another, almost without consciousness of having made a change. The most prominent Congregational Church in New York has a Presbyterian pastor, and the most eminent Presbyterian pastor in New York was trained and spent his early life as a Congregational minister, and, I believe, is even

now a member of a Congregational Church. The Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and the chief exponent of the Higher Criticism in Andover Theological Seminary, is a Presbyterian, and the son of a recent Moderator of the General Assembly; while the corresponding chair in the Union Theological Seminary in New York, a Presbyterian institution, is occupied by one who was trained as a Congregationalist, and whose father for many years was one of the most honoured Professors in a Congregational College. The dividing lines between these churches is so low that when one of their pulpits is vacant it is quite as likely to call a pastor from another denomination as from its own. Moreover, Methodists, Baptists and Episcopalians are constantly changing. The rector of one of the wealthiest Episcopal Churches in New York was trained a Methodist, as was the pastor of the second largest Congregational Church in Brooklyn. The Bishop of Western New York is the son of a Presbyterian minister, and the Bishop of Central New York was formerly a Unitarian. The rector of another prominent Episcopal Church in New York City was until recently a Baptist; the pastor of one of the largest Congregational Churches in Brooklyn or the country was also for many years a Baptist; the pastor of a large Baptist Church in Philadelphia was formerly a Methodist, while the most popular Methodist minister in Boston has, within ten years, been a Methodist, then a Baptist, and is now a Methodist again.

These are signs of a deep and growing movement among the people. They care little for ecclesiasticism, and welcome its decadence. While schemes of Church Union are being devised, and failing as fast as manufactured, there is quietly, but surely, growing a type of Christian unity far stronger and more enduring than any product of mechanism could be—a unity of spirit and life. On nearly all subjects which concern the public welfare the churches are now moving together. Not uncommonly Roman Catholic priests are found sitting side by side with Protestant ministers, in hearty affiliation where creeds are forgotten and humanity is at the front; and, whether they realise it or not, the people believe that all are engaged in the same work, and look upon the divisions which separate as fictitious and absurd.

The religious outlook in the United States was never more encouraging. Biblical Criticism and theological speculation are in the air, and no subjects attract larger audiences, or are studied with greater interest. This, in itself, is a sign of spiritual vitality. While there is difference of opinion concerning questions of history and speculation, and while many earnest and consecrated souls are troubled as to the outcome, the Kingdom is moving forward with unwonted celerity.

It were foolish to ignore the fact that many and peculiar perils are facing us, and none more serious than those which result from the tendency to bring all questions to the judgment-seat of a self-confident, but undisciplined, intellect; and from the growth of wealth and luxury. As people wax fat they love to sit in ceiled houses, and to pamper themselves with costly dainties; they gradually mistake culture for piety, and, unconsciously perhaps, but not less really, transform the church, from a sanctuary in which the rich and the poor meet together, into a club whose purpose is rather the coddling of saints than the conversion of sinners. These perils are real, and daily grow more ominous. The average moral life of the community can hardly be said to be improving. The spirit of speculation pervades business, and gambling is working terrible ruin among all classes. With all our giving there is small approach to sacrifice. Social life presses hard upon the spiritual, and there are so many allurements of pleasure that the voice of duty sometimes seems neither very loud nor imperative. Growth in wealth usually weakens the consciousness of responsibility. It is doing so here.

But, on the other hand, there is a spirit of consecration, a devotion to Jesus Christ as Master and Lord, on the part of the leaders in the churches, which makes it sure, beyond a doubt, that the conceit of intellect and the arrogance of wealth will erelong be compelled to recognise that they are the enemies of the Kingdom of God. All questions are being brought before Jesus Christ; and the church is insisting, as never before, that the problem of Poverty, the Race Question, the Evangelization of the world, and even such subjects as the Tariff and the administration of government, shall submit to the test of the Golden Rule and the Law of Love. We feel that we have a long and hard conflict before us, and that the church should present to the enemy a bold and united front; but if the future can be judged by the past, there is no reason for discouragement, but every reason for believing that the American Republic will surely, even if slowly, be given to the love of God and the service of man,—to the Kingdom of God which Elisha Mulford has defined as "the realisation of righteousness in the life of humanity."

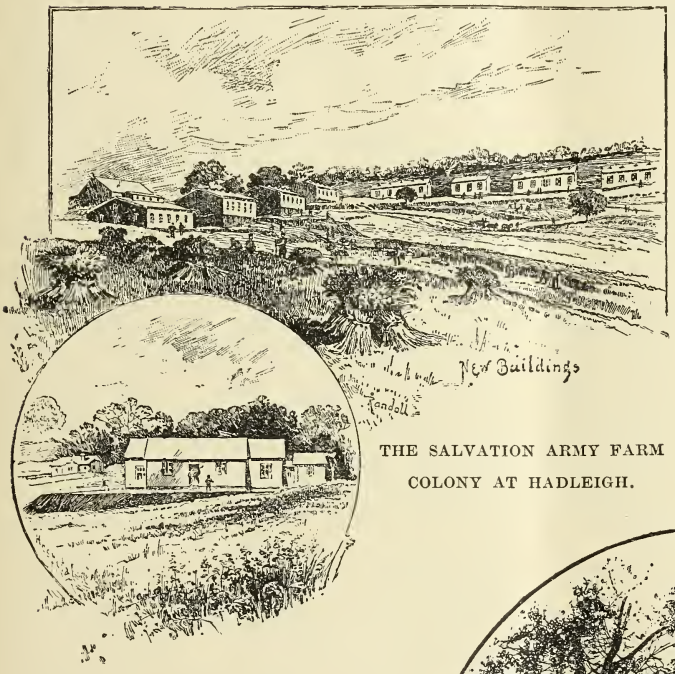
THE GREAT PHILANTHROPIES.

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.

From *The Review of the Churches* (London), July, 1892.

I.

THE "DARKEST ENGLAND" SOCIAL SCHEME.



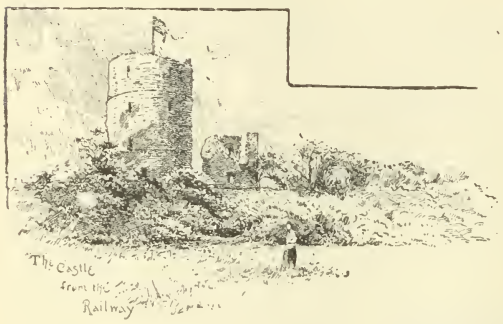
THE SALVATION ARMY FARM COLONY AT HADLEIGH.

"THE world," says Professor Seeley, "is a conspiracy of prejudices; a union of all that is stagnant and mechanical into a coherent and tyrannous power, and jealous consentient opinion;—a conventionalism which stands for the opposite of religion, as religion is freshness of feeling and enthusiasm."

There is not an age of the world which does not furnish ample confirmation of this condemnatory judgment. Against stupidity, against obstinacy, against greed and selfishness, against oppression, wrong, and robbery, against the world, the flesh, and the devil, the pessimist at any rate would feel inclined to say that "the gods themselves fight in vain." It only requires that an evil should be tolerated, and multitudes even of professing Christians will declare it to be tolerable, or at any rate inevitable. It only needs that some outrage on true morality or social righteousness should have become a matter of custom, and the vast majority of mankind will acquiesce in it. They will be quite content that it should continue for ages longer; will refuse to lift a finger against it; will contemptuously brand those who do as faddists and fanatics, or even as knaves and fools. And what is most depressing is that the *religious* devil is, as a rule, quite as deadly an antagonist of needful reformation as the *irreligious* devil himself. Immoral acquiescence, religious jealousy, ecclesiastical torpor, the "private interests, prejudices, and partial affections" of sects and churches, have, in age after age, opposed to

THE PARK FARMHOUSE.

all good work and all social progress a "clenched antagonism" more difficult to overcome than the sneers of cynics, the ani-



mosity of worldlings, and the rage and fury of all those who have vested interests in wrong.

There is scarcely a single great reform against which the banded powers of evil have not organized their deadliest opposition ; there has scarcely been a single saint, or prophet, or reformer whom the world and the Church—and by the Church I here mean the priests and nominal Christians whose unanimity in error gives them an excuse for claiming a monopoly of the name—have not combined to slander, to embitter, and whenever it was possible to slay.

It was so in the days of the Old Dispensation. The Kings of Judah and Israel fell into gross polygamy and gross apostasy. They polluted "that opprobrious mount" with the abominations of Ashtoreth and the infanticides in honor of Moloch. They introduced into the Temple itself the darkest degradation of sensual idolatry. Yet from the entire priestly order, as such, we hear of no whisper of censure or opposition. When a prophet rose the priests exiled him as Amaziah exiled Amos, or smote him in the face as Pashur smote Jeremiah, or grossly insulted him as the drunken and babbling hierarchy of Jerusalem insulted Isaiah ; or if, as in one or two instances, the prophet was called forth from the barren functions of the priestly order, the whole body of priests arrayed themselves against him, and took the side of faithless and guilty oppressors. The summary of the fate of the prophets and saints of old, as given us by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, is that they were mocked, scourged, imprisoned, stoned, sawn asunder, destitute, afflicted, tormented.

Need I pause to say that such was the fate of Christ Himself ? If Roman executioners nailed Him to the cross, the greater guilt, as He Himself said, was with Annas and Caiaphas, and the unbroken order of the priests and Pharisees of His people. And He warned us that so it should be forevermore. "If the world hateth you," He said, "ye know that it hath hated Me before it hated you. If ye were of the world, the world would love its own."

Certainly the Apostles found it so ; for even if the legend that every one of them died a martyr be without authority, the chiefest among themselves has drawn the picture of how they were treated, and we know that the bitterest part of the treatment came from retrogressive Judaists and false brethren. They, the best of men, the regenerators of the world, were treated as the offscouring of all things, and were made a spectacle to angels and to men.

In sleek sunny days of self-seeking, when religion walks in silver slippers and the nominal Church and the world swagger together arm in arm, all who wish to face both ways try to explain away these plain words of Christ. But there never was an age in which they have not come true. They are so true that the career of a prophet, or a reformer, or a real benefactor of mankind has very rarely been unattended with cruel calumny and heartbreaking bitterness, and always seems to have lacked something if it has not ended amid the triumph of its adversaries in some pathetic form of failure or martyrdom. In the earliest age of the Church a vast multitude, who alone of the world were innocent, were swept away by deaths of agony, and the title of Christian was synonymous with malefactor. In the following centuries choose the names of any of God's best heroes, of any "who have raised strong arms to bring heaven a little nearer to our earth," and note what their fate has been. What was the fate of Arnold of Brescia? of Fra Dolcino? of John Huss ?

THE CASTLE FARM.

of Savonarola ? How many victims were tortured and burnt by the execrable enormities of the Inquisition ? What save love of

the truth was the guilt of those murdered saints,

> "Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, who rolled
> Mother and infant down the rocks"?

But we live in softer, smoother, sleeker, juster times? Is it so? Softer, smoother, sleeker, yes; but juster, no! Under the velvet paw of modern humanity the tigerish claw is as sharp and venomous as ever in its deadly scratch; nor do I know a single man of modern times who has dared to strike out against the stream, to tell the world of its iniquities, and corrupted Churches of their usurpations and humanly invented lies;—or a single man who has really grappled with the problems of misery and destitution, and tried to bring legislation to bear upon them, and put the sacred interests and indefeasible rights of the people above the ruinous claim of tyrants and monopolists;—or even a single man who has fairly tried to rouse the dormant conscience and self-satisfied conceit of priests and laymen, without having been made to drink to the dregs the cup of humiliation, and forced to feel the despair, the heart-sickness, the difficulty of keeping any reverence for human nature, which are among the heaviest trials of life and faith.

Let those who are shaken in their estimate of good men, and rendered afraid to do their duty in helping them by the fear of man, consider the life of that saint of God, George Whitefield. In speaking of him I should but spoil the lesson if I did so in other words than those of the saintly poet, which are full of the deepest significance—

> "Leuconomus (beneath well-sounding Greek
> I slur a name a poet must not speak)
> Stood pilloried on infamy's high stage,
> And bore the pelting storm of half an age,
> The very butt of slander, and the blot
> For every dart that malice ever shot.
> The man that mentioned *him* at once dismissed
> All mercy from his lips, and sneer'd, and hiss'd;
> His crimes were such as Sodom never knew,
> And Perjury stood up to swear all true;
> His aim was mischief, and his zeal pretence,
> His speech rebellion against common sense;
> A knave when tried by honesty's plain rule,
> And when by that of reason a mere fool;
> The world's best comfort was, his doom was
> pass'd,
> Die when he might, he must be damn'd at last."

And then, after describing the true character of the man, his zeal, his holiness, his pity, his apostolic charity, his utter self-sacrifice, his unquenchable love for his fellow-men, Cowper adds:—

> "Blush calumny! and write upon his tomb,
> If honest eulogy can spare thee room,
> Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
> Which aimed at him have pierced the offended
> skies,
> And say, Blot out my sin, confessed, deplored,
> Against Thine image in Thy saint, O Lord!"

If any one imagines that we have left behind us in the eighteenth century this brutal spirit of injustice and censoriousness, he can hardly have been a reader of our newspapers, whether they call themselves society journals, or literary leaders, or organs of clerical opinion. There is not one of these—whether the *World*, or the *Saturday Review*, or the *Spectator*, or the *Guardian*, or the *Church Times*, or any of the later mushroom growth of vehicles for the expression of opinion, whether cynical or semi-religious—which has not been in its turn grotesquely wrong and brutally unjust; which has not in its day used its bitterest sarcasm and hurled its worst invectives against nearly every great man (unless he happened to be of its own clique), and nearly every good man whom this age has produced. When I see these newspapers, and others like them, speaking evil of any man whose holiness I know, and whose services I see, it only confirms me in my sense of that man's worth and usefulness—

> "Und ihres Bellen's lauter Schall
> Beweist nur dass wir reiten."

To give but one more proof of my position, let me take the case of the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of the slave. If ever there were a sacred cause, a cause in which every Divine underlaying *principle* of Scripture and every element of Christ's example was intimately concerned, surely it was in that endeavour to preach deliverance to the captive, to undo the heavy burden, and let the oppressed go free. Yet not only was the whole Church of South America, with scarcely an exception, vehemently in favour of slavery, but even in England I caused serious offence to a leading clergyman by saying in his pulpit a word in favour of Abraham Lincoln. And what was the reception given for a long series of years to the efforts of William Lloyd Garrison? It is always the endeavour of later hypocrisy to deny its former opposition to measures of mercy and godliness. The fathers kill prophets; the children build their tombs, and always refuse to allow any analogy between their own deeds to the prophets of their own day and the deeds of their fathers to those who did God's work of old. But to every false, or torpid, or hypocritical, or

blinded section of every Church comes the reproach which Christ addressed to the descendants of those who had murdered God's messengers, and were about to murder *Him*,—"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that slayest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee." In these days men pretend that there was no very deadly opposition against the noble band of Abolitionists. But can they re-write history? even almost contemporary history? These are the words of Wendell Phillips in his splendid funeral address over the grave of Garrison: "This boy stood utterly alone; utterly alone at first. There was no sympathy anywhere; one single penniless comrade was his only helper. Trade endeavoured to crush him. Intellect disowned him. Malignity searched him with candles. The Church was a thick bank of black cloud looming over him. Yes; *but no sooner did the Church discern the impetuous boy's purpose than out of that* dead sluggish cloud thundered and lightened a malignity which could not find words to express its hate."

What I have written has not been without a purpose.

"Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur"!

I have been led into these remarks by the treatment which has been experienced by General Booth, whom the cynics, and not a few of the religionists of this age have done their best to kill, but who, beyond all question—unless the combined devils of worldliness and bigotry succeed in frustrating his efforts—will rank, in another generation,

ON AN ERRAND OF MERCY IN THE SLUMS.

high among the best benefactors of the present day. I call him General Booth, and shall not adopt the silly method of calling him "General" Booth—which seems to be regarded as witty by the *Times* and other newspapers—because he is as clearly the General of the immense Salvation Army as ever any General was of soldiers or of a religious order. How has he been received? And what has he done?

He has been received with an almost unbroken chorus of insult and abuse. Clergymen who have never been heard of outside

A SKETCH AT A FOOD DEPOT.

"THE BRIDGE" LIBRARY.

their own little parishes—who have never shown themselves worthy to tie his shoe, and of whom any thousand put together

A BIT OF A DORMITORY.

cannot show as the fruit of their labours one tithe of the souls whom he has rescued from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God—have written about him in terms of positive fury. To me there is something absolutely shocking in this fact. Here is a man whose officers alone are counted by thousands, and whose officers bear a character for such simplicity, sincerity, and self-denial that even their enemies bear witness to their merits ; here is a man whose followers so entirely believe in his goodness and single heartedness that they are willing to devote themselves heart and soul to his cause on the merest pittances, and, without murmur or question, to go at his bidding to the snows of Nord Köping or the sultry swamps of Malabar ; here is a man, therefore, who has been able to inspire into this host of working men and working women—redeemed, not a few of them, from the lowest depths of sin and misery—a gladness of self-sacrificing enthusiasm such as, if it existed in the Church of England, would render us irresistible ; here is a man who, to all his *religious work*—of which the results are incontestable, however much its methods may be disliked—has added *a social work* ample and fruitful enough to furnish out the glory of fifty ordinary reformers, and yet every fussy nobody, every commonplace and routine clergyman, thinks himself justified in speaking of him with scornful disapprobation, and looking down upon him from the whole height of his inferiority. The *Saturday Review* calls him "a Jack-pudding" (whatever that may mean), and his followers knaves and ninnies. He himself says that the vocabulary of vituperation has been completely exhausted upon him, and that scorn and contumely can effect no more because they have already done their worst. "God has honoured him by making all bad men his enemies," and some who, without being bad, are prejudiced, conventional, and wholly ignorant of what he has achieved. Never by one syllable has he retaliated upon his enemies. He has in this respect followed literally the example of the Apostles. "Being reviled we bless ; being persecuted we endure ; being defamed we entreat."

But the bitterest ingredient in this cup of hatred is that, all the while, there is no break in his hard life of daily and overwhelming self-denial, his hard toil of urgent and ungrudging service. Few people can have any conception of the weight of manifold anxieties, of heartrending disappointments, of deep perplexities, which daily fall upon the founder of the Salvation Army. St. Paul sums up his own burdens when he says, "Besides that which falls upon me daily, the care of all the Churches." That care must fall on the heads of all societies. On General Booth falls the direction of communities all over the world, which deal with men of many languages and many minds. If out of all his thousands of officers, or scores of settlements, one settlement is mismanaged, or one officer turns out to be a traitor or a scamp, it is on William Booth that the misery and the humiliation fall.

BOOT MENDING.

It is a literal fact that desperate tides of multitudinous anguish are constantly

"Forced through the channel of his single heart."

Mrs. Booth said, and said with truth, that

some were base enough to charge him with self-seeking and personal ends, but that for any man whose whole heart was not sincere before God it would be better to be in hell than to be General of the Salvation Army. It is a task which, without the help of God, and the approval of a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man, would be more than enough to unhinge the intellect and utterly to prostrate the physical strength.

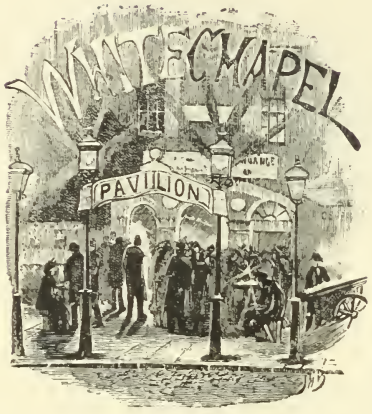
II. This is the sort of *reward* which General Booth has received from the world and from the Church; and now what has he *done?* To begin with, this "unlearned and ignorant" man, the disowned minister of a small dissenting community, with abundant success before him in the narrow groove of religious conventionality, faced beggary with his noble wife and his young penniless children, rather than give up that work, to which he was called, of preaching Christ's invitation in the highways and hedges of the world. He listened to that call. He did not, as so many do, make "the great refusal." Without learning, without friends, without influence, he went forth into the world. His mission was to the neglected, to the wretched, to the destitute, to the residuum, to the submerged tenth. He went to the sheep without a shepherd, who were wandering untended on the hills of darkness; to wretches without a home and without a hope; to street arabs and gutter children, the waifs and strays of our horrible slums; to men and women, ruined by drink and crime, living in dens foul as the lairs of wild beasts, for whom there seemed to be no earthly prospect but the cell of the felon, the grave of the suicide, or the dreary misery of the workhouse. Of his religious mission I have not here to speak. But if I had, surely the plain indisputable facts should make every heart rejoice that such multitudes all over the world should have been called by this humble agency from ruin and degradation to purity and usefulness.

But I have only to speak of his social scheme. Eighteen months ago he published the scheme described in "Darkest England," and asked for £100,000 to set it on foot, and £30,000 a year for five years at least to maintain and continue it. The publication of the book produced a sensation analogous to that which followed the appearance of "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London." But the object of the book was to make a proposal and to kindle a hope. Long experience of work among the destitute and the perishing had convinced the Salvationists that no effort would be widely effective which did not go to the root of the matter. They saw that it was necessary to grapple, as far as possible, with the ultimate *causes* of misery, and to elevate the fallen as well as relieve their present needs. The scheme consisted of three main parts—the City Colony, the Farm Colony, and the Colony beyond the Sea. Of these the first two are already in active work, and £25,000 has been reserved for the inauguration of the third, so soon as the preliminary difficulties have been settled, and the preliminary arrangements satisfactorily carried out.

The object of all three endeavours was to reach the poorest and the most vicious, to reform their evil habits, to inspire them with fresh courage, to rescue them from bad companionship, to accustom them to discipline, to uplift them into self-respect, and by setting them once more in the way of earning a livelihood, to change them from loafing idlers and useless burdens upon society into profitable members of the Church and commonwealth.

Two features are common to the whole scheme, both of them eminently wise:—Work and Sympathy. The poor sufferers who, often through their own vices and shiftless laziness, have sunk into the lowest depths of human disgrace, must, in part at least, work out their own regeneration. Without this the helping hand is useless. There is a resolute refusal to pauperise them. If they come to a shelter they will have lodging and food; but if they have not even a penny to pay for it, they must give their pennyworth of labour. They are thus saved the humiliation of feeling that they are dependent on charity alone. If they work willingly they are set to something more permanent. They may begin to pay their way by tasks of washing and scrubbing; they pass on to wood-chopping, brush-making, mat-weaving, and various easy branches of mechanical trade. If they are steady and show a resolute desire to amend, they may gradually be recommended for employment, and restored to respectability, and often to their own deserted and neglected families, as citizens and breadwinners.

To the great good of society and the alleviation of our manifold burdens, this has been accomplished in hundreds of instances. It could not have been accomplished without human love and sympathy, and the bringing of the simplest religious truths to bear on the seared consciences and sodden hearts of men plunged into despair. The social scheme is in no sense a part of the



A CORNER OF THE WOMEN'S SHELTER.

AT THE HANBURY STREET SHELTER.
(By permission of *Black and White*.)

AN APPLICANT.

Salvationist propaganda. No recipient of the benefits offered is in any way compelled to be present at any of the religious meetings in the shelters and refuges, in which Scripture is read, and prayer offered, and a few words of hearty appeal addressed to any who care—as the vast majority do—to be present at these daily gatherings. If the poor men and women choose to reject the teaching, they at any rate feel the tenderness, the sympathy, the self-sacrifice, with which the officers of the Army and the poor slum sisters—themselves living on small pittances—face the horrible conditions of personal contact with the dirty, the drunken, and the depraved, and show that they can still love and serve God's most outcast children, and refuse to regard even the most dehumanised soul as wholly common and unclean.

The whole of the £100,000 which was subscribed was, as it was announced that it would be, invested in the purchase or improvement of property for the launching of the scheme; and it is hoped that in course of time this property will become largely productive of income. Thus on the Farm Colony there is a bed of valuable clay, and there is good hope that this branch of the work will before long in great measure support itself.

The City Colony is practically in effective working order. There are in active operation the following institutions :—

Seventeen Shelters, with accommodation for 4,100 men and women. They are nearly always crowded.

Nine Dépôts for the supply of food. These have supplied some three and a half millions of meals to the very poorest of the people.

Four Labour Factories or Elevators for the unemployed, which have dealt with some 3,000 men.

A Labour Bureau, having eight branches in London and agencies in various parts of the provinces, which has registered during the period referred to some 26,000 applications from unemployed persons, and has found work for nearly 6,600 people.

A Home for Prisoners, containing fifty ex-criminals, of whom fourteen are boys, chiefly committed to the care of the Army by magistrates and judges.

Fourteen Rescue Homes for the reception of women, into which have passed during the eighteen months nearly 2,000 women, and in connection with which there is also a Bureau for the discovery of lost and missing persons, which was successful during the twelve months ending December last in tracing the whereabouts of nearly 600 missing persons, mostly women and girls, who had fallen into dangerous surroundings.

The machinery necessary for the collection of the household waste is being got into order, and large premises have been secured on the river for that work.

Other industries, such as book-binding, knitting, and a match-making factory, have also been undertaken for the benefit of the workless people who are willing to work. About sixty devoted women are residing and working in the darkest slums.

The Farm Colony is also progressing rapidly. Nearly 400 men are now employed upon it, under the superintendence of capable overseers, some of whom are gentlemen of experience who have devoted their services gratuitously to this interesting experiment. The farm consists of 1,200 acres at Hadleigh, on the estuary of the Thames, with a river frontage of a mile. The land is nearly all capable of high cultivation. A hundred acres have been brought under the spade for purposes of market gardening; forty acres of fruit trees have been planted; about 200 acres of the land are devoted to ordinary crops; and there are about fifty acres of roots, besides the valuable clay-bed, which now employs fifty men, and may soon employ a much larger number. The farm buildings, cow-houses, dairy, piggeries, etc., are complete. A tramway has been laid down. Excellent dormitories have been built for 400 men, together with officers' houses, a meeting-house, and an iron shed for light industries. The necessary tools and implements for this large settlement have been purchased. The men work hard and hopefully. They are well fed and kindly cared for, and the many who know the farm by personal inspection speak in warm and hopeful terms of its efficiency and usefulness.

The Over-sea Colony has still to be carried out; but things are well in train for the completion of this most interesting experiment. Unless there be a very disastrous shrinkage in the funds, we may hope before another year is over to see the whole scheme in effective working. But besides the £100,000 needed for its initiation, results have proved how careful was General Booth's estimate that £30,000 a year would at present be wanted to carry out this vast effort of well-planned and wisely-directed charity. Of this £30,000 he has this year only received £4,000. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* The most ignorant and malignant critic cannot but be aware that work like this *cannot* be carried out unless the funds are forth-

coming, which alone can render availing the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which the Salvation Army has evoked in its humble fol-

IN THE LAVATORY.

lowers. I for one do not blush to own that, when I first read the scheme, I was filled with gratitude and hope. I was filled with *gratitude* to God that He had called forth a man who was capable of sketching out so large and systematic an effort, and that such a multitude of devoted men and women were willing and able to undertake the desperate task of grappling shoulder to shoulder with problems which have hitherto been the shame of our Christianity and of our civilisation. I was filled with *hope*, because it seemed that now at last something would be done of which the dreadful and urgent necessity had so long been acknowledged. My sense of gratitude is undiminished. There are myriads, I am sure, in England whose hearts feel for the anguish of the poor; whose pity is not checked by the knowledge that distress is often the retribution of vice and worthlessness; who feel that as Christ was sent to the lost sheep of the House of Israel, all who are His servants should feel the duty of furthering His kingdom among these the most miserable of His children. But how few are there of us who are able to render real help otherwise than indirectly! We may help by our poor gifts, but how little are we able to give any other efforts to reclaim the most fallen and uplift the most destitute! Can we, then, be otherwise than grateful that hundreds of good men and good women, under the hardest conditions, and on less wages than those of a servant, are willing to bring to bear on the physical and moral degradation of the lapsed masses the personal force of their devoted love?

And the *hope* which I felt is not entirely quenched. I know from all history the power of those jealous, slothful, malignant influences—the counteracting forces, religious, alas! (so-called) as well as irreligious—which make St. Paul speak of the devil as "the god of this world." I know the millionaire resources and menacing "vested interests" of a trade which tends so directly to the destruction and demoralisation of a drunken people. I know that wherever there is an effort to do good Satan is more than ever active to counteract it by his drink shops, and gambling hells, and harlots' rendezvous. What can we expect but that he would resent every assault on his dominions, and that he would use the agency of religious narrowness and bigotry as one of his most effective weapons? When I preached on this scheme in Westminster Abbey I said that it might fail, as so many good schemes had failed; and that it could not *but* fail if it was dashed to pieces on the sullen reefs of apathy and hatred. It is grievous to hear that, by his wholly disinterested and infinitely burdensome efforts, General Booth, having no funds on which he can draw for his social work, has been placed in circumstances of no small difficulty; and that, if funds are not forthcoming, it will be impossible for

IN A "PENNY SHELTER."

him to continue efforts for which he has no income. But surely it would be an overwhelming disgrace to such a nation as ours

if the most concentrated and systematic effort which has ever been made to cut out the spreading cancer under which our social system groans, should be allowed to fail for lack of a few thousands of pounds a year. Not a week in the season passes in which sums are not realised at sales of china, pictures, and bric-à-brac the aggregate of which would now support this effort at social amelioration for twenty years to come. We do not judge those who give thousands of pounds for ormolu, and Louis Quatorse cabinets, and unique bowls, or single jewels. No one ventures to criticise or to censure the immense sums daily squandered on personal expenditure which it is hard to separate from the categories of mere luxury and ostentation. But if this Pactolus can roll its golden sands over "the glory of boudoirs and the pride of reception rooms," is there no one among these plethorically wealthy purchasers who will divert some runnel, or at the least some tiny driblet, to aid a scheme of which the one object is to make the wretchedest of our fellow-countrymen a little less wretched, and to bring into the lives of despairing women, and children who might seem to have been rather "damned" than "born" into the world, a gleam of mercy and of hope ?

CHURCH FOLK-LORE.

BY J. EDWARD VAUX.

From *The Newbery House Magazine* (London), August, 1892.

VII.

Holy-Day Customs.

The customs which in the past were connected with Holy-Days and Seasons were so numerous that it is really difficult amongst the mass of material at hand to know what to take and what to reject.

Mr. Walcot tells us that when St. Paul's Walk was a fashionable place of meeting there was a club of persons who were accustomed to assemble at the reputed tomb of Duke Humphrey on the morning of St. Andrew's Day, and afterwards to dine together as if they were servants in his household.

What the origin of the following usage can be I am unable to suggest, but at Bozeat, in Northamptonshire, a bell is rung at noon on St. Andrew's Day, and the villagers call it "T'Andrew Bell." They make and eat a kind of sweet toffee on that day.

The old rule for finding the First Sunday in Advent ran thus :—

"Saint Andrew the king,
Three weeks and three days before Christmas comes in ;
Three days after or three days before
Advent Sunday knocks at the door."

Mr. W. Chatterton Dix tells me that he remembers in his earlier days that at the church of St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, it was the custom on Advent Sunday to place a few evergreens in the pulpit, desk, and churchwarden's pew. This was discontinued some twenty years ago.

It was formerly the custom in the North of England for poor women to carry about during Advent a couple of dolls dressed, the one to represent our Saviour and the other the Virgin Mary. A halfpenny was expected from every person to whom they were exhibited. It was esteemed a sign of very bad luck to any household that had not been visited by the "Advent Images" before Christmas Eve at the latest. The bearers of the "Images" sang the well-known carol which begins :—

"The first good joy that Mary had, it was the joy of one."

In Yorkshire there was formerly a saying, "As unhappy as the man who has not seen the Advent Images." Another name was given to the "Advent Images" custom. It was sometimes called going about with the "Vessel Cup," which, of course, was a corruption of "Wassail Cup," and denoted the goodwill of the "Image" bearer towards those who gave her a present. The following verse was sometimes sung :—

"God bless the master of this house,
The mistress also,
And all the little children
That round the table go."

The late Dr. J. M. Neale, in his "Essays on Liturgiology," remarks that it is curious that the season of Advent should have retained its Latin name everywhere. He adds that the Sundays were not always reckoned in the same way, the more usual method being to count the first as the fourth, and that nearest to Christmas as the first.

St. Thomas's Day was another occasion on which in many parts of the country the poor folk went round to the houses of their richer neighbours, in the hope of getting the means of enjoying themselves at the coming Christmastide. In some places this was called "going a-gooding." In

certain other districts this Festival was called "Doleing Day," and in others "Mumping Day." Mumping is a Dutch word, and one of its recognised meanings, according to Nic. Bailey, was "to beg." Those who are familiar with the *Spectator* —the old one, not its modern namesake— may remember that Addison, in one of his essays, uses the word thus :—"The mumpers, the halt, the blind." Chambers tells us that in Warwickshire the custom which is being described was called "going a-corning," from the poor people carrying a bag into which the farmers put corn. At the middle of the present century the custom of "gooding" existed in full force in Staffordshire, where all the poor folk went out on St. Thomas's Day in quest of alms. The clergyman was expected to give a shilling to each applicant, and all the well-to-do inhabitants contributed something either in money or in kind. At Harrington, in Worcestershire, it was customary for the children to go round the village on St. Thomas's Day begging for apples, and singing :—

"Wassail, Wassail, through the town,
If you've got any apples, throw them down ;
Up with the stocking and down with the shoe,
If you've got no apples money will do.
The jug is white, the ale is brown,
This is the best house in the town."

It appears that in olden time those who received money or other gifts on these occasions recognised them by presenting to the donors sprigs of holly or mistletoe. Besides the customary donations received, it was not unusual for the women to be regaled at the houses of the squires and farmers with hot spiced ale, of which they frequently had more than they could conveniently carry away with them. It is curious to notice how, in all ages and countries, eating and drinking almost always formed an item in the religious or quasi-religious observances.

The Lord Rector of Sudeley has told me that on St. Thomas's Day at Winchcombe, in the diocese of Gloucester and Bristol, the old people and children go from house to house begging for small sums of money. This they call "Thomasing."

A host of old world usages cluster round Christmas Eve, and Christmas Day, of course. Carols and carol singing, I think, ought to hold the first place. Perhaps the oddest sheet of carols ever printed is that mentioned by Hone in his "Every Day Book." It is headed "*Christus natus est*" —"Christ is born." There is below a woodcut 10 in. high, and 8½ in. wide, representing the stable at Bethlehem ; Christ in the crib watched by His Mother and St. Joseph ; angels attending ; a man playing on the bagpipes ; a woman with a basket of fruit on her head ; a sheep bleating ; an ox on the ground lowing ; a raven croaking, and a crow cawing on the hay rack ; a cock crowing above them, and angels singing in the sky. The animals have labels in their mouths bearing Latin inscriptions. Down the side of the woodcut is the following account and explanation :—"A religious man inventing the conceits of both birds and beasts drawn in the picture of our Saviour's birth doth thus express them. The cock croweth '*Christus natus est*'—Christ is born. The raven asketh '*Quando*' —When ? The crow replied '*Hoc nocte*' —this night. The ox crieth out '*Ubi, ubi*'—Where, where ? The sheep bleateth out 'Bethlehem, Bethlehem' ! A voice from heaven sounded '*Gloria in Excelsis*' —Glory be on high. London : printed and sold by J. Bradford in Little Briton, the corner house, over against the pump, 1701. Price one penny.' Hone's book was published in 1826, and he speaks of the fondness of the Welsh for carols at that date. He adds that formerly the Welsh folk "had carols adapted to most of the church festivals, and to the four seasons of the year, but in our times they are limited to that of Christmas." And he states further that after the turn of midnight on Christmas Eve, service is performed in the churches, followed by the singing of carols to the harp.

There are two usages connected with Christmas Eve which undoubtedly have come down to us from heathen times. One of these is the well-known privilege connected with the mistletoe. This plant, as everybody knows, was held in the greatest veneration by the Druids, especially when, as occasionally happened, it was found attached to the oak. The other is the burning of the Yule log. What is the derivation of "Yule" is a question much discussed, but without any really satisfactory result. The Yule log was, no doubt, originally burnt as a sacrifice to Odin or Wodin, the father of Thor according to Scandinavian mythology. It was formerly the custom to put aside a partially burnt portion of the log, and to keep it till the following Christmas. Then the new log was lighted with remnants of the old one. Herrick refers to this when he sings :—

"With the last year's brand
Light the new block, and
For good success on his spending,

On your psalteries play
That sweet luck may
Come while the log is a teending."

In Devonshire an "Ashton fagot" takes the place of the Yule log. In Cornwall the Christmas log is known by the name of "Mock."

A belief was long current in Devon and Cornwall, and perhaps still lingers both there and in other remote parts of the country, that at midnight on Christmas Eve the cattle in their stalls fall down on their knees in adoration of the infant Saviour, in the same manner as legend reports them to have done in the stable at Bethlehem. Bees are also said to sing in their hives at the same time, and bread baked on Christmas Eve was supposed never to become mouldy. All nature was believed to unite in celebrating the Birth of Christ, and to partake in the general joy which the anniversary of the Nativity inspired.

A quaint idea is still extant in Nottinghamshire,* says a writer in the early part of this century. Near the village of Raleigh there is a valley said to have been caused by an earthquake several hundred years ago, which swallowed up a whole village together with the church. Formerly it was the custom for people to assemble in this valley on Christmas Day morning to listen to the ringing of the bells beneath them. This, it was positively asserted, might be heard by putting the ear to the ground and listening attentively. Even now (adds the writer) it is usual on Christmas morning for the old men and women to tell their young friends to go to the valley, stoop down, and hear the bells ring merrily.

In his "Exeter Fifty Years Since," Mr. Cousins states that at seven o'clock on Christmas Day, previous to morning prayers, the tune to the Hundredth Psalm was played on the cathedral organ, the chorister boys singing the words in the minstrel gallery, which was provided with candles. Hundreds of people attended, but in consequence of the unruly conduct of parties who had accompanied the various choirs during the night singing anthems and carols (which was very general then) the Dean and Chapter put a stop to the custom.

At Hucknall Torkard, in Nottinghamshire, until lately the children who went about singing carols at Christmas used to take with them a box in which was a doll decked out. In the West Riding of Yorkshire the practice is very common.

A contributor to *Notes and Queries* in 1873 says that when he was a boy the colliers at Llwynymaen, two miles from Oswestry, were in the habit during the evening of Christmas week of carrying from house to house in the town boards covered with clay, in which were stuck lighted candles. This was done at Christmas, not at Candlemas, and only by the colliers. This was probably an ancient usage, and intended to indicate the Birth of the "Light of the World."

On Christmas Day at four o'clock in the morning, it was in past days customary at Tenby for the young men of the town to escort the rector with lighted torches from his house to the church. Extinguishing their torches in the porch, they went in to the early service, and when it was ended the torches were re-lighted, and the procession returned to the rectory, the bells chiming till the time of the usual morning service. This custom in the Welsh districts is called Pylgain, or Plygain, which means "The Morning Light."

A lady at Swansea has informed me that at St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, an early service used to be held on Christmas morning within the memory of persons now living. The church was lighted with coloured candles, carried thither on that occasion by the congregation. The early Christmas service was, I believe, held in many Welsh churches, but the name "Pylgain," which was given to it is now applied by the Welsh Wesleyans to their "Watch Night" services.

St. Stephen's Day, in the North of England, was known as "Wrenning Day," from the custom of stoning a wren to death in cruel commemoration of St. Stephen's martyrdom.

Holy Innocents' Day, also called "Childermas Day," has always had a veil of sorrow over it. In many places, in olden time, the *Gloria in Excelsis* was not used, nor the *Te Deum*, nor the *Gloria Patri*. The church colour was formerly black or violet. A trace of this still survives, or till recently did survive, at Leigh-upon-Mendip, Somerset, and at several other places, in the custom of ringing a muffled peal on that day.

Almost the only distinctly religious ceremony connected with the Festival of the Epiphany was the offering on that day, by

* [Has the writer of the above made a mistake in saying "Nottinghamshire"? I do not think that there is a village of that name in the county. There is a Rayleigh in Essex, about four miles from Rochford, and perhaps it is to this he is referring.—Ed.]

the Monarch, of gold, frankincense, and myrrh in imitation of the Magi. The form which this ceremony took a century ago was as follows :—The King, preceded by heralds, pursuivants, and the Knights of the Garter, Thistle, and Bath, in the collars of their respective Orders, went to the Royal Chapel of St. James, and offered gold, myrrh, and frankincense. Since the illness of George III. the procession, and even the personal appearance of the Monarch, have been discontinued. Two gentlemen from the Lord Chamberlain's office now appear instead, attended by one carrying a box ornamented at the top with a spangled star, from which they take the gifts above mentioned, and place them on an alms dish held forth by the officiating priest.

It was formerly the custom for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the London Guilds to go to St. Paul's on Twelfth Day to hear a sermon. This was spoken of as an old custom in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

At Padstow, in Cornwall, it was the custom, so late as 1859, for the rustics to set up a pitcher at a convenient distance on the eve of the Conversion of St. Paul (January 25) and to throw stones at it. It was called "Paul's Pitcher Day." The pitcher was pelted until it was entirely demolished. Of course, jollification and drinking succeeded the stone-throwing. This custom was in commemoration of the part which St. Paul took in the martyrdom of St. Stephen, and the fact that it was observed on the eve of the Festival, and not on the day itself, gives it a special significance.

On the eve of Candlemas (February 2) it was formerly the custom in Nottinghamshire to decorate both the churches and the houses with branches of box, and to light up a number of candles in the evening, as being the last day of the Christmas rejoicing. There is still a well-known saying :—

"On Candlemas Day
Throw candles away."

In connection with this Festival the old Latin proverb is well known :—

"Si Sol splendescat Maria purificante,
Major erit glacies post festum quam fuit ante."

It is said that in Cumberland the Festival of the Purification is known as "Coat-lap day." To the meaning of this I can give no clue.

We cannot be surprised that most of the customs which are connected with Shrove Tuesday should relate to its carnival character, and everybody recognises what is meant when they hear "pancake day" spoken of. There are, however, one or two Shrovetide usages which are not so familiar to the general public.

A former Vicar of Kirby Grinderlyth, Yorkshire, has told me that, in his part of the East Riding, Shrove Tuesday is called "Ball Day," and the school-children expect a half-holiday on purpose to play at ball.

It is, I believe, a traditional custom in the Isle of Wight for the children to go round their respective parishes on the morning of Shrove Tuesday, singing :—

"Shroving, shroving, I am come a-shroving;
White bread and apple pie,
My mouth is very dry,
I wish I were well awet,
As I could sing for a nut,
&c., &c."

We now come to Lent, and there are more indications that it was religiously observed by our forefathers than is generally supposed. During the reign of Elizabeth steps were taken officially to secure the fulfilment of the Church's rule of fasting. From Strype's "Annals" we learn that in 1560 a proclamation was put out at the beginning of Lent, that any butcher who killed animals for food during the season should be find £20 for each time that he did so. Heylin, in his "History of the Reformation," written during this reign, speaks of the weekly fasts, the Embering weeks, together with the Fast of the Rogation, as being "severely kept" by a forbearance of all kind of flesh. He is careful to point out that this was not by virtue of the statute, as in the time of King Edward, but as appointed by the Church in her public Calendar before the Book of Common Prayer. The Queen seems to have been very strict in the matter of Lenten observance, and the people would be pretty sure to follow her lead. Of herself we are told that she appointed some of the most noted of the clergy to preach before her on the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays during Lent, and that she always wore black when she went to hear them, "according to the commendable custom of her predecessors."

Strype, in his life of Parker, states that certain dispensations were granted upon reasonable causes. Thus, he cites the case of John Foxe, the martyrologist, a spare, sickly man, whom the Archbishop permitted to eat meat in Lent because of his "bad stomach." Applications for dispen-

sation had to be made, accompanied by a physician's certificate. We are, however, told that the Primate refused more of these applications than he accepted, which showed that he had no great faith in the certificates.

It was but natural that the strictness of Lenten observance, as it existed in Queen Elizabeth's reign, should, as time went on, become relaxed. There was, however, a good deal of earnestness among the better class of the clergy in favour of Lenten abstinence during the reigns of William and Anne. John Wesley, for instance, was strong upon the matter. Mr. Abbey calls attention to a paper of Steele's in the *Guardian*, especially addressed, in Lent, 1713, to careless men of pleasure, and begs them not to ridicule a season set apart for humiliation. Even during the dark days of the last century, a certain respect was shown to Lent as a specially solemn time. Mr. Walcot tells us that, at Rochester Cathedral, "the choir was silent on Litany days in Lent;" and even people of fashion, though they perhaps would not entirely forego their pleasures during the sacred season, paid a certain respect to it by wearing mourning when they went to the theatre, and the ordinary levities of society were distinctly toned down. In the earlier part of the present century it was considered the correct thing for ladies, during the forty days, to put on a more sombre garb than they usually wore. Mr. Chatterton Dix tells me that, until late years, the churches in Bristol were hung with black during Lent, and that the Cathedral has been similarly treated since its restoration. At York Minster the choir boys wore black gowns instead of surplices during Advent and Lent; and a writer in *Notes and Queries* of April 20, 1872, stated that, fifty years previous to that date, it was the custom for the "Protestant Episcopal" clergymen in Philadelphia to lay aside the surplice, and to assume the black gown for prayers as well as for preaching.

Mid-Lent, or the fourth Sunday in Lent, has for long been known as "Mothering Sunday." This name arose from the practice of young people, after they had left home for service, getting a holiday in the middle of Lent in order to pay a visit to their parents. They generally took with them some small gift or trifling delicacy. Amongst these latter a favourite one was a "Simnel cake," which in appearance was something like a raised pork pie, and it had in it a mixture of rich materials, after the nature of a plum cake. Concerning these Herrick sings:—

> "I'll to thee a Simnel bring,
> 'Gainst thou go a'mothering;
> So that when she blesses thee,
> Half that blessing thoul't give me."

These simnels were chiefly used in Herefordshire and Shropshire, I believe. The meaning of the word "Simnel" has been much disputed. In Gloucestershire "Mothering Cakes" are still common. At Cheltenham they were, and perhaps still are, made something after the fashion of mince-pies.

"Fig-pie Wake" is kept at Draycott-le-Moors, in Staffordshire, on Mid-Lent Sunday. The pies are made of dried figs, sugar, treacle, spice, etc. They are rather too luscious for those who are not to the manner born. On this Sunday the friends of the parishioners come to visit them, and to eat the fig pies. In parts of Oxfordshire figs are eaten on Palm Sunday in remembrance, it may be, of the fig-tree without fruit, which was cursed for its barrenness. It is believed that this custom dates from the times when the Church did not allow meat to be eaten, even on the Sundays in Lent, and fig-pies were served up as the richest food available.

In the North, more particularly in Cumberland, Passion Sunday, or the fifth Sunday in Lent, is called "Carling Sunday," from the custom of having a sort of pea, called a "Carling Nut," steeped and fried in butter. A kind of pancake is made of these, and is eaten with pepper and salt. The children are accustomed to count the Sundays from the fourth Sunday in Lent to Easter by the following couplet:—

> "Tid, Mid, Misera,
> Carlings, Palms, Pace Egg Day."

"Tid-mid" means, I presume, mid-tide, or the middle of Lent, and "Pace Egg," of course, signifies Easter.

There was a very curious custom observed on Palm Sunday at Sellack Church, Herefordshire, within the last hundred years. On that day one of the churchwardens came round and presented to the clergyman first, and then to each member of the congregation in his seat, a small bun, and his son followed immediately after him with a horn of cider for each person. At the presentation of each the words "Peace and good neighbourhood" were said, and the bun and cider were then consumed by each person before leaving the church.

The Caistor "Gad-whip" custom has been so often described that any mention of it would seem almost superfluous. However, it would not be right to omit it entirely when dealing with Palm Sunday usages.

Briefly put, it may be described as follows: Every Palm Sunday a man, representing the proprietor of the Broughton Estate, comes into Caistor Church porch while the First Lesson is being read and cracks what is called a "Gad-whip" three times. He then enters the church, and takes his place there among the congregation. During the Second Lesson he goes up to the clergyman holding the whip upright. Tied to it is a bag containing thirty pieces of silver. He then kneels down before the clergyman, and waves the whip three times round his head, and continues kneeling till the end of the Lesson. He then retires.

At St. Julian's, Shrewsbury, it was formerly the custom to use simply muscadine wine for the Holy Communion on all days except Palm Sunday, on which occasion a "pottle of claret" was used, in addition to the muscadine. This information is extracted from the churchwarden's accounts of that parish in 1622. No doubt this mixture was intended to symbolise the draught mingled with vinegar, which was offered to our Blessed Lord at the Crucifixion.

Kendal would not seem to be exactly the place for any one to choose if he wished to spend a quiet Maundy Thursday. It is customary there, as I am told, for parties of half-a-dozen or so little boys and girls to get each an old tin can, and to tie a string to it. One of each group starts off with it at a good pace trailing the can after him, and the others run behind striking the can with sticks, and singing :—

> "Trot hearen, trot horn,
> Good Friday, la morn,"

whatever that may mean. They continue this until the can is knocked to pieces.

The distinctive ceremonial, peculiar to Maundy Thursday, was that of people of exalted social position humbling themselves, as was supposed, by washing the feet of poor folk on that day. This custom dates from very early times, and it was doubtless intended as a suitable preparation for Good Friday, and was in imitation of the act of our Blessed Lord in washing the feet of His disciples as related in St. John xiii., with especial reference to the fourteenth verse, where we read Christ's words: "If I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet." It was formerly the custom in England for the King on Maundy Thursday to wash with his own hands the feet of as many poor men as he was years old. After this, food and money were given them. This ceremony was performed at Greenwich by Queen Elizabeth when she was thirty-nine years of age. Chambers tells us that she was attended by thirty-nine laides, and that thirty-nine poor persons had first their feet washed by the yeomen of the laundry with warm water and sweet herbs; afterwards by the sub-almoner, and lastly by the Queen herself kneeling. These various persons—the yeomen, the sub-almoner, and the Queen—after washing each foot, marked it with the sign of the Cross above the toes, and kissed it. Clothes, victuals, and money were then distributed. James II. was the last English King who carried out this ceremony in its entirety.

William III., as a sound Protestant, preferred to do this sort of thing by deputy, and left the washing to his almoner, and thus the pious custom in its old form died out. On Maundy Thursday, 1731, George II. was forty-eight years old, and forty-eight poor men, and a like number of poor women, had food distributed to them in the Banqueting House, Whitehall. The donation was curious enough as regards the variety of eatables. There were boiled beef, shoulders of mutton, and small bowls of ale. This was called dinner. After that, large wooden platters of fish and loaves: one large old ling, and one large dried cod; twelve red herrings and twelve white herrings, and four half-quartern loaves. Each person had one platter of this provision—not a very bountiful supply when it had to be divided among ninety-six poor people—but the first two Georges were not remarkable for their generosity. The poor folk fared better when the distribution of clothes and money took place. They received shoes, stockings, and leather bags, with penny, twopenny, and fourpenny pieces of silver, and shillings. It is said that each had altogether about £4 in value. In this reign the Lord High Almoner officiated at the feet-washing in place of the King. The washing ceremony has long been given up, and since the beginning of the present reign additional money has been bestowed in place of provisions.

A very odd Good Friday custom prevailed at Glentham, in Lincolnshire, until the early part of the present century. There is in the church a tomb with a figure, popu-

larly called "Molly Grime." This figure was regularly washed every Good Friday by seven aged maidens of Glentham, with water brought from Newell Well; each receiving a shilling for her trouble. This was in consequence of an old bequest connected with some property in that district. About 1832 the property was sold without any reference to the custom which had been attached to it, and the Molly Grime washing was discontinued.

It seems only natural that at such a time of festivity as Easter the customs attaching to the season took a secular rather than a religious form. Indeed, I know of none which were distinctively religious unless the following may be so regarded.

From the Rev. J. Burleigh Colvill I understand that when he was in charge of the parish of Hewelsfield, in the Forest of Dean, the churchwardens were wont to present to him, as he entered the church, two bouquets of flowers. One of these was to be placed on the altar, and the other was to be worn by the Officiant.

I believe that in days long gone by it was the custom to have a celebration of the Holy Communion very early on Easter morning. Thus, at Usk, in Monmouthshire, I understand that such a service at six o'clock on the morning of that day is quite a time-honoured usage.

One way in which our forefathers were accustomed to distinguish Easter Day as a special festival was by donning new clothes on that morning as a regular thing. A gentleman has told me that an ancestor of his who lived at the beginning of the last century always put on all her jewels on Easter Day. It is not likely that this was a mere private fancy of a religious woman. The probability is that she was simply following in the matter the general custom of ladies of her own rank at that date.

A clergyman has told me that when he was at Hawkchurch, in Dorsetshire, it was the custom for the parish clerk to make and take round on Easter Day to the houses of the principal inhabitants cakes made of flour, butter, and currants, and powdered with sugar. It need scarcely be said that these were sold at remunerative rates, and it was considered quite a wrong thing for any "respectable" family to be without them on Easter Day. A lady tells me that this was also the custom in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, Taunton.

Hasted, in his "History of Kent" (1790), states that in the parish of Biddenden there is an endowment of old but unknown date for making a distribution of cakes amongst the poor every Easter y in the afternoon. The source of the benefaction consists in twenty acres of land in five parcels commonly called "Bread and Cheese Land." Practically, in Mr. Hasted's time, six hundred cakes were thus disposed of, being given to persons who attended service, while two hundred and seventy loaves of three and a half pounds weight each, with a pound and a half of cheese were given in addition to such as were parishioners.

In the earlier part of the present century a curious custom prevailed in Birmingham. On Easter Monday any woman caught in the streets unprotected was liable to be lifted, or "heaved," as it was called, by any party of men whom she met, and she was not allowed to go free without paying a forfeit. The plan was for two of the men to clasp each other's wrists, and to make the victim sit upon their joined arms. They then lifted her up and down two or three times, and carried her a little way down the street. On Easter Tuesday the women were wont to retaliate upon the men in a similar fashion. Possibly this usage may originally have had some symbolical reference to the Resurrection. The popular idea was that the "heaving" was a pretended test as to how Lent had been observed by the patient. This custom used to prevail in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire, as well as in Warwickshire. I have seen it stated that in Durham the men on Easter Monday used to claim the right to take off the women's shoes, and that on Easter Tuesday the women retaliated.

The custom of giving away eggs, hard-boiled and fancifully coloured, at Easter, is too well known to need more than a passing notice. However, probably some of those who give or receive them think little of the religious signification of the custom, and how remarkable a type of the Resurrection is a chick coming from an egg.

May is the month wherein Nature appears to break out into renewed beauty, and has, almost from time immemorial, been connected with joviality and lightness of heart. The ancient festival of the goddess, Flora, was held on or about the first of May, and it has been supposed that the pretty rustic custom of choosing a "Queen of the May" originated from the heathen commemoration. In olden times when Rome, as a Christian Church, was in the ascendant, May was the month kept in honour of the Blessed Virgin. When I was living at Teignmouth, in South Devon,

a good many years ago, it was usual for the children to go about from house to house on May-day exhibiting a doll gaily dressed, and surrounded with flowers. The doll was carried in a box or a basket. This, I have no doubt, was originally intended to represent the Virgin Mary ; they now go by the somewhat debased name of "May Babies."

This custom is not peculiar to Devonshire. I find that in Essex these dolls are or were carried about on May-day, and, if I mistake not, also at Hitchin, in Hertfordshire, and probably at many other places. Thus, the late Colonel Bagnall, when churchwarden at West Bromwich, told me that in that town the children, on May-day, bring round garlands, decorated sticks, and dolls in a bower adorned with flowers.

At Wolverhampton, until about 1765, the sacrist, resident prebendaries, and members of the choir, assembled at morning prayer on Monday and Tuesday in Rogation Week, with charity children bearing long poles clothed with all sorts of flowers then in season, which were afterwards carried through the streets with much solemnity ; the clergy, singing men and boys, in their church vestments, closing the procession, and chanting the *Benedicite*. The boundaries of the parish were marked in many places by "Gospel trees." These were the spots where the Gospel was read during the function.

The will of Sylvanus Lysons (who left certain lands in trust for charitable purposes) provides that there shall be service in Hemsted Church, Gloucestershire, on Ascension Day, with a celebration of Holy Communion. A guinea to the officiating clergyman, with a fee to the clerk, is paid from the funds of the "Lysons' Charity."

For some reason or another, the element of water seems to be mixed up with Ascension Day local customs. Thus "Cuthbert Bede" writes :—"A Warwickshire cook of a relative of mine was seen last Ascension Day, May 1, standing out of doors, basin in hand, to catch the rain that was falling. In explanation she said that Holy Thursday rain was holy water, and came straight from Heaven. The reason why she preserved it was because it was good for weak or sore eyes.

The ancient custom of well-dressing, as at Tissington, Derbyshire, took place on Ascension Day.

Mr. Mackenzie Walcot, in his "Sacred Archæology," states that at St. Magnus, in the City of London, the clergy on this day are presented with ribbons, silks, and stay-laces. If it is difficult to understand what connection there can be between Water and Holy Thursday, it is still more puzzling to discover what these above-named articles can have to do with the Festival.

We come now to Whitsun Tide, the characteristic observance of which in former times consisted in the holding of "Church Ales," which has been already described in these papers. There are, however, one or two local customs which must be noticed.

From an early date the householders of St. Briavels, near Coleford, Gloucestershire, have had the privilege of cutting down the underwood and of pasturing cattle and sheep on a tract of land of about 1,200 acres, called "Halknall," or some such name. It is said that a penny a year was formerly paid to the churchwardens—I presume from those who used the land—and that this money was expended in the purchase of bread and cheese to be distributed in the church on Whitsun Day. This payment has long fallen into disuse, and the distribution of bread and cheese, no doubt originally given to the poorer worshippers, degenerated to a mere scramble, and the church was sadly desecrated. For the last few years the custom has been dying out, and it ceased in 1879.

It has been an immemorial custom in some parishes to decorate the church with boughs or sprigs of birch on Whitsun Day. What the birch-tree can have to do with Whitsuntide, will probably be a puzzle to many ; but I think that a reason can be found without looking very far. All those who are versed in what may be called "Tree Lore," must be aware that one of the peculiarities of the birch is its more than ordinary power of resisting decay. This attribute of durability is in an especial degree possessed by its bark. This has been proved by the fact that portions of birch bark have been found uninjured at considerable depths in peat bogs, where it must have lain for centuries.

GEOLOGICAL TIME.

BY PROFESSOR G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, OBERLIN.

From *The Congregationalist* (Boston), August 4, 1892.

An instructive illustration of the uncertainties of science is found in the theories that have prevailed respecting the length of

geological time. In the early part of the century geological epochs were generally supposed to have been brought about by a series of catastrophes in which mountain systems were upheaved by a single impulse, and systems of life to have been alternately destroyed by these convulsions and created anew by a direct fiat of the Almighty. The geologists of that period are now justly characterized as having been prodigal of force and parsimonious of time.

With the publication of Sir Charles Lyell's Principles of Geology in 1830 the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme, and geologists became parsimonious of force and prodigal of time. Lyell's main thesis was to show that all past changes in the geological history of the world could have been brought about by existing forces of nature in their present degree of activity, provided time enough were allowed for their operation. Lyell's great merit consisted, however, not merely in vividly portraying the ultimate results of slowly accumulating agencies, but in giving a vivid representation of the great activity of present geological forces. Before his day geologists had no proper conception of the rapidity with which streams of water and ice are even now wearing down the continents and filling up the lakes and seas into which they pour the grist which has been ground up in their ceaseless mill. Nor was there before Lyell's day any adequate conception of the geological changes brought about during the historical period through the agency of earthquakes and volcanoes, nor of the extent of the continents which are now subject to slow changes of level.

Nevertheless, even Lyell greatly underestimated the activity of these forces and habitually overestimated the time necessary to produce the various geological effects which he was called upon to study. He was accustomed to speak of the rocks which contain the earliest forms of life as being at least five hundred million or six hundred million years old, so slowly did he think that geological time must have dragged its weary length along, and so unlimited did the vistas of the past duration of the world appear to his vision.

Lyell's estimate of the rate of geological changes and of the length of geological time profoundly influenced Charles Darwin at the time he published the first edition of his Origin of Species, and gave character to a good deal of the speculation which appeared in that edition, and paved the way for the principal errors into which he fell, and which in later editions he so candidly retracted. In Darwin's earlier speculations he represented the changes which are taking place in species to be by steps almost infinitesimally short, and hence demanding an enormous length of time to account for the results finally attained.

As an illustration of the extravagance of his early calculations and of the gracefulness with which he beat a retreat when the facts were pointed out it will be profitable to recount the progress of his speculations as to the length of time required for the erosion of the "wealden" rocks in Great Britain. This is a formation in Southwestern England which is estimated to have been lowered by erosion about 500 feet since the time of the deposit of the chalk. When he first wrote Darwin's only conception of the process of erosion was the advance of the sea against a cliff. This he calculated would proceed in the wealden rocks at the rate of only one inch in a century, and so the denudation of the "weald must have required 306,662,400 years." But, to be safe, he thought perhaps he might allow an advance of two or three inches a century, which would reduce the number of years to 150 or 100 million years. This, however, he regarded as "a mere trifle in comparison with the time required for many other instances of erosion."

The critics were not slow in pointing out to Mr. Darwin that he had overlooked some of the most important agencies affecting the rate of erosion, and he made haste in his third edition to insert a note confessing that his mode of calculation was exceedingly crude, and that he always supposed that the reader would double or quadruple or increase in any proportion which seemed to him fair the probable rate of denudation per century, but owned that he had been rash and unguarded in his calculation. No one at that time, however, not even Darwin's critics, had any proper appreciation of the most active forces engaged in wearing down the continents. The wasting of the cliffs exposed to the sea is but a small factor in the work of land leveling which is constantly going forward. The waves of the ocean are, indeed, powerful, but they are extremely limited in their access to the land. The main agency in lowering the continents is the combined work of the ten thousand times ten thousand streamlets which trickle down from every hillside and mountain slope, each contributing its mite to the silt which colors the water of every great river entering the ocean. The combined influence of these individually insignificant agencies, as they gather the soil

which has been loosened by the winter's frost or brought to the surface by the countless worms as they seek the light and bear it onwards toward the sea, is thirty or forty times greater than that of the waves which beat against the limited shore line.

Indeed, the combined influence of these lines of drainage, ramifying the whole surface of the continent, is so vast that if it went on continuously without counteraction all the land that is now above the sea would be transported to the bed of the ocean in a few million years. The sediment carried by the Mississippi River past New Orleans is sufficient to lower the whole valley of the Mississippi from the Rocky Mountains to the Alleghenies a foot in about 5,000 years or twenty feet in 100,000 years, amounting to 200 feet in 1,000,000 years, while the river Po is transporting material to the Adriatic at a rate which would lower its whole drainage basin a foot in 700 years! It is not surprising, therefore, that in later editions of his Origin of Species Mr. Darwin quietly withdrew the surprising calculation of his earlier edition and in place of it substituted some very just remarks about the incomprehensible length of a million of years.

It is interesting to notice that one of the most effective factors in diminishing estimates of geological time was the mathematical work of Prof. George H. Darwin, who has become as eminent in his chosen department at Cambridge as his father was in natural history. According to his calculations based upon the retarding influences of the tides the world 100 million years ago would have been entirely unfit for the life which appears in the early geological formations, and probably would have been so fifty million years ago. Other astronomers and physicists would confine geological time within even narrower limits. Thirty millions of years is as long a time as Professor Young would allow for the existence of life upon the world, and even that period is only obtained by bringing supplies of heat to the sun from improbable sources. Sir William Thomson and Professor Newcomb would go even farther and limit geological time to twelve or fifteen millions of years.

With such variations in results in view, in which we are made to come down from an estimate of 300,000,000, which was spoken of as a mere trifle, to an estimate in which 30,000,000 is regarded as almost extravagant, the tendency at first will be to look with contempt upon the whole science. But manifestly this would be unfair. For confessedly a large part of such calculations is merely tentative and is expected only to serve an important purpose in slowly approximating to correct results. When an hypothesis is squarely presented facts can be adjusted to it to see how they all fit, and so the correctness of the theory be tested. The mistake of many is in looking upon all the physical sciences as finished products. This they are far from being. They are all more or less in an hypothetical stage—a fact from which the believer in the Bible can find great source of comfort. If he accepts only such things as science can prove there will be little danger of conflict with the proper interpretation of Biblical language.

If, as seems probable, the believer in the Bible shall be called upon to lengthen the accepted chronology of man a few thousand years (which I believe is all he is likely to have to do) he may console himself with the enormous reduction of time which the geologists have been compelled to admit. Darwin is by no means the only one who has blundered in this respect. The eminent French glacialist, Desor, estimated that the Niagara River must have occupied 3,500,000 years in wearing the gorge back from Queenston to the present cataract! Sir Charles Lyell was willing to divide the sum by 100 and allow 35,000 years. By accurate measurements we now know that Sir Charles Lyell's estimate must be divided by three. Desor's guess was only 300 times too large! Surely, in view of their mistakes in interpreting nature, geologists should at least be courteous in dealing with theologians for their uncertainties in interpreting the Bible.

THE HOME RELATION TO FOREIGN MISSIONS.

BY PHILIP S. MOXOM, D.D.

From *The Standard* (Bapt.), Chicago, August 11, 1892.

THE beginnings of Christianity are full of suggestion to us. We make a mistake when we turn to apostolic times for a fixed model of church organization or a fixed method of Christian work. We make no mistake when we look back to that time for impulse and direction, for *inspiration* and *tendency*.

At first everything was plastic, even fluent. Every soul that received "the good tidings" was naturally a missionary. Believers, glad in the new gospel, went every-

where publishing that gospel. The first preachers, with few exceptions, had no official character nor formal authorization. New communities were penetrated and new churches founded as spontaneously as fields are sown with flowers by the vagrant winds and the birds. But soon system began to appear. The Gentile world was to be opened to the gospel. The work of Christianity was to be consolidated and made permanent as well as expanded. Men were called by the Holy Spirit and commissioned by the church to bear the gospel into new fields—to plant the seeds and cherish the growth of the new life. Paul and Barnabas are typical or representative. The whole church of Antioch could not go into Asia Minor; that would be not a mission but a migration. The propagation of the gospel is too great and too exigent a work to be left to the spontaneous and unguided impulses of everybody. The awakened heart requires and produces an awakened intellect. Thought begins to grow organic, zeal begins to seek the discipline and efficiency of method. A great genius arises who has the strategy of a soldier, the diplomacy of a statesman, and the practical, constructive energy of a master-engineer. From the moment Paul appears on the field appear the beginnings of system in the extension of the Christian faith and life.

As the real aim of Christianity slowly defines itself in the Christian mind of that early day, the consciousness awakens that the work of spreading the gospel requires chosen, qualified and consecrated men, whose whole business shall be to become mouths and hands, speakers and builders—for the church. All cannot do this work. All have close and vital relations to it; but they must have special agents, through whom the wisdom and love of the whole church shall speak and act with the skill and method of minds trained to the specific work of organizing out of the chaos of pagan life the fair structure of the kingdom of God. Ministers and missionaries arise out of the very exigency of the situation. The distinction between the pastor and missionary is not accidental. The former conserves what the latter conquers. To the whole church was given the commission to "disciple all nations;" the church fulfils this commission by concentrating its energies in chosen representatives as the body concentrates its energy in the eye and hand for the accomplishment of a specific work. The missionaries do not assume the obligations of the church; they effectively express the energy of the church in fulfilling its obligations. The missionaries are the church evangelizing. They are not proxies, but instruments,—eyes and hands.

The growth of a specific function in the church always brings a peril—the peril of a separation of interests. Historic experience impressively teaches us that. The pastor must be bound with the church in one arterial circulation. He is the church teaching and nourishing itself in the truths and life of the Spirit. The missionary also must be bound with the church in one arterial circulation. He is the church invading and possessing new territory, the church evangelizing, the church missionating. A subtle error often lurks under the very question: "What is the relation of Christians at home to missionary work in foreign lands?" It is the error of thinking, or unconsciously assuming, that missionaries are people in some sense apart from the church, who are worthy of our admiration and who not unreasonably appeal to us for aid, but who are conducting an independent enterprise for the promotion of which we have no special obligation. But this is to deny both the vital unity of the church, a unity not of form nor of creed, but of spiritual life—and the universal aim of the church as the means through which the kingdom of God is to be realized on earth.

There is in our thought on religion often quite as much disintegrating individualism as there is in our thought on social life. What is the claim that is on us for missionary enterprise in the broadest sense? It is the claim of Christ, who seeks through his followers the salvation of the world. It is the claim of that love which makes service the supreme law of life. It is the claim of that solidarity of the race which makes the whole unescapably participant in both the good and the ill of all families, tribes and nations. The gospel integrates men in thought and feeling as nature integrates them in the physical order of organic life. The Christian missionaries in foreign lands are not even a mere detachment from the church; they are the church pushing itself forward into the world. They are not doing something on behalf of the church for which they should be supported; they are the church doing its own duty in unevangelizing lands.

If, now, we truly understand the true function of the church as the depositary of the gospel and the means through which the kingdom of God is to be realized on earth; if we see that missionary enterprise in foreign lands is the legitimate and in-

alienable enterprise of the church which from the nature of the case must be carried on immediately by specially chosen and qualified workers; and if we realize, not that these workers are simply doing their own work, nor that they are doing our work for us, but that through them as agents and representatives, as eyes and mouths and hands, we are doing our own work: if we clearly realize this, then we may ask with profit: "What in detail is the relation of the great body of Christians in evangelized lands to the missionary enterprise in heathen lands."

That relation is

I. A Relation of Responsibility.

The churches at home are responsible to God for the persistent and faithful prosecution of this work. It is their great duty to possess humanity with the truth and love and righteousness of Christ; in a word, to make Christianity co-existent with the territory and the life of the world.

Any conception of the church's missionary obligation less broad than this is inadequate, and to rest content with any aim less inclusive than this is to be unfaithful to Christ and to go contrary to the very genius of Christianity. The churches at home are responsible for the men and means for the prosecution of this work. This responsibility involves:

(1.) *Search.* Workers are to be found who are ready and fit to be the representatives and instruments of the church in the missionary enterprise. The search is upward and then inward; to God, and then to the members from among whom by the mediation of the church the missionaries are called. The search is (*a*) *prayer* to God "that he will send forth laborers into his harvest." Prayer is far more than formal petition: it is the pregnant spirit which produces workers and forces. It is the strenuous and successful effort to rise to the divine point of view, and to appropriate the divine wisdom and power by which souls are impressed and anointed and made efficient for the work to which God commands them. But prayer for fit agents of the church in carrying out its mission is genuine and prevailing only as it is accompanied by an expectant and intelligent quest for those fit agents. It is inseparable, then, from (*b*) *Inquiry.* Attention must be turned earnestly and persistently toward the possible workers. The divine injunction to faith is "seek" as well as "ask." We pray much with our eyes shut. The attitude is symbolical of our too common habit. The church asks for men, and God answers by bidding her open her eyes and look for them. Prayer is not a substitute for effort, but preparation and endowment for effort. In all the churches there should be this trustful, keen-eyed and earnest quest for the men and women in whom and through whom the organic Christian life shall go into all the world. It was no surprise to the church in Antioch when the Spirit said, "Separate unto me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." It had its eye on these men. But the consciousness of the modern church should be much clearer and wider than the consciousness of the primitive church.

The early Christians grew slowly to the idea that they were to possess the world for Christ, while that idea belongs among the fundamental elements of our Christian thought. It is clear that the churches can meet their responsibility only by asking God for missionaries and by seeking and finding missionaries. The search must be not only a persistent, but a discriminating endeavor to secure those who by endowment and character are fit for just this work of missionary evangelization. The best ought to be the only tolerable, for these missionaries are not mercenaries and substitutes, but the very body of Christ projecting itself into far-lying fields for the purpose of reaching every lost soul and saving the world by the gospel and the indwelling life of the Son of God.

Having found, and continually finding, those whom the Spirit evidently calls, the church's responsibility involves (2) the hearty and authoritative *consecration* of these chosen ones for their special work. "And when they had fasted and prayed and laid their hands on them they sent them away." Thus simply is the story told of that first foreign missionary movement. The consecration is twofold; it is of the church as well as of the missionaries. No ties were broken. The heart of the church continued to beat in the pulses of these men. Their going was simply an extension of the Christian body. The consecration meant not that the church had fulfilled an obligation, but rather that it had recognized an obligation on itself which it was now proceeding to fulfil in the activity and devotion of representatives who were and continued to be organically part of its own life. The figure that represents the missionary as a worker lowered into a mine by a rope which the church holds is untrue by defect. The relation is too vital to be expressed in such a figure. In the very act

of consecrating and sending forth missionaries the church says to them : "In you goes the church of Christ. This is not your work alone ; it is our work ; it is the work of all. You are unsevered and unseverable members of the living body that is quickened and warmed by one heart and guided by one head."

The responsibility of the churches at home involves (3) *Support.* The missionary life in heathen lands always entails more or less privation and hardship. This is inevitable. But we at home have no right to increase the hardship by any neglect of our duty : nor have we a right to leave unmitigated any hardship that hinders the largest fruitfulness of missionary labor. We are not engaged in any charitable work of supererogation. Missionary expenses are our legitimate expenses. They belong to the regular budget of the churches. The Missionary Union is not an independent personality with its own responsibility and obligation. It is merely the agent of the churches to facilitate the effort of the churches to carry on their work in other lands. One of the evils, or at least disadvantages of organization is the attendant lessening of that sense of immediate responsibility which ought to be quick in the mind of the churches. The responsible person is not the Union but the churches. We talk much about giving to the Union. We give nothing to the Union. The organization is simply the reservoir that collects the thousand rivulets of missionary offerings to concentrate them in large streams of well-directed power.

The support which the missionary enterprise demands from the churches at home may be divided into *Personal* and *General.* (1.) The *personal* support is such provision for the wants of missionaries as shall be adequate. These workers are not merely to be kept alive. They should be relieved, as far as possible, from all such care for themselves and their families as would prevent them from putting their undivided energy into their work. One does not tie three fingers of his hand, or embarrass his arm with unnecessary weights, when he puts it to any task. The missionaries are our hands doing the work to which we with them have been called.

(2.) The *general* support is such provision of means as shall make work efficient and conserve its results. These means include books, buildings, printing-presses, schools, dispensaries, vehicles, everything that may serve the constructive aims of the missionary. No expense is too great if higher efficiency is thereby secured. Parsimony makes waste more often than prodigality. We shall never give too much. Think of the enterprise in which we are engaged. We are called to evangelize the world. We are commissioned to make manifest in all nations the kingdom of our God and his Christ. What is wealth for but to serve the ends of that redemptive process which is making the history of man ? Its chief value lies in its susceptibility to transformation into spiritual force and its power thus to achieve spiritual results. We own Christ as Lord. He is then master of our possessions as well as the subject of our professions. By every consideration of gratitude, of faith, of enduring interest, and of holy love we are bound to give to missions the amplest support. Only thus can we honorably meet the responsibility that is laid upon us as disciples of Jesus Christ.

II. Sympathy.

The relation of the church at home to the missionaries and their work in foreign lands should be one of *sympathy.* This is not pity. No missionary desires the pity of his brethren at home. His lot is not pitiable ; it is most honorable and his work most rewarding. But sympathy he does ask. What is sympathy ? Not merely suffering with, for it has not regard only for sad and painful experiences. Sympathy is feeling with. It is entering into and abiding in a community of life. It is sharing in all the varying experiences and emotions and aspirations and endeavors that have place in a missionary life. Such sympathy can exist only on the basis of a right conception of missionary enterprise and of our vital relation thereto. Having such right conception we shall feel that the missionary's work is our work. We shall sympathize with him in his trials and difficulties. We shall sympathize with him in all his attempts and achievements. We shall feel all the sad or joyful pulsations of that distant life as if it were our own. We shall make it our own by our purposeful efforts to know the circumstances and incidents of that life ; by our purposeful love urging us into vicarious joy and sorrow ; by our purposeful solicitude of prayer by which we shall present to God the needs and aspirations of those in whom we are fulfilling our obligation to "disciple all nations." We need to overcome the obstruction of physical remoteness by establishing in our minds a continuous spiritual proximity. By cultivating thus a conscientious and vivid sympathy with missionaries we not only quicken

our sense of responsibility for the work, but we also enlarge our ideas and deepen our impulses of benevolence. It is fair to measure our sympathy by our gifts, if we measure our gifts by our ability. To feel genuinely is to act. There is a shallow missionary sentimentalism. Every genuine thing seems to be haunted by the ghost of a counterfeit. But the counterfeit sympathy bears no cost. It flies at the approach of the contribution-box. Action is the test as well as the expression of emotion. Sacrifice authenticates professed purposes. If the men and women who are our representatives in foreign lands are real and living personalities to us; if we think of them with a sympathy that makes us sharers in their experiences and endeavors, if we bear them on our hearts in prayers that throb with the insistence of deep and devout longing toward God on their behalf; and if our sympathy is vertebrate with a strong sense of our responsibility, then our gifts will be abundant and our zeal will be as ardent and enduring as it is rational and pure.

THE MOST ANCIENT CHURCH.

BY BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT.

From *The Christian Advocate* (Meth. Epis.), New York, August 18, 1892.

HERE at the junction of two streets, in a pleasant Western city, stands a stately pile, a church with Gothic gables, arched windows, and lofty spire. It is characterized by the solemn and impressive dignity of the Gothic order. A porch opens toward its ample doors. At first glance the entire structure appears to be very ancient. In fact, it was finished just five years ago. It is in imitation of the decorated Gothic of the fourteenth century, and is a beautiful example of the style it represents. It is a Methodist Episcopal church, and we congratulate the people who own it, for they do own it. There is no "mechanics' lien" upon it, nor any debt. How very substantial and antique and churchlike it looks! The style may be old, and the stone and the soil into which the foundations have settled themselves, but the church itself is just five years old.

Three gentlemen—the pastor of this Methodist Episcopal church, his intimate friend, the rector of that fine Protestant Episcopal church farther down the street, and Father O'Leary, the liberal and interesting priest of St. Michael's, a little farther down—happen to meet one pleasant October morning on the corner, just opposite our Gothic sanctuary, and, being on very good terms as neighbors and scholars, they stop for a short and good-natured chat, which finally turns on the ancient look of the newest church in town.

The Protestant Episcopal clergyman playfully hinted that the venerable appearance of the building was scarcely in keeping with the recent origin of the Denomination that worshipped in it. "You are but little more than one hundred years old," said he to the Methodist Episcopal pastor; "you were organized as a Church in 1784, I believe."

"And you," rejoined the pastor, "were organized as a Protestant Episcopal Church in 1785, one year later. We have, therefore, at least one year the start of you."

"Ah, my Methodist brother," replied the rector, "we came from the Church of England, and were a part of that ancient body."

"The same is true of us," said the Methodist pastor. "We are a daughter, the first-born, of the English Episcopal Church on this soil."

"I know that John Wesley died in the Church of England," answered the rector, "but almost with the force of a command he urged his followers never to leave the mother Church."

"Nay, my brother," said the representative of Wesley, "although John Wesley did die in the Church of England, he advised the American Methodists to organize an Episcopal Church in America independent of the Church of England. And he, John Wesley, who 'died in the Church of England,' did consecrate, assisted by other presbyters of the Church, a bishop for America. And John Wesley, as I have said, died a member and presbyter of the Church of England, the authorities not daring to bring him to account for consecrating a bishop, knowing how easy it would be for him to defend himself and to establish from ecclesiastical principles and precedents the legitimacy of his act. That 'John Wesley died in the Church,' which you Protestant Episcopalians so stoutly, frequently, and enthusiastically claim, is proof from your own lips that a man may be an unimpeached and unimpeachable presbyter of the Church of England and still join with other presbyters in consecrating a bishop, just as the Church of Alexandria did in the earlier centuries."

The rector was about to make reply when Father O'Leary, with a broad smile on his fine face, said: "Ah, you Episcopalians are all ecclesiastical pretenders, whether English or American. You go back indeed to the times of that foul fellow, Henry VIII.; but

all the authority you have, and there is precious little of it, comes through the Roman Catholic Church, the mother Church, the venerable, divine, and only Church, and we repudiate the whole of you, English and American, Protestant and Methodist; albeit we do find some of the best fruits of the Spirit in both, for which let us praise the name of the Lord and the blessed Virgin!"

"But, good Father O'Leary, there was a Church in England and there were bishops from England at councils before the Roman Catholics ever came to Britain, for there were church organization and orders there from the first century," said the rector.

"And from that Church of the first century," said the Methodist minister, "we came, Methodist Episcopal and Protestant Episcopal. Our ministry and yours, so far as outward order is concerned, has substantially the same authority, and that part of the Church of England (and it is in the majority) that repudiates, as did John Wesley, the 'apostolic succession' as unproved and unprovable is the Church of England which we of the Methodist Episcopal Church represent."

At this the discussion on the corner grew more heated, but was throughout good-natured. All three tried, once or twice, to talk all at once, but good breeding prevailed, and the utmost frankness and courtesy characterized the debate. Father O'Leary acknowledged that the "pope," the "confessional," the claim to "temporal power," the granting of "indulgences," the worship of Mary, the dogmas of the "immaculate conception," and "papal infallibility," "celibacy," etc., were indeed not to be found in the New Testament; but he claimed that "the Church" had "authority" and all that, so that the word of God is not all necessary to establish divine authority for any new institution or dogma which "the Church" may see fit in the exercise of her divine right to establish or proclaim.

The rector now attacked Father O'Leary on the ground that "the origin of pretty much everything that is distinctively Roman Catholic belongs to the third and fourth centuries; that there was no 'pope' who really filled the office of pope as now understood until about the eighth century; that the Bible is of little value as a guide to the doctrines, ecclesiastical officers, canons, and ritual of the Roman Catholic Church." Father O'Leary was somewhat excited, but kept his good nature, and warded off the historic statements of the rector by ingenious evasions.

The Methodist pastor insisted that "the New Testament Church, the true Church of the first century, was a brotherhood of believers; that there were no 'priests' in it at all; that ministers and laymen were equals before God, kings and priests alike; that in that early Church everything was simple, non-ritualistic, spontaneous; that the believers met as brothers and sisters in Christ, to study the word of God, to sing hymns and spiritual songs, to talk together freely about personal religious experience and the good work to be done by each and all of them in everyday life; that in those days there was no peculiar garb for the clergy, no candles or incense used in the worship—that everything, prayer, reading of Scripture, praise, experience, exhortation, preaching, centred in Christ as revealed in His word and by His Spirit."

This statement put rector and priest on the same side for a moment, while the pastor, under the shadow of his splendid Gothic spire, went on: "We do not boast of our architecture. Its suggestion of antiquity is simply a touch of taste. We do not put stress on our clerical succession, although from the hands of Bishop John Potter, of Oxford, on the 22d of September, 1728, John Wesley received ordination as a presbyter of the Church of England; and God made John Wesley a superintendent (a bishop) of a larger flock than even Bishop Potter as Archbishop of Canterbury afterward ruled over. We have the tactual succession of the Church of England. If that goes back to Henry VIII., then we Methodist Episcopalians of America go back to Henry VIII. If it goes back to the first century through some company of early presbyters or some New Testament presbyter bishop, then do we go back to the first century. But the tactual succession is nothing as compared with the actual succession which we claim in common with Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, devout Roman Catholics, and Protestant Episcopalians who put all stress on the spirit and life of Christ within, on faith and love, on hope and joy, on simplicity and true wisdom, and everyday adaptation to the age we live in. We claim to be first-century Christians. The holier and more earnest we are, the 'earlier' and more 'ancient' we are." And the Methodist pastor's face shone with the light of love and power which dwelt in him.

"God bless you!" said Father O'Leary, as the Christian within him got the better of the papacy for a moment.

"Amen," responded the rector, forgetting

in the genuineness of his personal love for the Methodist pastor and brother, that, as he afterward said to himself: "After all there must be some heresy in this Methodist Episcopal doctrine of ordination and succession and antiquity."

As rector and priest walked together down-town both paid tribute to the independence, zeal, and magnetic power of the young Methodist minister. They talked, too, for a time about the unity of the Church and the apparent impossibility of securing it. They parted with a playful stroke at each other's "ritualism."

That evening, in the upper room of the rear chapel of the Gothic church, the pastor read the story of the Pentecostal prayer meeting in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts i. 12–14; ii. 1–21), and the blessed chapter from Paul's letter to the Ephesians (Eph. iii.) setting forth the privileges of spiritual life. Then a good layman, who, like Stephen of old, was "full of faith and of the Holy Ghost," offered a prayer, in substance, as follows:

May we be, O Lord, like Thy servants of old who in Jerusalem sought the "power" which the ascended Christ had promised. We are now "with one accord in one place," and we seek the outpouring of Thy Holy Spirit, that we in this town and in this age may be true witnesses for Thee. May we now be "filled with all the fullness of God." And although we may not speak as by miracle in "other tongues," nor yet feel this place "shaken" by Thy glorious presence, may the promise be fulfilled and "greater work than these" recorded in Thy word be wrought in us and by us. And upon all the churches in our town, of every Denomination, upon pastors and rectors and priests and people, pour out Thy Holy Spirit. And may the whole globe be girdled by Thy grace, that Thy kingdom may come and Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. And may we thus, O Lord, be a part and do the work and share the blessing of Thy most ancient Church, through Jesus Christ, to whom, with Thee, the Father, and the Holy Spirit, ever one God, be praise forevermore. Amen.

And all the people said with force and fervor: "Amen! amen!" And the pastor, in closing the service of the evening, said:

Verily, these are the most ancient things of the Church: Truth, faith, love, hope, joy, righteousness, the spirit and habit of obedience, the life of mutual forbearance and service, the actual personal presence of the Lord through the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. Without these ancient and blessed endowments we have nothing; with these we have all things.

Then he added this benediction:

But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life. . . . Now unto Him who is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of His glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen.

And again the people one and all said: "Amen! amen!"

Then after a moment's reverent silence they all began to shake hands in natural, hearty, joyful greeting, old and young, rich and poor, preacher and people, and the reverent worship of the hour blossomed out into an expression of human kindness and brotherly love.

The pastor going out into the silent and starry night said to his good wife: "That was a taste of the life of the Church of Christ in the beginning." And she said: "I am so glad we belong to such a blessed old-time Church."

That night our minister dreamed a dream. It is too long and too glorious to tell. But he stood in the great Gothic church with its lofty arches, and in the mysterious light he saw that the place was filled with people. To his surprise he saw in the altar and pulpit all the ministers in the town, of every Denomination. No one was missing. The rector and the priest were both there. And just then there was a noiseless rift in the lofty roof, and the heavens were opened and their came down armies of radiant ones, saints and angels. As far as the eye could reach toward the stars these multitudes were in view.

And a voice said: "The ancient things of the Church are truth and faith and love; and the real presence of Christ is in the individual believer through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit."

And another voice said: "The true unity of the Church is to be found through the real presence of Christ in the individual believer through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit."

And amidst a chorus of praise that filled both earth and heaven our minister awoke from his dream.

THE TRAMP PROBLEM IN BALTIMORE.

BY MARGARET SUTTON BRISCOE.

From *The Christian Union* (Undenom.), New York, August 27, 1892.

Much lies among us convulsively, nigh desperately, struggling to be born.—*Carlyle.*

"CHARITY is centralized; officers are hired; societies founded, with secretaries, paid or unpaid. The hunt of the deserving poor goes merrily forward," says Rob-

ert Louis Stevenson. The sheep and the goats are separated with an abundant care, and then—what of the goats? The Bishop of Maryland, in a late address to his clergy, has asked this question with some sternness.

Those who have been busy throwing out life-lines into the sea of sinking humanity, and in organizing life-saving stations, are sometimes startled on realizing that close by their feet, and within reach of their very arms, hands have emerged from the depths of depravity, and are, without aid from above, finding a way to the light.

A few steps off from one of the most crowded thoroughfares of Baltimore City there has been such an uplifting of hands for two years, almost alone and unrecognized. There, in what is called the "Fayette Street Narrows," stands an old church which for many years sheltered a large and influential congregation. As the dwellings around it gradually changed into warehouses, the bustle of trade rose higher and higher, until the church and the chapel beside it were reduced to silence and closed. When the chapel opened again, it was to admit a widely different assembly. Dives went out and Lazarus came in, and worse than Lazarus; for *his* sores were confined to the body.

A curious and pitiful sight awaited those who looked into the hall of this chapel on any cold night in the past winter. A huddled mass of sleeping humanity lay on the bare boards of the floor, with arms, heads, and legs in what seemed an entanglement so hopeless as to make it difficult to realize that this was not an awful monstrosity of aggregate flesh and blood. Yet they were all separate beings with separate souls, and, alas! separate responsibilities, to be parted with the morning; each bedfellow (if the term be not mockery) moving on in his own individual path, upward or downward as it might be, and according as the efforts of those who labor among them bore fruit. For this is now the headquarters of "The Free Sunday Breakfast and Rescue Association," the purpose of which is told in its charter, granted February, 1892: "Incorporated for religious and charitable purposes; and its aim will be to secure food, clothing, shelter, and employment for the poor and unfortunate, and to aid to elevate and save the fallen by means of the Gospel; and it shall be absolutely undenominational and unsectarian."

In the hall of this chapel as many as two hundred men have been fed, taught, and sheltered in a night. The average attendance has been about a hundred. Lodging was not a part of the original plan. That, and indeed the whole Association, has been an evolution, meeting needs as they arose. The cellar was first pressed into service as a shelter, and, despite its large stove, makes about the order of sleeping quarters that might be expected underground—damp and impure, though scrupulously clean.

In the emergency of a stormy night, when the cellar was full, and the tramps still came pouring in from the cold street, pleading for refuge, the floor of the hall was offered them; and the precedent established thus became a nightly custom. Here collects the tramp element of the city, and here their bodily and moral needs are met as far as is possible by the officers of the Association and their assistants, who are all unsalaried laborers, animated only by a great enthusiasm for humanity.

The work depends wholly on the voluntary contributions of these workers, and on what they can collect from outside. On this Apostolic basis the Association rests, for it is but little known by those in a position to assist financially. Yet, undoubtedly, in that very circumstance has lain the power of growth.

From the people themselves striving upward this movement has had its origin, and it is the expression of a heavenly sympathy for the erring on the part of those who have themselves known the bitterness of such a life. The reformed have become the reformers. The raw material is wrought into the image of a self-respecting man by those to whom every inch of the process is a personal experience.

To the effort of one man, now the Superintendent, the Association owes its direct birth, and he founded it literally on faith. Walking home one night from a meeting at a mission station in the lower part of the city, he paused before this silent church, and stood looking at it regretfully. To use his own words, "As I stood there I suddenly heard a voice say, 'Bill! you open up this place.'"

And he was not disobedient. The next day he presented himself at the door of a bank whose President he knew through some mutual mission interest. There, without backing of any description, he asked the loan of one hundred dollars.

"For what purpose?"

"For the Free Sunday Breakfast Association."

"What is that?"

As it was then nothing but a name, naturally the request was not granted.

"Lend me ten dollars, then, on my own account, and let me see what I can do,"

was the next proposition, which was acceded to.

Bread, ham, and coffee were given by others to the same unassociated Association. Those in power granted the use of the chapel building, free of charge, until it might rent to a more profitable tenant. Thus, on Sunday morning, November 16, 1890, the "Free Sunday Breakfast Association" opened.

The first effort was disappointing. The table was set for the guests from the waysides and hedges, but only five of those bidden appeared, and the sandwiches and coffee which the Superintendent had spent half the night in preparing were in a large part wasted. But from this beginning the Association has reached its present point of progress. It is now open every night for supper, teaching, and shelter. Its reading-room stands open all day, and a separate room has been fitted up with comfortable beds for individual cases.

The methods of work are extremely simple and fundamental. Prominent among the texts and inscriptions hanging on the walls of the hall is one which gives the system in a nutshell. It stands thus :

SOAP
SOUP
SALVATION

Bath-tubs and facilities for washing clothes are freely provided to such as wish to avail themselves of them ; then follows the supper in the hall, consisting of a roll and a cup of coffee served by the workers—an inexpensive entertainment, which yet forms a platform enabling the workers to get alongside of the men, and, as they frankly admit, attracting many who might not come at all otherwise ; but once there, they are often taken hold of and rescued from the mire.

At one of the meetings a nicely dressed young man was heard speaking to a worker aside :

"You don't remember me, sir ?"

"No ; have I seen you before ?"

"I was a Free Breakfast man. I have work now."

"And you are doing nicely ? Well, I am glad that I was not able to recognize you."

The evening ends with prayer and exhortation ; those who have been "picked up" are seated on the platform at the end of the room, and rise one by one to testify to their change of life in the face of an inscription which reads : "Testimonies short, sharp, and to the point." One rises who had not wandered far away when rescued. He was on the downward path chiefly because it seemed the only way open to him. Another speaks from the platform of a "body full of whiskey, and no coat on his back," when he struggled into the hall and safety. "I was as low as the lowest among you," he says simply, and you look around the strange assembly of faces, all more or less degraded, many repulsive, expecting to see offence expressed, but you find only interest.

The exhortations are earnest and direct. Men speak as only men who *know* can speak. Driven upward themselves by the implacable gadfly of a desire for good, they have proven their possession of a spark of the divine, else the gadfly might have stung in vain ; and it is on their belief in this birthright in others that they base their efforts.

The language is rough at times, and a spade is always a spade, but it is the speech that is understood by the listeners. You feel sure that no silver-tongued orator could touch these ears so delicately. They listen, and nudge one another when hard hit ; some only half liking it, some enjoying it, with a callous lack of self-consciousness, and a few of the younger men distinctly sheepish. All are interested in one way or another, and the attention is held. The people seem to know the secret of reaching the people as no political economist could have taught them. There is a pulse of life indescribably felt throughout.

As the workers mingle with the crowd, and as one or another gives them reason to think that his heart is touched and his dead aspirations quickened, they keep him in sight, and when the benches are piled up on the platform in preparation for the night, he is withdrawn from the human scramble on the floor, and given a bed in the separate room before mentioned : his first upward step. There he lodges till he can be returned to his home, or be respectably settled elsewhere with work. It may be that he has been drinking for days, and is rum-soaked to the core. In that case the key is quietly turned in the lock, and the poor besotted carcass nursed from the brute into manhood again. When he can once more eat and sleep and reason, his choice is given him. There is the sty, if he will return to it ; and here is a coat for his back, and decency of life.

The money expended for the passage home, for the decent clothing that made seeking and securing work a possibility, or for the new start in life, has not always found its limit. Again and again these sums, refunded with scrupulous care, come

back to aid the next poor stumbler. Some of the "cures" are passed on to the church or mission to which they belong, but many still linger about the spot where they first looked up to a different existence, and become the most efficient workers among the new-comers.

Although the Association is now a proven factor for good, there must of necessity come times of discouragement, when its workers, were they hirelings, might be tempted to leave all and "go a-fishing." Case after case arises that could only have been treated successfully through the father's fathers. The sour grapes have been eaten.

"What is your per cent. of success?" one of the workers was asked.

"It is small; we work with the lowest grade of material, and the per cent. in product, as every practical man knows, must be low in consequence. With a higher grade of material comes a higher per cent. of product." Another slum worker has said: "We cannot expect garbage-picking to pay well."

That the results in this case have been what they are is, as has been stated, undoubtedly due to the fact that the Association has been let alone to work out its own way to the light. That they are comparatively unknown, and that they do not themselves appreciate the advantage of this, is proven by a clipping from their monthly bulletin, which states with some feeling that ten dollars expended in sending out to the various churches appeals for aid met a return of three dollars and twenty-five cents. Those who have tested the liberality of the same churches know that, when properly approached, the response has been widely different.

But with the growth of the Association, with the necessity for music at the meetings, with the opening of the reading-room and Bible classes, has arisen a serious question. New workers were called, and among them came men of a different culture and wider knowledge. With rare tact and far-seeing self control, they have taken the position of subordinates and assistants only, but they are in touch with another world, where "organized charity" has wisely taught that, for all that is given, the tale of bricks must be exacted in one form or another. The very name of "Free Breakfast" smacks of pay without work in ears thus educated. In a natural line of growth, a wholesome fear of pauperizing has been aroused in the Association, and the need of providing work for the men who come for shelter and food is now recognized. But this involves a different home, and one of less uncertain tenure; and lodgings, if worked for, must rise above a standard which, in spite of cleanliness, just escapes a charge of lack of decency.

Growth calls for nourishment, which, calling in turn for the wherewithal, must inevitably bring into touch with the Association a social element hitherto almost excluded. With the difficulty of saying in the same breath "Give plenteously" and "Hands off," and with the danger of weakening which lies in any other policy, opens a new and equally interesting chapter of this social experiment.

THE STILLWATER FAILURE.

BY WAYLAND HOYT, D.D.

From *The Examiner* (Bapt.), New York, August 18, 1892.

AT least in Stillwater, Minn., the attempted marriage between the public school and the Roman Catholic parochial school has been denied the banns. The amalgamation will not continue for another year. The good sense and patriotism of the citizens of Stillwater have so announced themselves that the Roman Catholic parochial school must be conducted hereafter as a parochial school pure and simple, and not as a hybrid public-school-parochial-school. At such an issue all American citizens who, in accordance with the genius of our institutions, are bound to protest against any union of Church and State, may well and heartily congratulate themselves.

It may be well enough to restate the method of this proposed, and happily in this case defeated, union. It is very necessary that the American people clearly know what it all means. I am sure I am not writing in haphazard fashion when I say that this proposed plan includes elements like these.

It does not include any the less activity on the part of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the building and equipping of Roman Catholic parochial schools in many places. To the parochial school system that hierarchy is pledged. As far as possible, to segregate the children of Roman Catholic parentage from the influences, broadening and patriotic, of our public school system, is still the unrelaxed intention of that hierarchy.

It does include, wherever it shall seem best to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, such

a relation to the public school system as shall enable them to use the public school system for their own purposes. There are places where the hierarchy cannot compass the management of the children by their own specific parochial schools ; the children are too many, the schools too expensive, or too poorly equipped. In such cases, it is the purpose of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to lay hold of and, at least in some sort, bend to their special uses, the public school system. They want to have schools like that accurately designated by a child in Stillwater, in answer to an inquiry, "Oh, you mean the *Catholic* public school upon the hill!" The name the child gave it is significant of the whole plan—a *Catholic* public school.

This plan involves the separation of the children of Roman Catholic parentage from the other children of the Republic. Where there are such things as ward lines, ward lines are to be wiped out as regards these special schools. Here is one of the most fatal blows at our whole public school system this plan contemplates. Our public school system is inclusive. This is exclusive. That means the mingling of all classes. This means the keeping apart of a special class. That means the general influences of the Republic playing upon and fusing the children. This means the special influence of a special church predominant. Nothing can more thoroughly clash with the fundamental idea of our public school system than such a notion and method as this. It means the resources of the State tasked and taxed to make a certain sort of religionists —something, in the American view, entirely foreign from the function of the State.

This plan involves that the teachers in these schools shall be *mainly* Roman Catholic. There may be here and there a teacher of another sort, but only on the fringe of things. The controlling influence in such schools is to be always Roman Catholic. Here, again, comes destined discord into our public school idea. Under such plan the boards of education would be obliged to ask, not, "Is such or such a teacher qualified to teach?" but, "Is such or such a teacher of such sectarian sort that he or she can teach in these special schools?"

This plan involves the wearing in such schools by the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical orders, of their peculiar ecclesiastical garb. And here, again, is clash with our public school idea. The structural thought of that is that it shall not be warped toward any sectarian instruction. But there are various sorts of instruction—teaching by garb and gesture, as well as by the ear or printed page. A Roman Catholic nun or friar in her special dress or his, means primarily and predominantly Roman Catholicism. Here is the strongest sort of visual sectarian teaching. That it is visual does not make it any the less sectarian.

This plan further involves that the title of all these so-called transferred parochial schools shall be always vested in the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and not in the constituted city or town authorities. For some pitiable sum, like a dollar a year, the school boards shall have the use of such property. Anybody can see that the school boards must come thus under special obligations to the owners of such properties—the Roman Catholic hierarchy. If such plan should generally prevail it could not but be that the hierarchy would come into a most undue position of control. If you accept a valuable thing for almost nothing you necessarily come under a sort of subjection to him from whom you receive such acceptance. Here you have an incipient union of Church and State. It is impossible to dodge the fact. The general carrying out of such a scheme as this would simply make the Roman Catholic hierarchy a very authoritative factor in public school instruction.

What is the great "compromise," so-called, in such a scheme as this? Simply that between the hours of nine in the morning and four in the afternoon, while the State has control, no sectarian instruction shall be given. But up to the moment of nine in the morning, and immediately after the moment of four in the afternoon, this same school, and with Roman Catholic teachers, and garb, and pupils—there need not be the slightest change—becomes immediately, on the strike of the clock, a full-fledged, thorough, intense Roman Catholic school. It seems to me it is very difficult to see where the great compromise comes in. It looks to me rather like capitulation of such schools by school boards to sectarian Roman Catholic uses. It is that. It is nothing else. More and more, should such a scheme get currency, American citizens would be subjected to the meddling in their school affairs of a foreign potentate on the Tiber. If Roman Catholics will persist in the establishment of denominational schools then they must be willing to pay for them, as the rest of us do. That is the nib of the whole scheme—to get possession of public school funds somehow for sectarian uses. But this shall never be in our free America. It would be the complete wreckage of our entire public school system.

All the Americans should rejoice with the patriotic citizens of Stillwater, that this subtle and utterly disorganizing scheme has been defeated amongst them.

THE LATEST DISCOVERY IN PALESTINE.

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D.

From *The Sunday-School Times* (Undenom.), Philadelphia, August 27, 1892.

SOME time ago I gave the readers of The Sunday-School Times an account of the work that had been done in Southern Palestine for the Palestine Exploration Fund by that prince of living excavators, Dr. Flinders Petrie. He had commenced excavations at a lofty *tell* or mound called Tell el-Hesy; and although the time at his disposal had been short, he had succeeded not only in determining the name of the city of which the tell is the last record, but also in founding the science of Palestinian archæology. He showed that Tell el-Hesy must represent the site of Lachish, one of the most important of the Jewish fortresses; and he further showed, by means of the pottery he had discovered in his Egyptian excavations, what seem to be the relative ages of the various strata of which the mound was composed.

As at Hissarlik or Troy, the several strata are the remains of the successive cities which rose one above the other on the same site. Each stratum or city was characterized by a particular kind of pottery, and one of the kinds Dr. Petrie had already met with in Egypt in situations where its date could be ascertained. He thus obtained a starting-point for fixing the approximate ages of the different strata of the tell, and for arranging them in chronological order. The lowest stratum, that on the top of which all the later towns had been built, went back to pre-Israelitish days, if his calculations were correct; and in the massive walls of brick by which it was surrounded he accordingly saw a structure of the Amorite period.

If Tell el-Hesy were Lachish, and if the ruins at the bottom of the mounds were the relics of the Amorite city which had been stormed and taken by the Israelites, it followed that these ruins ought to contain monuments of the age which preceded the Israelitish invasion of Canaan. Now, it so happened, that, when Dr. Petrie began his work at Tell el-Hesy, the cuneiform tablets found at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, and now preserved in the museums of Gizeh and Berlin, had just been published. Among them were letters sent to the Egyptian Pharaohs, in the closing years of the eighteenth dynasty, by the vassal kings and governors of Southern Palestine. These letters gave us a good deal of information about Lachish. Two of them, in fact, were written by governors of that city, one of whom was named Zimridi, or Zimrida, and the other Yabni-el. The latter name is substantially the same as the biblical Jabin.*

A letter from the king of Jerusalem informs us that Zimrida was murdered at Lachish by "the servants of the [Egyptian] king." It is therefore possible, if not probable, that Yabni-el was his successor. It is, however, with Zimrida, and not with Yabni-el, that we are at present engaged.

Dr. Petrie left Tell el-Hesy at the beginning of the summer of 1890, and did not return to it again. The committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund was therefore disinclined at first to continue the excavations there. I pleaded, however, on behalf of their continuance, and promised that, when the "Amorite" stratum was reached, cuneiform tablets would be found in it. The committee allowed itself to be persuaded; and Mr. Bliss, the son of the well-known principal of the American college at Beyrout, undertook to carry on the work of excavating.

My promise may seem to have been a rash one. But Dr. Petrie had made it clear that he had discovered the site of Lachish, and that considerable remains of the pre-Israelitish city still existed on the spot. Moreover, the letters sent to Egypt by the governors of Lachish showed that an official correspondence was kept up between them and the Egyptian court. There must therefore have been an archive-chamber in the palace of Lachish, in which that correspondence was preserved. As the letters were written upon imperishable clay, I felt confident that sooner or later they would be found. I had long believed that libraries of clay tablets, similar to those of Babylonia and Assyria, once existed in Palestine,—Kirjath-Sepher or "Book-town," † for example, being one of the places where they were established; and the discovery of the Tell el-Amarna tablets raised my belief almost to a certainty. Hence my anxiety that

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* Professor Dr. Hilprecht regards these two names as substantially different,—*Yabni-el* meaning "God creates;" the biblical Jabin meaning "He [that is, the child] is intelligent." —THE EDITOR S. S. T.

† While this interpretation of Kirjath-Sepher is the ordinary one, there are Semitic scholars who deem it an improbable, or indeed an impossible, one.—THE EDITOR S. S. T.

the excavations begun at Lachish should not be allowed to lapse.

But for a long while the persevering labors of Mr. Bliss bore no fruit. A considerable amount of money and time was spent, with little or no result. The committee of the fund began to despair. But just at the last moment, when the work was being suspended for the summer season of 1892, and Mr. Bliss's health was demanding his instant return to Beyrout, the workmen found their way to the remains of the Amorite Lachish. First of all, Egyptian beads and scarabs and Babylonian seal-cylinders were disinterred, and then came the crowning discovery of all. Unfortunately, it came on the very morning when the workmen were being dismissed, and their tools stored away, and so afforded but a Pisgah glance into the promised land.

The scarabs and beads belong to the age of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty ; and on one of the beads is the name and royal title of Queen Teie, the wife of Amenophis III., and the mother of Amenophis IV., to whom most of the Tell el-Amarna correspondence is addressed. The discovery proves the correctness of Dr. Petrie's arrangement of the pottery found in the tell. Among the beads, it may be mentioned, are two of amber, which testify to trade with the Baltic as far back as the century before the exodus.

Some of the cylinders came from Babylonia, and their style indicates that they belong to the period B.C. 2000-1500. One of them is of Egyptian porcelain, and must have been manufactured in Egypt in imitation of some Babylonian original, thus affording a fresh testimony to the intercourse which existed between the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile. Others, again, are rude copies of Babylonian cylinders, many examples of which have already been found in the prehistoric tombs of Cyprus, as well as in Phœnicia. Hitherto, it has been impossible to assign a date to them and the various objects with which they are associated ; the discoveries at Lachish now tell us to which age they must be referred. The fact is a striking illustration of the way in which one archæological discovery throws light on another, as well as of the closeness of the ties which bound together the nations of the ancient Oriental world.

I have said that the last morning of work at Tell el-Hesy was productive of a crowning discovery. A clay tablet covered with cuneiform characters was brought to light. As it was claimed by the Turkish government under the firman which permitted excavations to be made, casts only of it could be sent to England. The arrival of these casts I awaited with considerable anxiety. Cuneiform inscriptions on large slabs of stone have been forged, of recent years, in Palestine, and the telegram which announced the discovery of the tablet left me in doubt as to whether it might not be one of these slabs of stone. When the casts arrived, however, a glance at them was sufficient to dispel all doubts. Not only was the tablet like the larger part of the Tell el-Armana tablets in size and shape, but the forms of the characters inscribed upon it resembled those of the Tell el-Amarna letters, which had been sent from southern Palestine.

When I began to copy the text, I found that the grammar and formula were also those to which the correspondence of the kings and governors of southern Palestine found in Egypt had already accustomed us. But this was not all. The name of Zimrida twice occurred in the text, thus proving that Dr. Petrie had been right in identifying Tell el-Hesy with the ancient Lachish.

No cast, however good, can be as clear as the original, and consequently there are one or two characters about which I am not certain. Moreover, some words occur in the letter, for such it is, the meaning of which I do not know. The following translation of the tablet, accordingly, is offered only tentatively, doubtful words being marked by a query : " [To] the governor Bal . . . , I . . . abi prostrate myself at thy feet. Verily thou knowest that Baya and Zimrida have *brought the spoil* [?] of the city ; and Dan-Hadad says to Zimrida my father, The city of Yarami has sent to me [and has] given me 3 pieces of . . . wood and 3 slings and 3 falchions, since I am appointed over the country of the king ; but it has acted against me ; but unto my death do I remain. As regards thy *mul* which I have *brought* [?] from the enemy, I . . . , and I have despatched Bel [?]-banilu ; and . . . rabi-iluyu-ma [khir] has sent his brother to this country to [defend it]."

The city of Yarami may be the biblical Jarmuth, since the latter word is merely a plural of which Yarami would be the singular.*

It is difficult at first to realize the full importance of the discovery which Mr. Bliss has made ; but the romantic side of it cannot fail to strike every one. The archæological world has hardly as yet recovered from the astonishment caused by the dis-

* Professor Sayce apparently reads the Hebrew consonants as *Jarmōth* (plural), not, as commonly read, *Jarmūth* (singular).—THE EDITOR S. S. T.

covery at Tell el-Amarna, in Upper Egypt, of cuneiform tablets which contain the correspondence carried on between Asia and Egypt more than three thousand years ago. Among them is a letter from a certain Zimrida, the governor of Lachish, in the south of Canaan. Scarcely have the letters been published and read, when excavations carried on in southern Palestine, on a site ingeniously identified by Dr. Petrie with that of Lachish, bring to light a cuneiform tablet similar to those found in Egypt, and belonging to the same age. When it is copied and deciphered, it turns out to contain the name of the very Zimrida whose acquaintance we had just made. Since the days of Moses, the letter sent by Zimrida to the Pharaoh, and the letter which had been stored in the archive chamber of his own Canaanitish city, had been lying buried beneath the ground. But scarcely has the one been disinterred from its long resting-place, before the other also is discovered, and the two halves of a correspondence which was already past in the time of the exodus are again joined together.

The importance of the discovery is far-reaching. It is clear that Mr. Bliss has at length made his way to the governor's palace in the Amorite city of Lachish, and is already at the entrance to its ancient archive chamber. The discovery of one tablet is a guarantee for the discovery of others. Doubtless the majority of them will be letters; but the analogy of the Tell el-Amarna collection leads us to believe that letters will not be the only form of literature which we shall find. The readers of The Sunday-School Times have learned from Dr. Zimmern's article on "An Old Babylonian Legend from Egypt" that mythological texts were also included among the archives of the Egyptian Pharaohs; and the fact that one of the cities of southern Canaan was called Kirjath-Sepher indicates that the libraries of Canaan, like the libraries of Babylonia, were stocked with veritable books. Who knows what is in store for us, during the next few years, if only sufficient funds can be provided for carrying on the costly work of excavation? Histories of the patriarchs, records of Melchizedek and his dynasty, old hymns and religious legends, may be among the archæological treasures that are about to be exhibited to the wondering eyes of the present generation. A few years ago such a possibility could not have been dreamed of by the wildest imagination; now it is not only a possibility, but even a probability. To dig up the sources of Genesis is a better occupation than to spin theories and dissect the scriptural narrative in the name of the "higher criticism." A single blow of the excavator's pick has before now shattered the most ingenious conclusions of the Western critic; if the Palestine Exploration Fund is sufficiently supported by the public to enable it to continue the work it has begun, we doubt not that theory will soon be replaced by fact, and that the stories of the Old Testament which we are now being told are but myths and fictions will prove to be based on a solid foundation of truth.

SCIENCE AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

BY PROF. CHARLES DE HARLEZ, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN, BELGIUM. TRANSLATED BY PROF. HOWARD OSGOOD, D.D.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, August 18, 1892.

[Professor de Harlez is one of the most eminent European Orientalists, whose work has lain in the investigation of the earliest Asiatic literature outside of the Bible. His principal works have been a translation of the Avesta, 1875-80; Grammars, Sanscrit, 1877; Avesta, 1879, 2d ed., 1880; Pelhvi, 1880; Mendchu, 1884; "Origin of Zoroastrianism," 1879; "Vedism, Brahmanism and Christianity," 1881; "Text of Avesta," 1884; "History of Empire of Kin," 1887; "National Religion of Oriental Tartars, Mendchu and Mongol, compared with Religion of Ancient Chinese," 1888; I-LI, "*Cérémoniale de la Chine Antique*," 1890.

Professor de Harlez uses Vernes' "*Essais Bibliques*," to express his view that the "Higher Criticism" of the Old Testament proceeds on grounds that are at war with all sober historical criticism. He does not treat the question from the point of religion, but from that of science alone. The paper is translated from the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology."—H. O.]

WISHING to say something to our readers on the chief question discussed in this volume, we will pass by all else and concern ourselves solely with the purpose which the author had in view in giving these essays to the public. He proposed to justify the system set forth in his previous work, "The Results of Biblical Exegesis," which placed the date of the composition of the historical (*i.e.*, the Hexateuch and Judges) and prophetic books of the Bible, between the fourth and second century B.C. This system has found few adherents, and has drawn upon its author sharp criticism to which he would now offer a victorious reply. Has he succeeded? This is the question we are about to examine in a few words.

In the first place we acknowledge that the

bearing of Professor Vernes in this discussion is most courteous. He is not a rude contemner of what others regard as sacred. He seeks the truth as he conceives it, and according to his peculiar views, but in such manner that conservatives cannot charge him with wounding them. He seeks rather to be of service to them by showing them a field where, according to him, they are impregnable. On this field he wishes to be one with them. It gives me pleasure to acknowledge the honorable and gentlemanly method of his discussion ; but it would be impossible for me to follow his advice, because it lies outside of the discussion of the principles of the science of religions. In saying that I place myself solely on scientific grounds ; for scientific motives alone urge me to consider inadmissible both the principle on which Professor Vernes builds his theory and the arguments by which he supports it.

I do not intend here to enter into the depths of the debate. A passive but not indifferent observer of the battles around the biblical Troy, other cares have kept me far from this field. I limit myself, therefore, to some observations of a nature to influence the conclusions of these interminable debates. Professor Vernes will pardon me if I state here in all sincerity the impression made upon me by reading the essential portions of his work. One is surprised by the feebleness of the arguments brought forward to sustain propositions of exceptional importance. Speaking in a general way, it has always astonished me to see the contrast—on one side, the facility with which, against all probability, the most distant antiquity possible is accorded to works like the Avesta and the Rig-Veda ; and, on the other, the endeavors which are made to bring down as near as possible to our times the date of the composition of the Bible. On the one side everything is interpreted in favor of the sacred books of India or Eran, and, on the other, everything is claimed against the sacred books of the Jews. Why this difference? I am not called upon to explain it ; I only state it, and ask that we proceed logically and apply everywhere the same rules ; that the Bible be treated on the scientific field like any other historical religious monument.

To return to our main point : The fundamental principle which Professor Vernes believes is scientifically impregnable, is, that every literary monument without external, ancient, historical, epigraphical or other witnesses, which authenticates its date of composition, must be referred to the first of these, which testify of its existence at a certain epoch and must be dated immediately preceding this epoch ; always providing that the monument in question is not incompatible with the character of this period of the history of the world. Since the main portion of the Bible was not certified until the end of the third century B.C., it is scientifically necessary to consider it as written in the preceding century, or a few years before that.

It is astonishing that one as judicious as Professor Vernes did not immediately perceive the vice of this argument : " A book has no date before a certain time, therefore it was written a short time before this." Logically one would say, " therefore its date is uncertain ;" any other conclusion is illegitimate. By reasoning as Professor Vernes proposes, we should be compelled to place many a Greek and Latin author among the writers of the Middle Ages ; the Chinese Shu-King and Shi King would belong to the second century B.C. ; the Avesta could not be older than the first century of our era, and the Vedas not as old as the Avesta.

Professor Vernes, it is true, adds that the document in question must show by its characteristics that it agrees with the late date assigned to it ; but that is a very uncertain and subjective criterion, for what one may decide as belonging to a certain time, another will declare is incompatible with its characteristics, and though that were regarded by the whole world as incontestable, yet no final decision could be reached in this way. For, because a document may fit into a certain time, it does not by any means follow that it belongs there. It must be proved that it cannot belong to any other period. But in the subject under discussion it is just the contrary.

This method of procedure is not permitted in science. In every other case where a people leaves continuous annals and these annals are of a serious and historical character, their testimony is accepted so far as it is not contrary to all probability. And if it is thought that these annals contain legends or fables, a careful search is made to find out how much truth is hidden under these popular fancies. That is the fundamental principle of historical criticism in this matter. It is most important to apply it to the case in hand, since the condition required by Professor Vernes to establish the opposing principle cannot be obtained. The narratives and ideas that fill the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings are utterly at variance with the spirit of the times chosen by Professor Vernes. The

first of these are the outcome of a primitive civilization, with some traces of savagery, which could not have been imagined during the period of quiet and social well being when Professor Vernes supposes they were produced. It passes my power of belief and all historical probability to regard the laws of Exodus and Leviticus as invented by the contemporaries of Alexander the Great.

It is not only the general contents of these books, but the smallest details are at war with this adaptation. Take one example among a thousand. "A stranger shalt thou not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress him; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Ex. 22 : 21; 23 : 9). Can we believe that we have here a writer, a legislator of the third century B.C.? Suggesting as the motive of an important law, which was opposed to the customs of his people, an imaginary fact, invented by him, which must have taken place a thousand years before, in place of resting this law on the events of the captivity which still burned in the memories and hearts of the people? Can we believe that the obscure words of the dying Jacob (Gen. 49) were invented in the third century B.C.? We cannot now enter on further details, which would require a volume. We only remark as respects Exodus that chapters 21–23 do not necessarily imply the sole sanctuary, as Professor Vernes thinks. There is no proof of this there. Perhaps Professor Vernes believes that he finds it in 21 : 14 and 23 : 19. But plainly it is not there. In 21 : 14, it is said: "If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbor to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from mine altar." Surely here it is not a question of a single altar, as one can prove by 20 : 24, where the same word "altar" is used. In 23 : 19 "the house of Jehovah" is no more one temple or one sanctuary than the barren spot without an altar, where Jacob saw the ladder reaching to heaven, which he called "the house of God." The remainder of chapter 23 proves, like the preceding content, that it has to do with the journey in the desert, and that the sole sanctuary was prescribed only for the promised land many years after this (Deut. 12 : 8–14; comp. Lev. 17 which speaks of another matter).

If we pass from the fundamental principle of Professor Vernes to the criticism of the separate books of the Bible, we cannot agree with him. Speaking generally, it is impossible to admit that a fraud so colossal could have succeeded under the conditions supposed; that the Jews after the exile permitted, through deceit and forgery, to be imposed on themselves a Draconian set of laws like those of Leviticus and foreign to their mode of thought. We cannot even conceive that the priests of that time could have harbored the idea. In order that a mystification of this sort should succeed, the Jewish nation must have been composed on the one side of a people utterly unlettered and stupid and with no memory of the past, and, on the other side, of a priesthood sensational and enterprising, all perfectly united and incapable of betraying the secret of their trickery. Between these two extremes there could have been no middle class. Our readers know that such was not the case. And as respects the prophets, can one conceive the priests of the fourth or second century B.C. suddenly coming before the people with books fallen from heaven, containing prophecies of events that took place centuries before, and the people, great and little, educated and ignorant, kindly believing that these lucubrations, ridiculous as *ex post facto*, had existed for centuries in the midst of the nation without ever being known by them? If there has ever been a miracle, this was one. We can only glance at this point.

Let us take a glance at the criticism of the parts of the Old Testament. The Pentateuch (it is said) could not have been composed in ancient times for the two following reasons: 1, It is not a strict order, contains repetitions, incongruities, even contradictions; 2, its legislation is a work of reflection which could not have been made at the beginning of a new-born society. I do not hesitate to assert that the first argument proves precisely the contrary of Professor Vernes's inference from it. It is not at a time of social peace, quiet and reflection, that a priesthood with ever so little intelligence could produce a work of this kind. A work, with want of order, with repetitions not identical, with incongruities, with facts difficult to harmonize, could only be the product of daily journals kept by many, or the union of many documents considered worthy of too much respect to be altered at all, even to better the form of it. The character assigned to the Pentateuch by Professor Vernes is, therefore, the proof of its antiquity.

The second argument brings us again face to face with one of the purely subjective considerations of which biblical criticism presents only too many examples. Who knows what might be the legislation of all nascent societies? Who can mark out the impassable limits? Do we forget

the history of the early Mandchu and the short time in which the hordes of Aguda formed an empire and counsellors discussed the highest economical questions and resolved on the adoption of free trade? Let any one study, even superficially, the legislation of Exodus and Leviticus and he will be convinced that it could have been made only for a very primitive, somewhat savage people, of a high antiquity; afar off it tells of the desert and of an early people. It would be superfluous to prove this.

But is it true, admitting the high antiquity of the Book of Leviticus, that the people were a nascent society? Were they not an accidental or constrained union of nomadic tribes leading for the first time a regulated life? Not at all. They had lived for centuries with one of the most civilized nations of that time, and their leaders had been educated in the wisdom of the Egyptians. Could not these leaders have conceived a code similar to that of Exodus and Leviticus? One might be astonished that they did not do better, if one did not know both the people and their ways.

If Exodus was only a post-exile forgery, would we be able to discover the stopping-places of the Israelites in their flight from Egypt? If it was this forgery, the forgers must have copied the religious usages of Babylon and not those of Egypt. But it was Egypt and not Babylon they were forbidden to imitate.

According to Professor Vernes the Book of Judges could not have been written until after the return from exile and the restoration of the Jewish nation, because here and there are found satirical thrusts against royalty. I have asked myself often how men of judicious and enlightened minds could be satisfied with arguments of this kind. It would seem as if the books of the Bible were pieces on the chessboard, which may be placed anywhere in time, according to the pleasure of the mover. Satires against royalty fit into a time when the Jews were grieved with kings; then we will place this book there. That is the method. And it is seriously supposed that this is an argument of some worth! Even if this argument could be shown, what would that prove? When have men ever reasoned thus? Are these censorious traits foreign to the times of the Judges? Did not the people then have good reason to praise neighboring kings? Even under a monarchical government is satire always out of place and impossible? This argument is without substance.

Again, Professor Vernes tells us that the historical books could not have been written while the events narrated were taking place or shortly afterward, because the historian draws from them lessons for the people, of happiness following fidelity to God, of misery following the violation of his laws. This presumption might be of some worth in abstract criticism, if the Bible were the only monument of high antiquity bearing this character; but the facts are otherwise. The cuneiform inscriptions of Babylon and Assyria show us the sovereigns of these countries always concerned about the worship of their gods, and the inevitable consequences of their fidelity or neglect. The same view is held by the Singers of the Vedas; and the Shu-king, like the Bible, is a continued hymn to the divine or heavenly Providence, that upholds the sovereigns who are faithful in their duties to the Master of Heaven, and casts down those who forget them and do not worship him as they should. On the grounds of simple reason, why then could not the biblical annals have been written in the same spirit?

As to the Psalms, which Professor Vernes puts among the latest writings in the Bible, we must limit ourselves to a few remarks. David was a warrior king; that is incontestable; but he was not a warrior by nature, and war was forced on him. He was for a long time the player on the harp who charmed Saul and stilled his frenzy by his song and music. He has not been the only one whose hand has grasped both the sword and the lyre. Without going further away, there is Frederick the Great, whose military cares did not prevent his cultivation of letters or his turning a madrigal. Is it at all strange that the king, who danced and played on the harp before the holy ark, who was the restorer of the sacred ceremonies and of liturgical song, should have composed or caused to be composed a great number of songs? Many of those attributed to him fall in so completely with the circumstances which are said to have occasioned them that they cannot be torn apart except in an arbitrary way. Here is an instance where we should follow the principle of the agreement of time which Professor Vernes applies so often. For instance, the 132d Psalm, where David speaks of himself and swears that he will not enter his palace until he has found a place of habitation for the God of Jacob; can it be imagined that it was composed at another time, and of all times, two or three centuries before our era? There is the elegy on the death of Saul and Jonathan as well as the hymn of 2 Sam. 7, composed by David. To dispute the authen-

ticity against all these witnesses is easy, but is it scientific ?

Again, as to the numerous Psalms, in which royalty plays an elevated and prevailing part, could they have been written centuries after the kings had disappeared ; the very centuries when it is supposed the Jews were given to satire against kings ? There are also Psalms in which all the events of the exodus and the history of Israel as far as the first king, are recalled. What rational principle allows their being carried eight or nine centuries further on ? These form a large number whose date would be irrevocably fixed, if it was a question of any other book than the Bible.

Let the criticism of the Psalms be as thorough as possible because of their exceptional character ; but let it be in accordance with the rules of logic and general criticism. This is what we must require in all cases. It has been said, for instance, that the Psalms were the war-songs of the Maccabees, so that at one time we are told that these sacred hymns are irreconcilable with the military character of David ; and, again, that they form the hymn-book of a people always under arms. Of all things we ought to be on our guard against subjective impressions. How have the literary characteristics of certain writings been amplified in order to separate those which tradition ascribes to the same author. Nevertheless, there is nothing more deceptive than this criterion, though it may have a semblance of reality. How many authors are always the same ? On the other side, how many show the influence on them of circumstances, surroundings, of their own change of character and life ? If history had not given unimpeachable witness, if the facts had not passed under our eyes, could we believe that the author of "The Cid" and "*Les Horaces*" was the author of "Otho and Attila" ? that the same pen wrote "*La Thébäide,*" "*Les Plaideurs,*" as well as "*Phèdre*" and "*Athalie*" ? Would we not laugh at one who would attribute to the same poet "*Les Méditations*" as well as "*Jocelyn*" and "*L'Ange Déchu,*" or who would assert that the monarchical and Christian celebrant of the birth of the Duke of Bordeaux was also the author of "*Le Roi s'Amuse*" and "*Les Travailleurs de la Mer*" ? All this shows that personal taste is a very uncertain guide. Why should these simple and elementary facts be forgotten when one begins to dissect the Bible ?

As regards the Hexateuch, all the efforts made to bring it this side the Exile will always meet these impassable obstacles ; the impossibility of the success of such a gigantic forgery, unheard of in the history of the world ; the nature of these books, incompatible with the state of Asiatic civilization after Cyrus ; the absolute failure of indications warranting the hypothesis of a social change so radical and important. That there might have been alterations, additions, errors of transcriptions, etc., all historical criticism warrants us in supposing.

Let us mark this fact. On one side testimonies, exterior, positive, exact, are demanded before admitting the antiquity of the Pentateuch, which has in its favor possession and presumption ; on the other side, not even the slightest historical indication of the great fact of the late forgery, not the least, most distant allusion is demanded for justification of the change and determination of date, against which so many facts vigorously protest. Can we then accept a hypothesis and subjective impressions open to such grave mistakes ? Or, may we treat the biblical books as the pieces of a Chinese puzzle, to be put here and there according to the feeling and taste of each one ? In a scientific point of view the consequences of this course are most disastrous. The most interesting and important documents concerning the first civilization of Asia are willingly given up. The advantage of beginning anew and going on will not compensate for this loss.

EXPOSITION OF THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR ROTHE, D.D.

From *The Expository Times* (Edinburgh), August, 1892.

Chapter ii. 18-23.—"Children, it is the last hour : and as ye have heard that the antichrist cometh, even now have there arisen many antichrists ; whereby we know that it is the last hour. They have gone out from us, but they were not of us ; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us. But they had to be made manifest ; because not all are of us. And ye have an anointing from the Holy One, and ye know all things. I have not written unto you that ye know not the truth, but that ye know it, and that no lie is of the truth. Who is the liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? This is the antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son. Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father ; he that confesseth the Son hath the Father also."

VER. 18. In ver. 17 John had supported his exhortation to denounce the love of the world by pointing to the fact that the world passeth away. He now, in verse 18, strengthens the force of this latter consid-

eration by remarking that the moment of the passing away of the (material) earthly world is near at hand: "*It is the last hour.*" This expression denotes the juncture of the dissolution of the world (*consummatio mundi*), which juncture occurs with the reappearing of the Redeemer. Jewish theology divided the whole duration of the world into two great periods or æons, which were separated by the appearing of the Messiah, viz. into the present and the future æon. At the close of the present period the long-looked-for Messiah would appear, redeem His people, judge the heathen nations, and begin His reign on earth. This notion was cherished also by the Christians along with the terms expressing it; but as entertained by them it had to undergo an essential modification. From the Christian point of view the line of demarcation between the two æons could not be the appearing of the Redeemer that had already taken place, but only His still impending second appearing in Messianic glory, His reappearing. They, therefore, looked upon the last hour as still future. John must also declare to his readers upon what it is that he bases his statement, that it is already, in this sense, the "last hour." He says that the peculiar sign of the immediate nearness of the last hour, the appearance, viz., of the antichrist, is already plainly manifest. When he adds that his readers had already *heard* this, he takes for granted that this doctrine was an element of the evangelical teaching as generally proclaimed (*vide* Matt. xxiv. 5 ff., 11, 23–26; Mark xiii. 22 f.; Acts xx. 29 f.; 2 Tim. iii. 1 ff.; and more especially the Apocalypse). John expressly distinguishes the *antichrists* from the antichrist. The former are the forerunners of the latter; the elements, as it were, out of which he is to be formed by their suddenly uniting together. According to vers. 19–23, iv. 1–3, 6; 2 John ver. 7, they are false teachers. From the coming upon the scene of many such antichristian false teachers, John now infers the existence and activity of the antichrist himself. But who is this antichrist? This expression is found only in John's Epistles (here and in ver. 22, iv. 3; 2 John ver. 7). Like the expression "he that opposeth" of 2 Thess. ii. 4, it denotes the power that is opposed to Christ and His kingdom. This notion also derives substantially from Jewish theology. As a sure token of the coming of the Messiah the Jews thought of an evil, grievous time with great moral corruption, false prophets, war, desolation, and the like, whereby the appearing of the Messiah would be equally hindered externally and hastened on inwardly. And just as they connected all salvation with the *person* of the Messiah, so they began very early to think of all the evil of the wicked, troublous time, of all anti-Messianic wickedness and power, as united in an ideal person, a caricature of the Messiah. To this ideal person later Jewish theology also gives the name Armillus; the earlier Jews usually call him Gog (so also Rev. xx. 8 ff.), the source from which this notion at first proceeded being the passage in Ezekiel regarding Gog (Ezek. xxxviii. 8), to which was afterwards added the description in Daniel of the anti-theocratic Antiochus Epiphanes.

The presupposition, from which John starts here, was the general presupposition of those early Christian days; but the result did not confirm it. It overleaped the whole historical process between the appearing and the return of the Redeemer. Even yet the Christian heart is apt to do so; for the Christian would fain see the present age attain its goal, because he seeks, and is sure of finding, his true life only in the future. But God has not made the task of His people so easy and agreeable. This has been the experience also of all the following generations. They had to betake themselves to the historical work of Christianity upon the world. We now rather believe that the kingdom of the Lord can only come very slowly. We are only too apt to give up the faith and the confident expectation of an actual kingdom of the consummation of all things as the outcome of all these developments. But we should not surrender this faith, notwithstanding the growing clearness of our insight into the necessity of a long and tedious development. Although the chiliasm of these early Christian days was mistaken in its calculations, it belongs in its essential contents to Christian hope; and the latter is necessary to the healthiness of Christianity.

The expectation of the antichrist John also sets forth as being generally entertained by Christians. In his opinion the eschatological doctrines are an essential part of the Christian faith. Nowadays they are looked upon as merely incidental appendages of the faith. But we cannot have a theory of the universe without the condition, with which the process of development closes, becoming clear to us. This end of the process of development alone sets before us the goal, with reference to which all the steps of our own walk in life must be calculated. Among these doctrines John distinctly includes the notion of an antichrist. He clearly expects that the development of the world will in-

volve an absolute opposition to Christ. He does not proceed upon the assumption that the world will be overcome without a contest; but that over against the kingdom of Christ there will be formed a hostile kingdom, the opposition of which will become more and more pronounced. In proportion as the knowledge of Christ unfolds its whole ethical activity in the world, aversion to Christ will also become decisive enmity against Him; which enmity presupposes the knowledge, and indeed the right knowledge of Him. John conceives of this kingdom as one that grows gradually. The antichrist is the culmination of a series of relatively antichristian manifestations within the Christian world. It is only gradually that absolute hostility to Christ develops beyond the stage of the mere aversion to Him, which still goes hand in hand with a relative ignorance of Him. Thus the life of the Christian and of Christian humanity appears in a very earnest, but by no means gloomy light. On the one hand, the glory of the Christian life is continually growing; it strikes deeper and deeper roots into the general life of humanity. On the other hand, it becomes involved in an ever harder battle with the antichristian powers. The battle becomes hotter and hotter; more and more it becomes a mortal combat.

Ver. 19. The mention of the many antichrists leads the apostle to give a fuller explanation of the many false teachers who arose in the midst of Christendom itself (Acts xx. 30). They were certainly a phenomenon calculated to surprise and disturb his readers. An apostolic instruction, which told them how they should judge of such teachers, must have been very acceptable to them. John shows them, first of all, how such a phenomenon, which was startling to their Christian consciousness, to which an apostasy from faith in the Redeemer must have seemed psychologically impossible, was to be accounted for; and then, in the second place, what purpose it was designed to serve in the plan of the divine government. He thus prevented it from becoming an actual occasion of stumbling to them. The apostasy, he says, of these false teachers from Christ is intelligible; for it is no real *apostasy*. They never really belonged to Christ, notwithstanding the fact that they formerly belonged externally to our fellowship. He distinguishes sharply between a Christian fellowship that is inner and therefore real, and one that is only external and therefore merely seeming; a distinction which remains valid for all time, but by which the worth of external participation in Christian fellowship must not be depreciated. This external participation, it is true, is by itself insufficient, just as internal participation is by itself alone insufficient. But external fellowship may become for every one the natural occasion of attaining to inner fellowship, and is indeed the condition of such attainment. The expression, "*they went out from us*," describes the going forth and separation of these teachers from external Christian fellowship. "*But they were not of us*," *i.e.* they did not belong to us inwardly (John viii. 23). For he who has once really belonged to the inner and real Christian fellowship cannot possibly ever fall away from it. Psychologically also an apostasy from Christ and from Christians seems unthinkable. For him who through faith and love really knows Christ and fellowship with the brethren in Christ, it is psychologically impossible to give up this fellowship. He may take ever so many retrograde steps, but he cannot dissolve it altogether. Wherever, therefore, we find an actual apostasy in the case of one whom we formerly regarded as belonging to Christ, we may confidently assume with John that his previous fellowship was merely seeming and external. This joyous confidence that, if he once belongs to Christ, no one will pluck him out of His hand should dominate the Christian. But he must belong to Him entirely; otherwise the most deplorable retrograde steps are possible (*vide* iii. 6).

The apostle now also points to the fact that this apostasy is not an accidental occurrence, but that it clearly serves a divine purpose, viz. to bring to the light the false Christians who are to be found in the Christian community, and so to occasion a necessary sifting within it (cf. 1 Cor. xi. 19). "*Because not all are of us*" states the reason why the making manifest of the false Christians was a divine purpose. This making manifest had become necessary, because, contrary to the natural presupposition, *not all* who belong externally to the Christian community also belong to it inwardly and truly. If this is so, then it is an urgent necessity for the Christian community that its false members be unmasked, and that it be rid of all illusion regarding them. Every such sifting, however painful it may be, is an essential furthering of the Christian community. It is not afraid of becoming smaller; for its real interest is not in its magnitude, but in its purity. It is upon the latter that Christian life actu-

ally depends. Siftings are necessary in Christendom at all times; and the times when they occur are always blessed times.

Ver. 20. The instruction we have just developed regarding the false teachers awakens in John the fear lest it might perhaps do some damage to his readers. It might suggest to them that he did not credit them with such insight into the matter, and that he looked upon them as being exposed to the danger of being led astray by these false teachers. He accordingly at once expressly guards against such a misunderstanding. He says to them: ye yourselves know all this perfectly in virtue of the Holy Spirit who dwells in you and enlightens you. I have not written it to you as if I were of opinion that you do not know how to counsel yourselves in this matter. It is rather distinctly implied in my words that ye have a clear consciousness of the truth. He, at the same time, indicates the source from which he derives their knowledge. Their illumination is not the consequence of a natural intellectual development, it is a communication of the Spirit which proceeds from Christ; it is the *anointing from the Holy One.* That the Holy Spirit is to be understood by this anointing, is clear from iii. 24 and ii. 27. Just as Christ, the Holy One, was anointed with the Holy Spirit in all its fulness (John iii. 34), and is therefore called the Holy One (the Christ), so they that believe in Him have also been anointed with the same Holy Spirit, each in his several measure (2 Cor. i. 21, 22), and for that very reason are, and are called, Christians. (This passage certainly does not contain an allusion to the anointing that took place on the occasion of a man's baptism; it is more natural to suppose that it was made the apostolic and canonical basis of that rite.) The Holy One, from whom they have the anointing, is Christ; for the bestowal of the Holy Spirit is always represented as being the peculiar function of Christ (John xv. 26, xvi. 7, 13–15; Acts ii. 33); for which reason the Holy Spirit is expressly called the Spirit of Christ. Verse 27 compels us to decide here in favour of this interpretation. There we read: "The anointing which ye have received from Him," which is said unmistakably of Christ. The emphasis lies here upon Christ's holiness. The new principle, by which his readers are permeated, is a holy one; and therefore a fellowship with the false teachers and the false teaching, an illusion as to the true character of these, is to them impossible; they have an abhorrence of everything that is contrary to God. It belongs to the idea of holiness, that our self-consciousness stands related in a negative attitude to everything that is sinful, and reacts against it.

"*Ye know all things,*" *i.e.* everything that I am able to teach you in regard to this matter. It is natural to suppose that John is led to express himself thus because the Holy Spirit is expressly characterized by the Saviour Himself as the Spirit of truth, who will teach His disciples all things, and guide them into all truth (John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13). In virtue of his anointing with the Holy Spirit the Christian is in complete possession of that fundamental knowledge whereby all error is, in principle, excluded. The Christian certainly cannot boast of omniscience; his knowledge also is in part; but the great distinction between the limitation of his knowledge and that of the natural man consists in this, that in the knowledge of Christ Himself and in the knowledge of God in Christ the Christian possesses the ultimate elements of all knowledge, the principles of the knowledge of all truth, the key to all knowledge. Thereby everything appears to him in its true light. All that is now required is that his eye increasingly apprehends, with perfect clearness, the individual objects, for the perception of which he has gained the right point of view. The knowledge of his Redeemer and of his God in the Redeemer must be to him the ultimate certainty, in accordance with which he estimates all the rest of his knowledge.

Ver. 21. In this verse John adds that in what he wrote in vers. 18 and 19 he was far from expressing any doubt as to his readers' knowledge of what he there imparts to them; that he rather expressed his conviction of being in thorough sympathy with them. The *truth,* which his readers know, is the Christian truth, the evangelical truth as a whole. I have written unto you, he adds, that no lie is of the (Christian) truth, and consequently that that deceitful false teaching does not derive from the Christian truth, does not have its principle in it; that it has, on the contrary, sprung from the antichristian principle; that the false teachers in question have never really stood within Christianity. With this John resumes the thought, from which he had been turned aside by vers. 20 and 21, and develops it further in what follows.

Ver. 22. It is presupposed in the last clause of ver. 21 that the false teaching spoken of in this section is a lie, and noth-

ing less ; that it is by no means a mere unconscious error. This presupposition, however, required a justification, which John gives here by an appeal to the consciousness of his readers. Have I said too much when I called the false teaching, which we are considering, a lie ? *The liar* is the liar strictly so called, the fundamental, essential liar, the liar in all his magnitude. What else is the real fundamental lie, if not the denial that Jesus is the Christ ? As regards the false teachers spoken of here, it seems, at first, as if this denial should be understood not absolutely, but only relatively. For, according to iv. 2, they merely denied docetically that Jesus actually existed *as true man*, not that He was the Messiah. But with the denial of the reality of His human existence they in point of fact, by an inevitable consequence, did away with the reality of the Messianic work, the work of redemption. Whoever denies that Jesus is the Christ is not merely the real, genuine liar ; as such he is even (as already stated in ver. 18) the antichrist, the very arch-liar. In the idea of the antichrist is implied not merely the denial of Jesus as the Christ, but also the denial of both Christ and God. According also to 2 Thess. ii. 4 the denial of the Father is implied in the idea of the antichrist. In this denial there is presupposed the knowledge of Jesus and the knowledge of Him as the Christ, which knowledge the false teachers had, seeing they had formerly belonged to the Christian community. Precisely because the knowledge of Jesus as the Christ, the Redeemer, is the ultimate certainty to him who really possesses it, John cannot comprehend how such a one could deny this truth without at the same time renouncing truth altogether. It is denied that Jesus of Nazareth is the One through whom the needs of the naturally sinful man find their real and full satisfaction. Whoever denies this must have given up all inner sense of truth whatever. If one has this inner sense of truth, he cannot behold Jesus without finding in Him all that he needs for his specific human wants. Every one will have this experience who really knows Christ and believes in Him.

Ver. 23. The assertion that the false teachers in question also deny the Father is justified here by the further assertion that the denial of Jesus as the Christ, or the denial of the Son (which denial naturally presupposes a real knowledge of Him), of necessity involves also the denial of the Father. This assertion lies at the very root of John's whole Christian theory of the universe (John iii. 18, viii. 19, xiv. 1, i. 14–18, xii. 44 f. ; cf. also Matt. xi. 27). Seeing God is in Christ in an essential manner, one cannot deny the Son of God in Christ without therewith at the same time denying God Himself. This thought John expresses in the literary manner characteristic of him, now negatively, and now affirmatively. The words, "*he hath the Father also*," denote the spiritual possession of the Father ; the possession of Him in faith, in knowledge, in confessing, in love, etc. But they also imply the idea of keeping, adhering, holding fast. Whoever denies the Son cannot hold fast by the Father ; he must inevitably (from the nature of the case) let God go also. For he who in the perception of the man Jesus does not directly behold God Himself cannot have the idea of God as an idea living in him. It is the test of all real consciousness of God that it fully recognises in Jesus, in His human ethical manifestation, its true object ; and in doing so it receives at the same time an experimental proof of the reality of God. If it is, therefore, really God who dwells essentially in Christ, it is impossible to be ignorant of Christ without at the same time being ignorant of God Himself. He who does not see God in Christ does not know God at all—he must learn to recognise Him in Christ. Thus the denial of Christ as the Son of God involves the denial of God Himself. In Christendom it is idle talk for one to trust in one's faith in God and in one's general religiousness, while one will not acknowledge in Christ the Son of God and ground his piety wholly upon Christ. All those who have formed for themselves an arbitrary notion of God, a notion, *e.g.*, in which full justice is not done either to His holiness or to His love, will naturally not see God in Christ. These, however, do not have the actual God, but only some kind of an idol. Similarly, all those shrink from acknowledging Christ as the Son of God who will not let their God draw near to them, but who would fain keep Him at a certain distance, from which He does not trouble them. The more vigorous and pure the idea of God is in a man, the more heartily does he acknowledge Christ as the Son of God, and all the more does the abstract thought of God recede into the background in comparison with the concrete vision and the living image of God in Christ. This is especially true for such a man's practical life. Hence he also prays to the Father in Christ.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

EINLEITUNG IN DAS ALTE TESTAMENT, von C. H. CORNILL, Professor an der Universität Königsberg. (Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften. Erste Abtheilung.) Freiburg i.-B.: Mohr; New York: Stechert, 1891. 8vo, pp. xii., 325, 5 marks.

This is a compact and clearly written handbook, containing a vast amount of valuable information in small compass; and yet it is fresh and original, and at times even brilliant. He gives a table of the analyses of the Hexateuch, in which E is carefully separated from J. Cornill also goes into a detailed analysis of E, J, D, and P, and throws fresh light upon their sources. He shows that D uses JE, but knows nothing of P. He regards E as an Ephraemitic writing, and places E^1 in the reign of Jereboam II. about 750 B.C., and E^2 soon after the exile of the Northern Kingdom. J is a Judaic writing, originating in its different stages between the reign of Jehoshaphat, 850 B.C., and 625 B.C. P is an exilic law-book. A very important part of Cornill's work is the special consideration of a number of independent documents, which the great documents have taken up into themselves as older sources, and which have come in through the redactors, such as the ancient poems, the story of Balaam, Genesis xiv., the Covenant code, the Holiness code, etc. The Covenant code he regards as older than E, coming from the ninth century; the Holiness code as a preparation for the Priest's code. J and E were first combined by Rj; then these were combined with D by Rd. JED were then compacted with P by Rp; but additions of various kinds were made to our Pentateuch even as late as the third century B.C.

A very important part of the work of Cornill is his effort to trace the documents of the Hexateuch, JED, through the prophetic historians, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. If this can be done with any degree of certainty, then the date of the documents will speedily be determined within quite narrow limits. Here is a splendid field for higher criticism, in which the results will be of immense importance.

In the study of Isaiah, Cornill assigns the great apocalypse, xxiv.–xxvii., to the time of Alexander the Great; xxxii.–xxxiii. to the times of the restoration. The great prophecy, xl.–lxvi., is divided into three sections, showing different stages of composition.

Cornill's study of the Psalter is compact, but interesting. He thinks the only Psalm that can reasonably be attributed to David is the second part of Psalm xxiv.; but even this cannot be made evident. The Psalter as a whole is the Psalm-book of the restoration, passing through the hands of many editors, not reaching its present form earlier than the Maccabean age. In the Book of Job Cornill favors Herder's theory of the Elihu section, which has long been my own opinion, although I acknowledge with Cornill that there are strong reasons against it. These must serve as specimens of Cornill's higher criticism.

This book also deals with the canon and the text of the Old Testament, but very briefly. The author shows that there were three stages of the formation of the canon represented by the three divisions of the Old Testament in the Rabbinical canon. The canon of the Thora was closed about 400 B.C.; the prophetic canon about the middle of the third century; the canon of the "writings" was essentially closed about 100 B.C., although there was doubt as to Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. The Alexandrian Canon was more comprehensive, including books never accepted in Judea.

In the matter of textual criticism Cornill is a master, as is evident from his well known masterpiece on Ezekiel. What he has to say about the matter is terse and valuable. This work of Cornill should be read alongside of Driver and Ryle; each giving the results of criticism in a way that demands the respect, the careful consideration of all men who would know the truth and the facts of the case.

C. A. BRIGGS.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE PAULINE THEOLOGY. A Study of the Origin and Correlation of the Doctrinal Teachings of the Apostle Paul. By GEORGE B. STEVENS, Ph.D., D.D. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1892. 8vo, pp. xiii., 383, $2.

This work of Professor Stevens is the first American contribution to the theology of Paul made according to the principles of biblical theology. Its appearance is gratifying as an indication that biblical theology is being cultivated in a thorough manner in America. It is certainly high time that this vastly important branch of theology should be developed among us. It is true that in some of our theological seminaries biblical theology has been in the curriculum for the past dozen years, and good work has been done, as at Union, Andover, Yale, and Chicago; but thus far it has not appeared to any considerable extent in published writings. German works have been in limited circulation, but we have not been able to point to any scientific productions of our own. The work of Professor Stevens will relieve us somewhat from this embarrassment; for it is independent, not a mere reproduction of German views, and it is scholarly. It is to be hoped that the volumes in this department of theology which are sure to appear in the next twenty-five years may be as sober, as faithful to the Word of God, and as scientific as this that is before us.

It is not the author's aim to give a complete discussion of the theology of Paul, but only "to present a systematic account of his teaching upon the great themes which he considers."

It could be desired that he had not limited himself as he has done. The reader will be disappointed when he finds, for example, that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has been entirely omitted, and that there is no discussion of Paul's views of Satan. The author trusts "that no important topic, none which is essential in the organism of Paul's thoughts, has been overlooked," and yet he does not present Paul's doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The reader's inference will naturally be that Professor Stevens does not regard this doctrine as important in Paul's teaching.

It is hard to believe that the author really means that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the writings of Paul is not an "important topic." Nor is it easy to conceive that he could have overlooked it, for it is everywhere in Paul's epistles. If the author had given us a chapter on Paul's doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and none on his doctrine of God, this omission would have been far less criticisable. The doctrine of God is "developed quite incidentally," as the author truly remarks (p. 96), but the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Paul's writings is not incidental. It is one of his intensely practical doctrines.

In connection with these omissions, a word may be said about the prominence given to the different doctrines that are treated. The doctrine of the Christian life, for instance, receives no more attention than the doctrine of God, and the doctrine of the Church in its entirety receives less attention than the doctrine of justification. But, to quote again from the author, the doctrine of God is "developed quite incidentally" by Paul, while it must be admitted that the Christian life occupies the apostle's thought to a very large extent. Again, while Paul gives much attention, especially in the controversial letters, to justification by faith, he gives far more prominence to the various questions which are gathered up under the word Church. It is not necessary to point out why it was natural that he should do so

It may also be noticed in this connection that the chapters on "The Christian Life" and "The Church" make an impression of incomplete treatment, which is not made, for example, by the chapter on "The Person of Christ." I will speak later of some questionable positions in these chapters.

As sources of Paul's theology, Professor Stevens accepts Acts and thirteen epistles. He regards Luke as the author of Acts, and regards his report of Paul's discourses as substantially accurate. He agrees essentially with Weiss in regard to the genuineness of the pastoral epistles—that is, he sees no sufficient evidence for rejecting their genuineness, but at the same time he has not as great confidence in their Pauline authorship as he has in the Pauline authorship of the other letters.

The author does not agree with the modern German theory that many of the shaping forces of Paul's theology came from Hellenism. He finds the roots of Paul's teachings in the Old Testament. So, for instance, with reference to the doctrine of the "flesh."

Neither does the author find a different Christology in the prison epistles from that of the earlier group. He speaks of it as more "elaborate" (p. 213), but he apparently sees in it nothing of the essential difference which Pfleiderer and von Soden, for instance, affirm.

As regards the development of Paul's views in general, it will perhaps be considered that the author has given too little thought to it. Without entering into this subject, I will refer to one particular point. "There is no ground," he says, "for the assertion that Paul underwent a change of view regarding this subject (the parousia). There is in his teaching a change of emphasis in regard to it, but no change of opinion."

I think most students will agree that we have a clear change of opinion when, at one time, Paul confidently expected to live *until* the parousia, and later felt sure that he should die *before* the parousia.

The exegesis of the author commends itself by its fairness and thoroughness. In not a few points he has shown the weakness of the inferences which systematic theology has drawn from Paul's words, and by a comprehensive study of Paul has uncovered the real content of difficult passages.

Without at all attempting to point out all the excellencies or all the seeming defects of this work, I will add to what has been said some reference to a few conclusions in the later chapters which invite criticism, and to which I alluded above.

For instance, the author says (p. 334) that it is not probable that the baptism of infants was practical in Paul's time. "There is no intimation that the various families that were baptized contained children."

Without stopping to discuss this position, I will simply suggest that there is no intimation that the various families that were baptized did NOT contain children. It has ordinarily been true since the world began that families have contained children; and it would be in order for the author to show some ground for believing that the families which Paul baptized contained no children before speaking quite as positively as he does.

It is also held (p. 356) that Paul teaches nothing concerning the resurrection of unbelievers. I think this conclusion is inconsistent with the author's acceptance of Acts as historical, for in that book Paul is represented as affirming the resurrection of the unjust (Acts xxiv. 5), and the evidence of the epistles is also unfavorable to it (see Rom. xiv. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 1).

To mention yet one more questionable conclusion: The author thinks it clear (p. 324) that not all the Pauline churches had bishops and deacons. "There is no trace, for example, of official leaders in either the Galatian or Corinthian churches; the fact that none are in any way held responsible for the disorders of these churches . . . would indicate lack of organization in these communities."

There is no space to argue this point, but I think the view gives far too much weight to the silence of the epistles in regard to organization in these churches, and gives too little weight to Paul's known custom.

In closing, I would resume the tone of the beginning of this sketch, and express the opinion that the book of Professor Stevens is a credit to American scholarship and a gratifying addition to our theological literature.

GEORGE H. GILBERT.
CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE DIVINE ORDER OF HUMAN SOCIETY. Being the L. P. Stone Lectures for 1891, delivered in Princeton Theological Seminary. By Professor ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON, S.T.D., University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles. 16mo, pp. vi., 274, $1.

The object which Professor Thompson has in view in this volume is to set forth the principles of Christian sociology, to treat the fundamental institutions of society in their organic relation to humanity, to show where the Divine order ends and the human order begins. He does not treat his subject with a close and didactic purpose, but rather in the form of exposition and easy comment, but no one can take up this book without obtaining from it clearer ideas of the family, the Church, and the State. The treatment is interesting, and the author has developed it to a large extent, indicating a wide range of reading, and bringing out the points where there is need of discussing the problems which the Church as well as the State have to meet. The chapters which are devoted to the nation, in its idea, its development, and its problems, are the best part of the book. They especially deal with Christian socialism and set forth the conditions on which it can be developed in modern society. Another part of the work, which is carefully treated, is "The School and Its Problems." It is handled both historically and from the point of view of the school problem in this country, and with a keen recognition of the defects which must exist in any settlement of these problems by the State alone. The question of the unity of the Church is dealt with chiefly on its sociological side, but with a fair appreciation of

the difficulties which are in the way of Christian unity at the present time. The last chapter, which deals with the Church in its social problems, contains a great deal of instruction which bears upon Christian socialism. This will be read with keen interest. As an agreeable and helpful laying out of this subject, this book has many merits, but it is not sufficiently profound and thorough in its treatment to satisfy those who will take it up for an exhaustive handling of the subject. It is too much a surface book for the questions which it discusses. Professor Thompson goes over the ground, and is delightfully entertaining, but he does not take the reader with him into its depths. He entertains rather than instructs. Professor Thompson's studies in social economics should have been lifted up by a more thorough recognition of the work of the Church in present society, if he were to sound its depths, and one of the defects of his book is his rather imperfect conception of what the Christian Church is as understood by the collective Christian consciousness. He has just missed making a book which everybody needs at the present time. He has such a clear conception of what our great social problems are, that we could wish that he had treated his subject as thoroughly as we believe him to be able to treat it.

JULIUS H. WARD.

BROOKLINE, MASS.

GROWTH IN GRACE, AND OTHER SERMONS. By the late W. C. MAGEE, D.D., Lord Archbishop of York. Edited by Charles S. Magee, Barrister-at-Law. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892. Post 8vo, pp. xii., 297, $1.75.

A notable person, whose memoirs were published a few years ago, recorded in his diary that on a certain Sunday morning in the Easter season he attended Divine service at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, because Bishop Magee was to preach, and heard with delight a grand sermon on the Resurrection. Coming out of the chapel he saw Bishop Thirlwall in the crowd, and spoke to him with enthusiasm of the sermon they had just heard. "Yes," replied the venerable prelate, "we have heard it, and it is gone. Nothing of it is written."

It is with a kindred feeling of regret and deprivation that one reads this volume of sermons which Mr Charles S. Magee, the son of the late Archbishop of York, has selected from those which happened to be reported tolerably well when preached, and were subsequently revised to some extent by the author himself. Like the previous collection entitled "The Gospel and the Age," which Bishop Magee (to call him by the name best known) published in 1884, having employed the leisure of a long convalescence in preparing it for the press, this book reminds us of the immeasurable losses of literary treasure which the world from time to time is constantly sustaining. Robert Hall, a great preacher, whose method and style were in several respects like Bishop Magee's, left behind him eight sermons, published under his own revision, to represent the product of a forty years' ministry! As there was many a brave man before Agamemnon who had no bard to rescue his name from oblivion, so there was many a noble discourse preached in the earlier and most vigorous period of Hall's life equal in every respect to the eight he committed to the press. He must have preached some five thousand times, and often, doubtless, under circumstances adapted to stimulate his genius to its grandest achievements. But there was no record of the preacher's words, and the congregation broke up with a transient impression in every heart of having seen "visions of God," and perhaps here and there some deep-fixed convictions of privilege and duty. Beyond these, however, nothing remained. The discourse perished in its birth.

And the like happened often in the career of the great prelate of the Church of England, whose death, so soon after his enthronement in York Minster, made his tenure of the archbishopric a brief tragedy. More than any of the eminent divines of his day, he preached extempore sermons. His intellectual gifts, his whole bent of mind, together with his surroundings, made him a speaker rather than a writer. For nearly a quarter of a century he held unchallenged the repute of being the first among clerical orators and the equal in parliamentary fame of John Bright. When he preached before the Church Congress in St. Patrick's, Dublin, the famous sermon on "The Breaking Net," referring to the impending disestablishment of the Irish Church, Mr. Disraeli said, "This is the man to have in the House of Lords—the most eloquent man in the Church." From that year (1868) until January, 1891, when he was translated to York, he was Bishop of Peterborough, and by his speeches in Parliament and abundant preaching more than justified that high praise. Looking, then, through this new volume and through the previous one which the bishop himself selected, how scant are the memorials of this renowned championship of "the faith!" What there is pertains to fundamental truth, and is precious as fine gold. But there are doctrines of high importance on which he must have often spoken with characteristic clearness of thought and felicity of diction, and we find scarcely any record remaining.

In the present collection of discourses, which is named after the title of the first, "Growth in Grace," preached as far back as 1863, before the University of Oxford, his accustomed way of dealing with scepticism is fully illustrated. He insisted upon the truth that the Gospel is its own witness. Those who in the name of science scoffed at Christianity are reminded that "the only test of any scientific hypothesis is, what number of facts does it account for?" and proof is given that "within the limits which shut in all human thought" Christianity accounts for "more of the facts of humanity than any other system of philosophy or of faith.' The sermon entitled "Foretelling and Forthtelling," preached in Peterborough Cathedral, January 1st, 1871, is worthy to rank with the finest specimens of pulpit oratory of any age, and as an example of the preaching to the times which never loses touch with the verities of the Catholic creeds and the testimony of Holy Writ, and yet deals fairly and fully with the objections of scepticism, this sermon is worthy to be studied as a model by every preacher who would make full proof of his ministry. Almost all the discourses in this volume treat more or less of the social problems of the day, and the point of view from which Bishop Magee studied them is seen plainly in the last sermon he preached at Peterborough, March 8th, 1891, from the text "Give an Account of Thy Stewardship." Stewardship was indeed the real key note of that full, vigorous, versatile manhood which, as a leading critic said, when it passed away from earth was "the passing of the romance of the English episcopate."

MERCHANTVILLE, N. J. R. G. MOSES.

THE PASSION PLAY AT OBER-AMMERGAU. Representation of 1890. By WILLIAM D. MAXON, Rector of Trinity Church, Utica, N. Y. Utica: Childs, 1892. 12mo, pp. 51, leatherette, 50 cents.

This little book on the "Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau" is a most entertaining one. While not so ambitious as the larger work of Mr. Stead, to whom the author acknowledges his indebtedness, it is written in a most pleasing style, gives in a condensed form the circumstances and surroundings of the play, shows its ethical purpose, and gives one a new conception of the religious fervor of the peasants among whom and by whom the representation is made. Mr. Maxon brings out what we have not yet seen developed as he has developed it, the devotional side of the representation. He shows what we have scarcely yet realized, that the portraiture of the biblical scenes there presented is to the participants really an act of worship, and with all devout worshippers it may be made a means of realization of the Saviour's great work. Writing in an easy fashion, with a full appreciation of the devotion of the village pastor, whose zeal is reflected in the life of the peasants, he gives us an entirely new view of what may have been the effect of the miracle plays of the sixteenth century. The illustrations are exceptionally good, but several typographical errors mar the text.

GEORGE W. GILMORE.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

IMMERSION, THE ACT OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM. By JOHN T. CHRISTIAN, D.D. Louisville: Baptist Book Concern, 1892. 12mo, pp. 256.

It may well be doubted whether anybody is ever convinced of error, or even seriously disturbed in his convictions, by reading a polemic treatise. The moment that one takes up a book evidently polemic, one hardens one's self against the writer's facts, arguments, and conclusions. The reader suspects at once that the author is untrustworthy as to his facts, unfair as to his arguments, and unsound in his conclusions. If, however, any polemic treatise could make an impression upon a reader instinctively hostile, it would be one written on the plan of Dr. Christian. In this book the author does not engage in controversy in the ordinary sense of the term; he obtrudes very little of his own opinion; he confines himself almost exclusively to the citation of facts and testimonies from the writings of his ecclesiastical opponents. Nothing, certainly, can be said against the fairness of this method. It could only be questioned in case the author garbled his quotations or quoted only from a limited section of the literature of the question. Dr. Christian does not garble, and his quotations cover practically the entire range of modern Christian scholarship. He shows that baptism, in the meaning of the word and in its earliest administration, was immersion, marshalling in turn the evidence of the lexicons, the testimony of the Greek and Latin Fathers, the acts of church councils, and Christian literature generally. One does not know, of course, whether any Pedobaptist will be convinced by a reading of this book that the main thesis of the author is proved by the testimony he adduces; but since the testimony is wholly that of Pedobaptist scholars, it should seem reasonable to suppose that this collection of opinions would at least cause some misgiving on the part of those who practise affusion, as to the foundations on which that practice rests. Dr. Christian would doubtless be well pleased if his book should set any person studying the question for himself, with an earnest desire to know the truth, and perhaps a Baptist may be pardoned for saying that, in his judgment, it would not be difficult to predict the result of such an inquiry.

NEW YORK. HENRY C. VEDDER.

THE CHURCH AND HER DOCTRINE. By the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Sydney and others. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1892. 8vo. Pp. vi., 309, $2.

That the evangelical element in English churchmanship is still a living fountain of conviction and inspiration for the religious life of Great Britain this book bears ample testimony. Judging from the state of things in the Episcopal Church on this side of the water, it is frequently assumed that the real force and influence, as well as intellectual ability, of the English Church are to be found either in the ranks of pronounced High Churchmen or Broad Churchmen. The evangelical element is supposed to exist as a somewhat indefinite and disorganized drift of sentiment, which is being gradually broken up and dispersed by the stronger and more positive currents of religious thought. But it is a great mistake, and such a book as this before us proves the mistake. For the eleven essays which it contains, in which some of the ablest English churchmen endeavor to state anew, in popular and definite form, what they regard as the plain teaching of what Bishop Kew calls "the Church of England as it stands distinguished from all papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the cross," are very far from the despairing cry of a worn-out and fast disappearing school of thinkers. They bear the impress of thought, conscious of its own vitality and conscious of its power to meet living needs and to influence living men. Utterances so positive and strong do not issue from minds which simply cling tenaciously to old convictions while the great currents of life rush by them. Evangelical spirit and thought in England are real factors in the shaping of religious life, and the men whose names are connected with these essays prove that a good share of the best scholarship and most earnest thought of the country is enlisted in the support and defence of evangelical principles of religion. And yet if we were to compare this book with such manifestoes of evangelicalism as were common, say twenty-five to forty years ago, we could not fail to notice how great a change has come over the minds of evangelical leaders in the interval. We should notice, first of all, the change in the spirit in which those who differ are treated, and in which the whole subject under discussion is approached. A certain air of infallible certainty, which used to characterize statements of doctrine by this school of thought, is quite absent from the present treatise, its place being taken by a kindly openness to opposing views and a willingness to see and admit any common ground of truth without the sacrifice of positive and essential principle. A notable instance of this we have in the first essay on "The Holy Trinity," by the Bishop of Sydney. While the writer is trinitarian throughout, he does not hesitate to concede that the dogmatic form of the doctrine is not to be found in the New Testament, which furnishes no more than the spiritual substance of the dogma. An evangelical of the old type would have been shocked at such a sacrifice of plain scriptural authority to any demand of criticism. And yet how much the force of evangelical truth gains by this larger and richer conception of the ground of the

doctrine appears in the general effect produced in the Bishop of Sydney's discussion. It saves him from all forcing and straining of texts, and from the substitution of individual interpretation for the real sense of Scripture. It carries him up into broader views of personality and character in God, and helps him to find a practical significance for the living human soul in a dogma which under the old form seemed to offer nothing but bewildering mystery. But this book reminds us, too, that the evangelical leaders have learned to think more kindly and generously of their opponents than once they did. An arrogant, almost pharisaic intolerance used to characterize their attitude to those, on the one hand, whose view of ecclesiastical authority was more exalted, and those, on the other hand, whose view of scriptural authority was less exalted than theirs. Their own consciousness of a personal experience of religion too often led them to treat those who questioned its universality as the only ground of faith and of church life as if they were enigmas of Christian truth and had no place in the Church of Christ; and their high sense of the Scriptures as the infallibly inspired source of truth and salvation moved them to look down with fear and horror upon those who dared to apply the canons of criticism to the Bible. But while evangelical thinkers are as strong in their devotion to the principles of personal experience and scriptural authority as ever, they show a much more Christian and charitable disposition in their attitude to those who think differently. Take, for instance, the essay in this book by Canon Girdlestone on "The Sufficiency of Holy Scripture." As the canon says, these words of the title have an ancient sound; but as he treats them, they have something very different from the ancient sense. The old, intolerant certainty is taken out of them, and in its stead is placed the certainty of personal conviction and practical guidance for the individual thinker, which still leaves open possibilities of view for others which do not involve the condemnation of unbelief. The sufficiency of Scripture is limited to the five points—viz., the truth about God, the mission of Christ, the way of salvation, the path of Christian life, and the judgment to come. On these five points Scripture is a Divine and sufficient guide; but with this assertion there is coupled no judgment of those who question its sufficiency on other points, such as would most certainly have been passed by the old evangelicals. Then, too, we have an instance of this better spirit in the essay by Dr. Wace, on "The Church," which is perhaps the ablest portion of the book. Here we have the old evangelical view of the visible Church as the representative and symbol of the invisible and real Church of Christ ably and conscientiously set forth, and with that large sense of the superiority of spiritual realities to visible and human forms which was always one of the excellencies of the evangelical way of thinking. Its statement brings him into contact with Mr. Gore and the other High Church writers who contend for the principle that "membership in the true Church depends upon membership in the one visible Church on earth." And yet, while this position is thoroughly examined, discussed, and refuted, it is without venom and theological rancor, and leaves the great question involved on the high range of principle, where it naturally belongs. The opposing view is condemned, but there is no personal condemnation of those who hold the view, no disposition to snub them out of the covenant of grace, because they read the covenant differently. It shows how far the world has moved since the tractarian days, and how the larger sense of truth has driven out of religious thought the earlier, smaller individual sense of the infallibility of personal conviction. This is the chief significance of this book of evangelical essays. Its contents are not new. It presents old truths in new and modern expressions, and is intended to keep its readers true to the well-established principles of evangelical religion. But the spirit is new, and sweet, and charitable, and is a strong testimony to the advancement of Christ's real kingdom of love and truth amid all the differences and disputes of theology.

H. Richard Harris.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Natural History of Immortality. By Joseph William Reynolds, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co, 1891. 8vo, pp xxviii., 389, $2.25.

By the "natural history of immortality" the author apparently means the process in nature which culminates in the life of men beyond the grave. Thus, in the dreams of Pharaoh and Joseph's interpretation of them he finds "a natural history of immortality, of the, so to speak, natural mode, or use of means, by which events to come are brought about" (p. 130). This conception of a natural process of immortality slides readily into that of glimpses or intimations of immortality in nature, and but for the fact that his book is so very positive, and tells us not only all about God's workings in nature, but also about the "aerial clothing" of souls in the intermediate state, the occupations hereafter of the glorified, and much more besides, we should have supposed that the writer had simply undertaken to point such intimations out. It is impossible to say precisely what he did intend. What he has actually given is a loose-jointed discussion of the mystical forces of nature ("loves of the plants," for instance., p. 69), of comets and meteors, of dreams, faith-healings, demoniac possessions, and the like, purporting to find in such phenomena the evidence, or, as he chooses to put it, the natural history of immortality. It may be all very true that "we are now able to present the grandest truths of our faith with greatly the same (*sic*) kind of reasoning and accuracy as that used in the higher physical research; and to show that wherein they [apparently the physicists] are correct we are true also; and that their own straying, not less than our own incapacity, are (*sic*) the causes of any existing opposition in the views of the best men as to God and man, as to our present life and the coming immortality;" all this, we say, may be, as far as it is intelligible, true; but we have to confess that, whether from our own "straying" or our own or the writer's "incapacity," the hidden logic of his argument escapes us. In fact, he seems to us to deal not so much in argument as in bold assertion and vicious rhetoric, of which the quotation given above is only a specimen. There is an occasional dash of good writing, but more is rhapsody. The whole has the effect upon us of a dreary dream disturbed by lightning flashes and the roll of distant thunder. One point in the author's creed may be mentioned as a possible recommendation to some—he believes implicitly in the Bible and anathematizes the Higher Criticism and all "scepticism" as pertaining to the school of the devil.

H. Norman Gardiner.

Northampton, Mass.

THE CHINESE, THEIR PRESENT AND FUTURE: Medical, Political, and Social. By ROBERT COLTMAN, Jr., M.D., Surgeon in Charge of the Presbyterian Hospital and Dispensary at Teng Chow Fu, etc. Philadelphia and London: F. A. Davis, 1891.

This book is dedicated to the author's father and mother, but he would blush to read many of its sentences to them! The author is a Presbyterian medical missionary. So was John Kenneth Mackenzie. But just imagine that saintly man indulging in jokes upon fallen women! Dr. Coltman is no common observer. He has wit, ingenuity, penetration, kindly ways, and great good nature, and, besides, a photographic camera. He has given us in his book much valuable information and some excellent photographs. His description of an interior Chinese city (chap. 3) is wonderfully graphic. But he has mingled odoriferous with his auriferous matter, and so has put his book out of the list of purchases for our Sunday-school libraries, while he has not made it sufficiently scientific to attract medical men.

He gives a lively account of his getting to China and settling down to work. His animal spirits at one point run away with his English grammar, and he writes: "I had a suspicion he was invoking Buddha to help either he or I" (p. 15). He describes the people among whom he lived, and then their dissipations and diseases. He discourses on the openings in China for business, her present political situation and future prospects; and perhaps recollecting that he was expected to say something about missionaries, inserts a most perfunctory chapter upon them and their work.

There is no objection to his allusion to the social evil, but it is a shame to treat it so lightly and tell absurd stories about the wretched partners in man's guilt. Yet it is good to learn that the Chinese are not as a race more immoral than ourselves, nor so given to impurity as the Japanese. (Tell that to the Presbyterian elder who, as President of the United States, signed the Chinese Exclusion bill.)

The conclusion of the whole matter is that Dr. Coltman should take his book, cut out its occasionally dirty sentences, omit his chapter about missions, which certainly leaves the impression that he has little faith in them, and reissue it in revised form. As it is, it is a good book—spoiled.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON.

NEW YORK.

BRIEF REVIEWS, BY THE EDITOR.

The Preacher's Complete Homiletical Commentary on the Old Testament (on an original plan). With critical and explanatory notes, indices, etc. By various authors. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1892.)——*Homiletical Commentary on the Book of Genesis.* Chapters I.–VIII. by Rev. *J. S. Exell*, Chapters IX.–L. by Rev. *T. H. Leale.* (8vo, pp. xvi., 731, $3.) We confess to an involuntary repugnance to a book made with the avowed purpose of furnishing a "sermon outline or homiletic suggestion on every paragraph or verse of the Old Testament that can be turned to use in the preparation of a sermon." But we are assured that "no apology seems necessary for a work of this kind." For ourselves, we should as soon think of taking a plan from it as of preaching another man's sermon. Nevertheless, the authors have got together a great many good and suggestive things. The "original plan," so far as it is illustrated in a single chapter, includes the following things: "critical notes," very brief; "main homiletics of the paragraph," more or less full outline of a half-fledged sermon; "suggestive comments on the verses," mainly quotations; with occasional "illustrations to chapter —." Why such a series should be made may be imagined, but if it should have its perfect work and its legitimate consequences, it must result in making its habitual user a homiletical cripple for life.

Indications of the Second Book of Moses, called Exodus. By *Edward B. Latch.* (Philadelphia: Press of J. B. Lippincott Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. 350, $1.50) The only "indication" which we have been able to discover is that the author has wasted his time in making this book and his money in causing its publication. It is, alas! one of a series.

New Commentary upon Acts of Apostles. By *J. W. McGarvey*, M.A., Professor of Sacred History in the College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. Vol. I. (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xxxvi., 262, $1 50.) A popular and excellent commentary upon Acts, dealing in exposition, not exhortation, with little material of a distinctly homiletical nature, setting forth the meaning which the author has discovered by an annual study of the text for over a quarter of a century. The book is one specially suited to Sabbath-school teachers. To the author, Ferdinand Baur is an "infidel," and he claims to have "travelled more extensively in Palestine," and to have seen "more of its out-of-the-way places than any other American with whose writings" he is acquainted.

Quest and Vision. Essays in Life and Literature. By *W. J. Dawson.* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892, 12mo, pp. 233, 90 cents.) Literary studies, giving the author's estimate upon the following writers and subjects: Shelley, Wordsworth, Longfellow, George Eliot, and Meredith, "Religious Doubt and Modern Poetry" (Matthew Arnold, Browning, Tennyson), and "The Poetry of Despair" (Matthew Arnold and James Thomson). The book is well written and at times grows eloquent. That all readers will agree with the estimates given is too much to expect, but that the volume shows careful reading and diligent study is obvious.

Stories of the Saints for Children. The Black Letter Saints. By Mrs. *Molesworth.* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. viii., 232, $1.25.) This is a book excellent in design and execution; the design being to acquaint the rising generation with something more than the names of some of those who were eminent in their labors and devotion in the cause of Christ in early ages. Many of the names are found in the Calendar of the English Prayer-Book (omitted from the American), and hence the volume may appeal more strongly to an English constituency than to an American, but in any event it is suited to impress the youthful mind with ennobling thoughts, and to enforce the lesson that the blessings of to-day were bought by the sacrifices of ages past. The fifty-three saints mentioned lived between the third and twelfth centuries, and cover a very considerable range geographically and otherwise.

Religion for the Times. By *Lucien Clark*, D.D., Assistant Editor of *The Christian Advocate.* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892, 12mo, pp. 421, $1.25.) The author has not attempted a volume upon "apologetics," yet he has produced a book which

is constructed along the lines upon which the most effective "apologetical" work is to be done. Not only of men is it true "by their fruits ye shall know them." Systems and institutions are amenable to the same law, and that is the most effective argument which proves that Christianity has been, is, and will ever be the most effective agent of progress and betterment which the world has ever known, and that its concern is not solely and alone in reference to a life beyond the grave with which the interests of the present every-day life have but little in common. Religion is life, not creed.

The Heart of the Gospel. Twelve sermons delivered at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, London, England, by *Arthur T. Pierson.* (New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 1892, 12mo, pp v., 310, $1.25.) These sermons were preached from Mr. Spurgeon's pulpit during his absence at Mentone, in quest of renewal of health, and are dedicated to his memory. They are published by request of many in the form in which they were delivered, with almost absolutely no change. With regard to them it is sufficient praise to say that they are by Dr. Pierson, and were preached before an inspiring audience.

Genesis I. and Modern Science. By *Charles B. Warring,* Ph.D., Member New York Academy of Science, etc. (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892, 12mo, pp. 245, $1.) Another attempt to work out the agreement between the biblical account of creation and the statements of science upon the early periods of the history of the earth. To those who delight in such studies this book will be of some interest probably, but to a large number it will seem only a waste of energy. It may be doubted whether such importance would attach to the matter were it not for the dogmatic presuppositions which are involved. That the first chapter of Genesis is in wonderful accord, in general, with science is true, but that the agreement is exact is beyond reasonable expectation. It may be that science will come to the biblical account, but to try to square the Bible with science is rash folly. Better stand by the general agreement and, undisturbed, wait for the "last word" of science as it comes.

BRIEF MENTION.

The Church of To-morrow. Addresses delivered in the United States and Canada during the Autumn of 1891. By *W. J. Dawson.* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892, 12mo, pp. 338, $1.) An excellent series having for their aim to "assist in the march of a catholic and Christian progress."

The Preacher's Complete Register. Prepared by Rev. *J. M. Hubbert.* (Nashville: Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1892, 4to, pp. 256, $2.) A very complete and well-arranged book, well suited for its purpose, and calculated to be of great advantage to the pastor as well as to the preacher. Printed on excellent writing paper.

Good Character. What it is and how to form it. A word to young men, by *William M. Taylor,* D.D. (New York: Randolph, 16mo, pp. 32, 35 cents.) A sermon to young men on 2 Peter i. 5-7.

Ingersoll Under the Microscope. Colonel R. G. Ingersoll's reckless misstatements exposed and his mental and moral characteristics analyzed. By *J. M. Buckley,* D D. (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892, 18mo, pp. 36, 6 cents.) An examination of some of the assertions of this "libeller of the God of love," made in his recent "Christmas sermon." Excellent.

A Hereditary Consumptive's Successful Battle for Life. By *J. M. Buckley,* LL.D. (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892, 8vo, pp. 99, 50 cents.) An autobiographical statement of much interest and importance, containing a number of articles which originally appeared in *The Christian Advocate.*

Cynthia Wakeham's Money. By *Anna Katharine Green.* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1892, 12mo, pp. iv., 336, paper, 50 cents; cloth, $1.) A novel, by the author of "The Leavenworth Case."

SYNOPSES OF LEADING ARTICLES FROM PERIODICALS.

THE article by Professor C. A. Briggs on "The Proposed Revision of the Westminster Confession," in the August number of *The Andover Review,* differs in a very striking, almost curious manner from articles of the kind as they are generally met with. The objections raised are short, calm, positive—mere statements of facts with no additional noise beyond that which facts themselves are sometimes apt to cause; and the reasons adduced are so many proofs conscientiously weighed: simply decisions of the balance, promptly delivered, without a smile or an insinuation, or what else may be used to cover up a flaw in the weight. There are in the United States some two or three millions of persons who, though they might take no particular interest in the matter, would read the article through with a feeling not only of respect, but of delight, and lay it by with the quiet remark, "It is dry, but it is business."

The committee on revision, it appears, has not confined itself to revising those four chapters into which the Church, or a large majority of the Church, wished to have certain changes introduced. On the contrary, it has undertaken, for the sake of glory, to revise no less than nineteen chapters out of the thirty-three which constitute the Confession. Many of these revisions are trivial, says Professor Briggs—expressive only of the eccentricities of some leading members of the committee; and he gives six instances. Others are of considerable importance, but not one of them is worthy of adoption. Some changes, he adds, might well be made in some of these chapters by omission of clauses to which exception is taken. But every insertion or modification proposed by this committee is a mistake and a blunder. Eight instances are given. Finally, there occur revisions, and the professor gives four instances in which the changes proposed by the committee would change the faith of the Church in direction of error.

The committee, furthermore, proposes to add two new chapters, one of the work of the Holy Spirit, in five sections, and another of the Gospel, in four sections. Confession writing has always proved a difficult task; and it appears that the committee has not been successful. Of the first chapter, "Of the Holy Spirit," the professor says that it compares unfavorably with the strong, clear, and definite statements of the Westminster Confession, having been composed without regard to the style, language, and phrases of that document. "It is a coarse patch of the commonest kind of material on an ancient robe of royal purple. Indeed, it may be properly said that there was not a single member of the committee on revision who had any familiar acquaintance with the writings of the Westminster divines." The second chapter, "Of the Gospel," is acknowledged to be a better piece of work, but it shows, though in a less degree, "the same weakness, sloppiness, lack of breadth, and general inadequacy." The analysis of the propositions, phrases, and expressions quoted as

proofs must, of course, be read in the article itself, as also the answer to the question whether the committee has successfully revised the four chapters which gave difficulty to the Church and really caused the outbreaking of the cry for revision.

At this last point praise and blame are more equally distributed, and from the whole work done Professor Briggs draws the following lesson with respect to the practicability of a revision, that there are only three safe methods—namely, the easy way of omission of doubtful passages, the more difficult condensation, adhering strictly to the language of the Confession, and the occasional substitution of modern words for ancient ones which convey a false meaning. But every addition that this committee proposes in the way of new matter is faulty, and some of them are shockingly bad. Such additions should be strictly and sternly and resolutely forbidden.

The last number of *Bibliotheca Sacra* contains a very interesting article on "The Social and Industrial Situation." The article is a report of a committee appointed by the Congregational Association of Ohio, in 1891, to investigate the social and industrial situation, and the report, drawn up by Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., Columbus, O., and read at the meeting of the association in Oberlin, May 11th, 1892, is the result of conferences held by the committee in Columbus and Toledo, at which employers and employés met together. It is evident that conferences of that kind may lead to much good, especially when presided over by the guardians of the Christian Church, and the reader will in the present report find many seeds with undoubted power of germination.

One of the questions put under discussion by the committee was this: "Do laboring men as a class complain of the churches; and if so, what are their complaints?" Various answers were offered, but, as the report protests, in spite of considerable difference of opinion with respect to cause and remedies, the alienation of large masses of the wage-workers from the churches remains, nevertheless, a stubborn fact. It is the opprobrium of the churches. It ought never to have been permitted. It must in some way be overcome. The churches of Christ must not lose their hold upon the laborers. If they have lost it they must regain it.

Probably the report hits exactly the head of the nail when it adds: "It has never yet been believed by the majority of Christians that Christian principles had anything to do with the conduct of business. In all that realm it has been supposed that competition is the only law, and the equivalence of supply and demand the only gospel. But this is the very essence of antichrist, and it is time to have it understood that Christian men do not and cannot conduct their business upon these anti-Christian principles. It is time to insist that the Christian employer and the Christian employé must be Christians when they confront each other in the shop or the counting-room; that each must think of the other's interests as well as his own."

THE SEPTEMBER MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for September: Frontispiece, "In Full Cry," illustration for "Fox-hunting in the Genesee Valley;" "Literary Paris," second paper, by Theodore Child; "The Beggar's Word" (a poem), by Thomas Dunn English; "Fox-hunting in the Genesee Valley," by Edward S. Martin; "Lot No. 249" (a story), by A. Conan Doyle; "The World of Chance" (a novel), Part VII., by William Dean Howells; "A Heavenly Birthday" (a poem), by Louise Chandler Moulton; "Chapman," by James Russell Lowell; "Those Souvenir Spoons" (a story), by Margaret Sidney; "The Aryan Mark: A New England Town Meeting," by Anna C. Brackett; "Among the Sand Hills," by Howard Pyle; "Bagatelle" (a poem), by Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "Washington: The Evergreen State," by Julian Ralph; "A Gift Divine" (a poem), by Eleanor B. Caldwell; "Temptation" (a poem), by G. H. Goldthwaite; "Jane Field" (a novel), Part V., by Mary E. Wilkins; "A Collection of Death-Masks," first paper, by Laurence Hutton; "An Unpleasant Social Duty" (full-page illustration), by George du Maurier; "Editor's Easy Chair," by George William Curtis; "Editor's Study," by Charles Dudley Warner; "Editor's Drawer," with introductory story, "All the Geography a Nigger needs to Know," by Thomas Nelson Page; "Monthly Record of Current Events" (to July 12th).

THE CENTURY for September: "Portrait of Antonín Dvořák" (frontispiece); "The Grand Falls of Labrador," by Henry G. Bryant; "Between Two Fires," by Francis Davis Millet; "Antonín Dvořák," by H. E. Krehbiel; "The Nature and Elements of Poetry," VII., "Imagination," by Edmund Clarence Stedman; "Out of Pompeii," by William Wilfred Campbell; "Pioneer Packhorses in Alaska," I., "The Advance," by E. J. Glave; "Christopher Columbus," V., "The New World," by Emilio Castelar; "Columbia's Emblem," by Edna Dean Proctor; "Claude Monet," by Theodore Robinson; "Two Poems," by Anne Reeve Aldrich; "The Chosen Valley," V., by Mary Hallock Foote; "Herbert Mapes" (drowned August 23, 1891), by Robert Underwood Johnson; "An Elk-Hunt at Two-Ocean Pass," by Theodore Roosevelt; "Architecture at the World's Columbian Exposition," IV., by Henry Van Brunt; "The Sunset-Thrush," by Elizabeth Akers; "The Chatelaine of La Trinité," IV., by the author of "The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani," by Henry B. Fuller; "Tintoretto" (Italian Old Masters), by W. J. Stillman, with engravings and notes by T. Cole; "The Pictorial Poster," by Brander Matthews; "Thumb-Nail Sketches—'Strange to Say,'" by George Wharton Edwards; "A Mountain Europa" (in two parts), Part I., by John Fox, Jr.; "A Bachelor's Counsellings," by Richard Malcolm Johnston; "Phyllida's Mourning," by Grace Wilbur Conant; "Topics of the Time," "Open Letters," "In Lighter Vein."

THE contents of SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for September are as follows: "The Emperor of Russia Blessing the Waters of the Nevá at Epiphany," frontispiece, drawn by Ilya Efimovitch Répin, engraved by Frank French; "The Last of the Buffalo," by George Bird Grinnell; "The Tilden Trust Library: What Shall it Be?" by John Bigelow; "Sure," by Anna C. Brackett; "The Névsky Prospékt," by Isabel F. Hapgood; "A Case in Point," by George A. Hibbard; "French Art," I., "Classical Painting," by W. C. Brownell, with reproductions from works of Lesueur, Claude, Chardin, and Watteau; "Stories of a Western Town," II., "The Face of Failure," by Octave Thanet; "Insomnia," by Edith M. Thomas; "The Indian who is not Poor," by C. F. Lummis; "Her Last Word," by Lizette Woodworth Reese; "The Education of the Blind," by Mrs. Frederic R. Jones; "Death at Daybreak," by Anne Reeve Aldrich; "Historic Moments: The Attainment of the Highest North," by D. L. Brainard; "The Point of View."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for September: "The Story of a Child," I.–IV., Margaret Deland; "Cliff-Dwellers in the Cañon," Olive Thorne Miller; "An American at Home in Europe," III., William Henry Bishop; "Night after Night," Stuart Sterne; "Catherine," Mary J. Jacques; "A New England Boyhood," III., Edward Everett Hale; "Romance of Memory," S. R. Elliott; "The Lost Colors," Elizabeth Stuart Phelps; "Don Orsino," XIX.–XXI., F. Marion Crawford; "The Primer and Literature," Horace E. Scudder; "An Afternoon Tea," Harriet Lewis Bradley; "The Prometheus Unbound of Shelley," III., Vida D. Scudder; "To Oliver Wendell Holmes," John Greenleaf Whittier; "Freidrich Spielhagen;" "Two Virginians;" "A Half-Century of Conflict;" "Comment on New Books;" "The Contributors' Club."

LIPPINCOTT'S for September: "The Doomswoman," Gertrude Atherton; "California Journalism," M. H. de Young; "The Sisters" (a poem), Nelly Booth Simmons; "A Famous Pebble Beach," Helen F. Lowe; "To the Colorado Desert" (a poem), Madge Morris; "The Hand of Time," Emma B. Kaufman; "Litany of the Shrines" (a poem), Charles Warren Stoddard; "California Eras," Hubert H. Bancroft; "Booth in Hamlet" (a poem), Flora Macdonald Shearer; "The Princess of Rattlesnakes," Heine Miller; "California Poppies" (rondeau), Martha T. Tyler; "In the Grand Cañon" (a poem), Ina H. Coolbrith; "The Topography of California," W. C. Morrow; "Mrs. Atherton's Novels" (a dialogue), William S. Walsh; "As it Seems;" "With the Wits."

THE COSMOPOLITAN for September: "Jersey;" "September" (poem), D. C. Scott; "George Pellew," W. D. Howells; "Three Moods of Midnight"; "Advance of Education in the South," Charles W. Dabney, Jr.; "Recollection" (poem), Anne Reeve Aldrich; "Up the Ouachita on a Cotton Boat," Stoughton Cooley; "Amma-San," Anna A. Rogers; "Celebrated British Spectres;" "The Homestead Lesson," J. B. Walker; "Alligator Hunting with Seminoles;" "What Shall They Drink?" Edward Everett Hale; "The Chicago Convention," Murat Halstead; "Social Struggles," H. H. Boyesen; "Childless" (poem), Fannie M. P. Deas; "Evolution and Christianity," by St. George Mivart; "Where the Shoe Pinches," Avard J. Moore; "Ghosts" (poem), Graham R. Tomson; "More American Stories," Brander Matthews; "The Regret of Spring," illustrated by Wilson de Meza, Pitts Harrison Burt; "The Times" (poem), Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

INDEX OF PERIODICALS, AUGUST.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R.	Andover Review.
Bibl. Sacr.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. Q. R.	Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R.	Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q.	Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. P. R.	Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)
C. R.	Charities Review.
C. T.	Christian Thought.
Ex.	Expositor.
Ex. T.	Expository Times.
G. W.	Good Words.
H. R.	Homiletic Review.
L. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H.	Missionary Herald.
Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
N. H. M.	Newbery House Magazine.
N. E. & Y. R.	New Englander and Yale Review.
N. W.	The New World.
O. D.	Our Day.
O. N. T. S.	Old and New Testament Student.
P. M.	Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch.	Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
S. A. H.	Sunday at Home.
S. M.	Sunday Magazine.
T. Th.	The Thinker.
T. Tr.	The Treasury.
Y. M.	The Young Man.

Ahaz, The Sign Given to, H. C. Groves, TTh.
Ahaz, The Sign Promised to, H. Woods, TTh.
Alston Crucis, XIV., Helen Shipton, GW.
America, The Future of Religion in, Prof. Briggs, Dr. Bradford, RCh.
American Literature in Colleges, The Study of, Prof. Newton M. Hall, AR.
Angelico of Polina, Arturo Muston, Miss. R.
Aramaic Gospel, The, J. T. Marshall, Ex.
Atonement in the New Testament, The Doctrine of, Rev. Joseph Agar Beet, Ex.
Babylonian Exploration Fund, The Expedition of, Robert Francis Harper, ONTS.
Baptist Colleges, The Study of Theology in the British, D. Witton Jenkins, ExT.
Bible on Modern Jurisprudence, The Influence of, William H. Arnoux, CT.
Bible and Modern Discoveries, The, Joseph Cook, OD.
Biblical Study in Germany, Lester Bradner, Jr., ONTS.
Boniface, Henry Gracey, Miss. R.
Buddhism in Japan, "New," Sidney L. Gulick, MH.
Caird, Very Rev. Principal, Arthur Jenkinson, TTh.
Certain Small People, G. W. Wood, SM.
China and the Chinese, C. Alford, TTr.
Christ and the Old Testament, T. Purves, TTr.
Christ the Church-Goer, W. D. Smith, TTr.
Christ, Wealth and, A. Blake, TTr.
Christ, The Love of, Bishop of Winchester, SM.
Christ, The Garments of, L. J. Bertrand, Miss. R.
Christian Altruism, Paton J. Gloag, HR.
Christianity, All-Round, J. H. Barrows, TTr.
Church, The Founding of the Christian, Clyde W. Votaw, ONTS.
Church Treasury, The, R. W. Van Schaick, TTr.
Church Folk-Lore, VII., J. E. Vaux, NHM.
Church Movement of 1833, A Layman's Recollections of the, G. W., NHM.
Cloister Life in the Days of Cœur de Lion, Dean of Gloucester, GW.
Desert, A Day's Journey in the, Julius Euting, ONTS.
Drink Shops, A Prohibition of, R. P. S., SM.
Dutch Painter, A Modern, Robert Walker, GW.
Earth Rocked Her Cradle, How Mother, C. F. Gordon-Cumming, NHM.
Emmaus, The Walk to, Henry Allan, GW.
Engleberg and its Monastery, E. J. Gough, NHM.
Ephesians, The Intended Readers of the Epistle to the, Rev. A. Robertson, TTh.
Fairbairn, Rev. A. M., Herbert Stead, RCh.
Flood, The Story of the, H. E. Ryle, ExT.
Foreign Relations, An Inquiry Concerning Our, Theodore S. Woolsey, YR.
Foreign Loan, The Confederate, J. C. Schwab, YR.
Future Home of the Righteous, The, J. W. Lowber, TTr.
Guilds, Chinese and Mediæval, YR.
Gospel, The Fourth, John A. Cross, Ex.
Grail, The Search for the Holy, John Byles, SM.
Greatest Work in the World, The, Joseph Booth, Miss. R.
Greenwell, Dora, Mrs. John Macdonell, Ex.
Half-Brothers, XXXVI.–XLI., Hesba Stretton, SM.
Heretic Hunting and Heresy Trials, J. B. Remensnyder, HR.
Immortality in the Gâthas, L. H. Mills, TTh.
Immigration, Francis A. Walker, YR.
Inglis, Rev. John, Ront Steel, Miss. R.
Inspired Fiction, M. S. Terry, TTr.
International Theological Library, The Aim of the, Robert Watts, TTr.
Ishii and His Orphanage, J. H. Pettee, MH.
Jesus Crowned with the Glory of Sonship, Robert A. Mitchell, ExT.
Job in Other Literatures, The Book of, George S. Goodspeed, ONTS.
Joel, II., Bishop of Ripon, GW.
Kanamori's New Book, F. S. Curtis, Miss. R.
Lapps, Amongst the, William C. Preston, GW.
Lowell, James Russell, G. Milligan, ExT.
Magic Lantern in the Monthly Concert, The, James Carter, Miss. R
Man above Nature, Lucius Curtis, AR.
Marble Fawn, The, Mrs. Jessie Kingsley Curtis, AR.
Mark xiv. 41, 42, J. H. Bernard, ExT.
Messianic Prophecy, V. M. Oliphant, ONTS.
Metaphysical Assumptions, Edgar Dubs Shimer, CP.
Missionary Union, The International, Cyrus Hamlin, MH.
Missions, Praying for, James Mudge, Miss. R.
Missions, Ireland and Foreign, William Park, Miss. R.
Moses, The Mistakes of, H. L. Hastings, CT.
Nurse Elisia, V.–VIII., George Manville Fenn, GW.
Ochino, Bernardino, Philip Schaff, HR.
Old Testament, The Teaching of Our Lord as to the Authority of the, Bishop Ellicott, ExT.
Opium Trade in Asia, The Ravages of the British, A. P. Happer, OD.
Oriental Texts, The Study of the, T. J. Dodd, ONTS.
Parables, A Group of, W. Milligan, Ex.
Paris, The Casual Wards of, Edmund R. Spearman, NHM.
Pastoral Psychology, Dwight M. Pratt, HR.
Pauline Epistles, Recent Criticisms of, Alfred Williams Anthony, ONTS.
Pensée, Rose Metcalfe, SM.
Pentateuch, Date of the, Canon S. Garratt, TTh.
Periodicals, An Excursion among the, E. H. Blair, AR.
Perceptionalism, Edward J Hamilton, CT.
Petrarch and the Beginning of Modern Science, George B. Adams, YR.
Pfleiderer, Prof. Otto, P. M. Snyder, ONTS.
Philippopolis Station, George A. Marsh, MH.
Pottery, A Peep of an Art, C. Lewis Hind, GW.
Progress of the Churches, The, Archdeacon Farrar, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. Clifford, P. W. Bunting, RCh.
Prussian Ministers and Imperial Rule, Edward V. Raynolds, YR.
Psalm cx., Prof. Cheyne's Theory of, C. H. H. Wright, TTh.
Pulpit and Social Problems, The, Frank L. Herriott, HR.
Reflex Influence of Giving to Missions, The, Paul V. Bomar, Miss. R.
Reformation, The Formal Principle of the, Rev. F. W. C. Meyer, ONTS.
Right Hand and the Left, The, George MacDonald, SM.
Ritschlian Theology, The, J. Orr, TTh.
Robertson Smith's Lectures on the Old Testament, T. K. Cheyne, Ex.
Sabbath School as a Factor in Public Education, The, W. F. Crafts, OD.
Samuel, W. G. Elmslie, Ex.
Sermon, A Flower, W. J. Flaxell, SM.
Sermon and Painting, Prof T. H. Pattison, HR.
Sermon, The Structure of a, James F. Riggs, HR.
Slowly-Grinding Mills, The, V.–VIII., Mrs. Linnous Banks, NHM.
Sociological Science, Samuel W. Dike, CP.
Social Scheme, The "Darkest England," Archdeacon Farrar, RCh.
Synagoguge, The, H. Ormonde, NHM.
Ulfilas and the Conversion of the Goths, Prof. A. G. Hopkins, AR.
Village Improvement as a National Issue, B. G. Northrop, OD.
Westminster Confession, The Proposed Revision of, C. A. Briggs, AR.
Windsor, The German, Sarah M. S. Pereira, SM.
World's Fair, Religious Possibilities of the, John Henry Barrows, OD.
Zoroaster and Israel, T. R. Cheyne, TTh.

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Man above Nature.
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The Proposed Revision of the Westminster Confession. Prof. C. A. Briggs.
The Marble Fawn.
Mrs. Jessie Kingsley Curtis.
An Excursion among the Periodicals.
E. H. Blair.
The Study of American Literature in Colleges. Prof. Newton M. Hall.
Ulfilas and the Conversion of the Goths.
Prof. A. G. Hopkins.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

New York, August, 1892.

Perceptionalism: A System of Philosophy.
Prof. Edward J. Hamilton, D.D.
The Influence of the Bible on Modern Jurisprudence.
Hon. William H. Arnoux.
"The Mistakes of Moses."
Rev H. L. Hastings.
Metaphysical Assumptions.
Prof. Edgar Dubs Shimer, Ph.D.
Remarks on the Paper Above.
Dr. T. S. O'Brien.
Sociological Science.
Samuel W. Dike, D.D.

THE EXPOSITOR.

London, August, 1892.

The Aramaic Gospel.
Rev. Prof. J. T. Marshall, M.A.
Samuel.
Rev. Prof. W. G. Elmslie, D.D.
A Group of Parables.
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The Fourth Gospel.
Rev. John A. Cross, M.A.
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CHRONICLE.

(*Closes on the 20th of each month.*)

July 19–28. One hundred and forty-ninth annual conference of the English Wesleyan Methodist Church at Bradford.

July 26. Consecration of Rev. Charles R. Hale, S.T.D., Assistant Bishop of Springfield, Ill., at Davenport, Ia.

July 26–28. Council of Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches. A plan of union was agreed upon, and the name proposed for the united church is "The African Methodist Episcopal and Zion Church."

Aug. 2–20. Continuation of the Summer University at Chautauqua.

Aug. 4. Stated meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society.

Aug. 4–15. Tenth General Conference of Christians at Northfield, Mass.

Aug. 8–14. Eleventh Annual Summer Meeting of Universalists at Weirs, Lake Winnepesaukee.

Aug. 11–19. Fifth Annual Interdenominational Bible Conference in Educational Hall, Asbury Park, N. J.

Aug. 16. United Presbyterian "denominational picnic" at Aliquippa Grove, Pa., on the line of the Erie Railroad.

The Rev. A. Hunter Dunn has been elected to succeed the late Dr. Williams as Bishop of Quebec.

America has a new prelate in the person of the "Old Catholic" Archbishop Joseph Rene Villatte. His jurisdiction covers the continent. His headquarters will be at Green Bay, Wis., and he purposes to consecrate three bishops to assist in his work.

Rt. Rev. Angus McDonald (Roman Catholic), Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, has been appointed Archbishop of Edinburgh.

The Rev. M. F. Hawley, D.D., has been appointed Roman Catholic Bishop of Newfoundland.

The Canadian Presbyterians are asking other members of the Presbyterian family to consider the project of providing one hymn-book for all Presbyterian churches throughout the world.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church is to found a Theological Seminary at Norwood Park, Chicago. The Faculty is to be elected in May, 1893, and the school opened in the fall.

A new Theological School has been started at Denver, as a department of the University of Colorado. It is to be "unsectarian," with the following as professors and courses: Rev. Richard Montague, D.D. (Baptist), Philosophy of Religion; Rev. A. A Pfanstiehl (Presbyterian), Systematic Theology; Rt. Rev. Bishop Spalding (Episcopalian), Ecclesiastical History; Rev. H. M. Hart (Episcopalian), Biblical Exegesis; Rev. S. A. Eliot (Unitarian), Comparative Religion; Rev. M. W. Reed (Congregationalist), Ethics of Social Reform; Rev. W. C. Selleck (Universalist), History of Doctrine; Rev. K. B. Tupper, D.D. (Baptist), Homiletics; Rev. W. B. Craig (Christian), Pastoral Care.

Rev. Alonzo H. Quint, D.D., has been appointed a member of the Board of Visitors of Andover Theological Seminary.

The following changes have recently been made in the faculties of Theological Seminaries throughout the country: Rev. D. J. MacBride Sterrett has resigned his Chair in the Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minn. He goes to the Columbian University, Washington. Professor Frank H. Foster has resigned the Chair of Church History at Oberlin to take that of Systematic Theology in the Pacific Theological Seminary at Oakland, Cal. The Rev. W. H. Landon, D.D., of Portland, Ore., has been nominated by the Oregon directors of the San Francisco Theological Seminary to the Chair of Practical Theology. He must be elected by the full Board of Directors, and the election confirmed by two Synods, and not vetoed by the General Assembly. The Rev. Graham Taylor, D.D., Professor of Practical Theology in Hartford Theological Seminary, has resigned in order to accept the Chair of Christian Sociology and Bible Study in Chicago Theological Seminary. Rev. Peyton H. Hoge, of Wilmington, N. C., has been elected to the Chair of Biblical and Pastoral Theology in the Union Theological Seminary in Virginia. Rev. R. A. Webb, D.D., has been elected Professor of Theology, and the Rev. Thornton C. Whaling takes the Chair of Biblical Instruction and Philosophy, and the Rev. W. A. Alexander accepts the call to the Chair of Hebrew and Biblical Greek in the Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tenn. The Rev. Rush Rhees, of Ports-

mouth, N. H., has received an appointment to a professorship in Newton Theological Seminary. Professor John De Witt has resigned the Chair of Apologetics to accept the Chair of Church History in Princeton Theological Seminary. Mr. Lewis B. Paton and Mr. Duncan B. McDonald will take the work of Professor E. C. Bissell in Hartford Theological Seminary, his department having been divided.

OBITUARY.

Claughton, Right Rev. Thomas Leigh (Church of England), at St. Albans, July 25, aged 74. He was educated at Rugby School and at Trinity College, Oxford, graduating in 1831; he took the prize for Latin essay in 1832; was appointed public examiner, 1836; preferred to the vicarage of Kidderminster, 1841; became Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1852, serving till 1857; was made Bishop of Rochester, 1867; translated to St. Albans, 1877; resigned in 1890. He has published "Questions on the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels," "The Burial-Place of Edward de Langley," and a number of "Charges."

Conder, Rev. Eustace Rogers (English Congregationalist), D.D. (University of Edinburgh, 1882), in Bournemouth, July 5, aged 72. He studied at Springhill College, and graduated as M.A. at the London University, 1844; was immediately called to the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Poole; removed thence to the pastorate of the East Parade Church, Leeds, 1861. This pastorate he retained till shortly before his death, when continued ill health compelled him to insist on the acceptance of his resignation. He has been for a long time one of the leaders of Congregationalism in England. Among his writings are "Why are we Dissenters?" "A Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel," and "The Basis of Faith: A Critical Survey of Christian Theism."

D'Annibale, Cardinal Giuseppe, in Rome, July 20, aged 77. He was Prefect of the Congregation of Indulgences and Sacred Relics, and was made cardinal in 1889.

Evans, Rev. Lewellyn Joan (Presbyterian), D.D. (Wabash College, 1872), at Bala, Wales, July 25, aged 59. He was of Welsh birth and ancestry; studied at Welsh Presbyterian College, Bala, 1846–49; graduated at Racine College, 1856, and Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, O., 1860; became pastor of the seminary church, 1860; Professor of Church History, 1863; of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1867; and of New Testament Greek and Exegesis, 1875. He served in the Wisconsin Legislature, 1856–57, and was on the staff of the *Central Christian Herald*, 1863–66. He recently resigned from Lane Seminary, and at the time of his death was about to begin teaching in Bala Seminary. He belonged to the advanced school in Criticism and Exegesis, and in company with Professor Henry Preserved Smith wrote a widely read pamphlet defending much of Dr. Briggs's position. Besides this he has published sermons, pamphlets, etc., and translated and edited Zöckler's Commentary on Job in the Lange series.

Merriman, Rev. William Edward (Congregationalist), D.D. (Williams College, 1874), at Marblehead Neck, August 1, aged 67. He was graduated at Williams College, 1850, and Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1854; ordained and preached at South Plainfield, Conn., 1857; called to Batavia, Ill., 1857; went to Green Bay, Wis., 1863; elected President of Ripon College, 1863; resigned and came East, 1879; became pastor in East Somerville, Mass., 1882; resigned to do literary work, 1887. He has been a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions since 1870.

Wiswell, Rev. George F. (Presbyterian), D.D., in Washington, D.C., July 14, aged 72. He was graduated at Middlebury, 1841, and at Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1844; was ordained, 1845; pastor at Southold, L. I., 1845–50; financial secretary of Union Seminary, 1850–53; became pastor at Peekskill, 1853; at Wilmington, Del., 1856; and of the Green-Hill Church, Philadelphia, 1867, retaining the latter charge till 1884, when he retired on account of ill health. He was a member of the New School Reunion Committee, and also served on the Board of Publication.

CALENDAR.

Sept. 1-29.—Continuation of the Grindelwald Conferences.

Sept. 15. Second Convention of the International Old Catholic Congress, called by the Synodical Council of the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland.

Sept. 21. Connecticut State Universalist Convention at New Haven.

The Fifth General Council of the "Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian System," at Toronto, Canada, assembling at 11 A.M in St. James Square Presbyterian Church, opening with a sermon by the Rev. William Caven, D.D., Principal of Knox College. At the close of public worship, the Council will be constituted by the Rev. Professor Blaikie, D.D., LL D., Edinburgh, President of the Alliance, and the usual business meeting be held. A reception to the delegate to the Council will be given on the evening of September 21st. There will be three sessions of the Council each day. In the forenoon and in the afternoon the Council will meet in St. James Square Church, and in the evening in the Pavilion of the Horticultural Gardens. The Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements is Dr. Caven, and the Secretary is the Rev. William Burns, both of Toronto. The General Secretary of the Alliance, the Rev. George D. Mathews, D.D., is to be addressed 170 Yonge St., Toronto. The programme is not yet definitely decided upon. Any of the above-named gentlemen may be addressed for particulars.

Oct. 2. Centenary celebration of the foundation of the Baptist Missionary Society (of England) at Kettering.

Setting apart of the first graduates of the (Protestant Episcopal) New York Training School for Deaconesses.

Oct. 4-7. Anglican Church Congress at Folkestone, England.

Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Chicago.

Oct. 5. Assembling of the (Triennial) General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States at Baltimore. Among the most important matters to be passed on are the revised Prayer-Book and the new Hymnal.

Oct. 12. Religious observances in all the Catholic Churches of the United States in commemoration of the discovery of America.

Oct. 12-17. Meeting of the National Council of the Congregational Church of the United States in Plymouth Church, Minneapolis. The docket is as follows:

The sessions of Wednesday will be devoted to organization and reports of committees, secretary and treasurer and election of officers. The sermon, Wednesday evening, by Rev. C. M. Lamson, D.D., of St. Johnsbury, Vt.

Thursday, A.M Appointment of committees. Report of committee of the relations of national benevolent societies to the churches.

Thursday, P.M. Reports of committees on the relations of these societies to each other and the religious needs of the army and navy, on a Congregational Manual for missionary churches, on the Mormon question, and on systematic beneficence

Thursday evening. Report of Committee on Memorial to John Robinson. The International Council reports with short addresses by selected delegates and communication from committee of the Council.

Friday, A.M. Report of committee on improvement of public worship, statement of the American College and Education Society, reports of committees on ministerial supply, to revise form of admission to the church, on relations with the Scandinavian churches and on missionary periodicals.

Friday, P.M. Statements of the benevolent societies, reports of committees on marriage and divorce and on Sunday observance.

Friday evening. Reports on Christian care of prisoners, on temperance and on city evangelization.

Saturday, A.M. The theological seminaries.

Sunday, A.M. The Lord's Supper.

Sunday evening. Reports of committees on union with Free Baptists and other denominations, and on Christian unity.

Monday, A.M. Reports of various committees of the Council and appointment of *ad interim* committees.

Monday, P.M. Unfinished business.

THEOLOGICAL PROPÆDEUTIC

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EXEGETICAL, HISTORICAL, SYSTEMATIC, AND PRACTICAL

INCLUDING

ENCYCLOPÆDIA, METHODOLOGY, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART I.

A MANUAL FOR STUDENTS

BY

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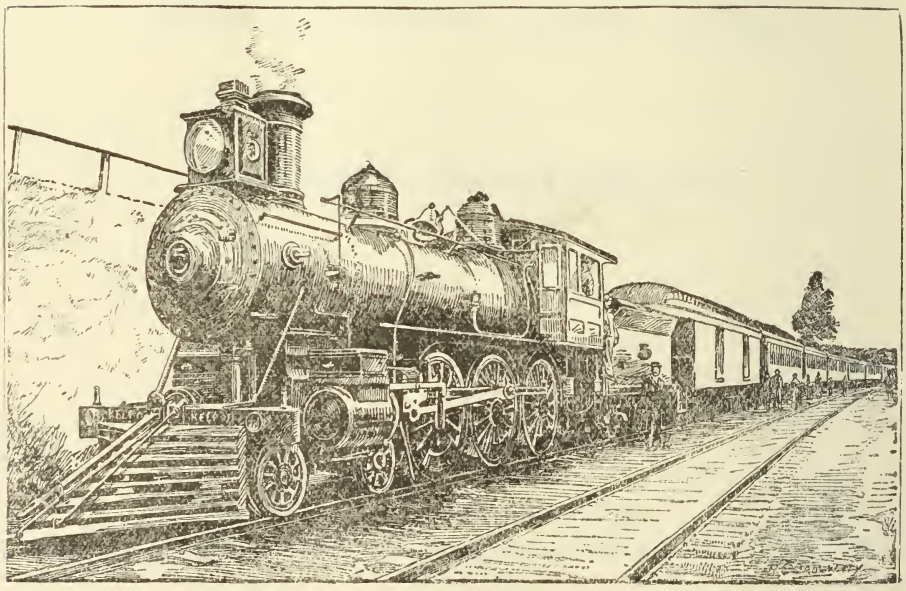

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4. The latest and best general books on Old Testament Introduction: BLEEK (1860, 4th ed., revised by Wellhausen, 1878, 5th ed., 1886; English translation by G. H. Venables from the 2d ed., 1869, 2 vols.); REUSS (1881, 2d ed., 1890); KEIL (3d ed., 1873); REUSCH (Old Cath., 4th ed., 1870); STRACK (1883); KUENEN (Dutch, 2d ed., 1885); MARTIN (French, 1887); KILPATRICK (London, 1891); DRIVER (Edinburgh and New York, 1891).

On the New Testament: BLEEK (1860, 4th ed. by Mangold, 1886); REUSS (1842, 6th ed., 1887; English translation by Houghton, Boston, 1884, 2 vols.); VON HOFMANN (ed. by Volck, 1881); L. Schulze (1883 and 1885); HOLTZMANN (1885, 2d ed., 1886); WEISS (1886, 2d ed., 1889; English translation, Edinb. 2 vols.); SALMON (London, 1885, 4th ed., 1890); GODET (in course of preparation, 3 vols., French and English).

CHAPTER XCIV.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

Criticism is a method of investigation for the purpose of ascertaining the truth. It inquires into the nature and credibility of the sources of information, and determines the value of traditional opinions. It may be destructive or constructive or both. It is a sifting process which separates truth from error, and fact from fiction. It is necessary for all true progress in exegesis and history, or any other department of science.

Biblical criticism, in the technical sense, is divided into TEXTUAL or VERBAL, and LITERARY or HISTORICAL criticism. They are also distinguished as LOWER and HIGHER criticism; but this must not be understood in an invidious sense; for the one is just as important and as difficult as the other, and requires the same amount of minute and painstaking labor. Textual criticism comes first in order, and lays the basis for literary criticism. The former deals with the text or the form of the Scripture; the latter, with its contents, its literary character and historical surroundings.

Both are comparatively recent departments of Biblical study, and have been cultivated chiefly by Protestant scholars in

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Germany, Holland and England. Protestantism favors original investigation. Romanism is hampered by traditionalism, whenever the Church has made a positive deliverance, as on the extent of the canon, and the authority of the Vulgate. But a number of Roman Catholic scholars, as Simon, Jahn, Hug, Scholz, Vercellone, Martin, have taken a prominent part in these studies.

CHAPTER XCV.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM—ITS AIM.

The object and aim of textual criticism is to ascertain and restore, as far as possible, the original text of the Scripture, from all accessible documentary sources. It has nothing to do with sectarian notions or private opinions as to what the Biblical authors might or ought to have written, but simply with what they actually did write. It does not enter into the domain of interpretation, but furnishes a solid foundation for the exegete. It requires patient attention to minute details, microscopic accuracy and judicial impartiality.

The number of textual critics is very small. These devout and reverent scholars took the deepest interest in the letter as well as the contents of the Bible, and devoted years of study to the restoration of the purity of the text.

CHAPTER XCVI.

NECESSITY OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

The need for this study arises from the loss of the Hebrew and Greek autographs, and the vast number of readings. These are inevitable in the multiplication of any book by printing, and still more so by transcribing; for manuscripts are not so easily corrected as printed books, which have the benefit of repeated proof-readings.

God has watched with special providence over the essential integrity of the Bible, but he has not chosen to exempt it, by a perpetual miracle or series of miracles, from the common fate of human compositions, and to endow the copyists, translators and printers of the Bible with infallibility. He wastes no miracles. The command, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou

eat bread," applies to intellectual and spiritual as well as physical labor.

For all practical purposes the English or any version of the Bible, on which most readers have to depend, is just as good as the original autographs, which are irrecoverably lost. The Apostles used great freedom in their quotations from the Old Testament, and thereby taught us an important lesson. "The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life" (2 Cor. 3 : 6).

CHAPTER XCVII.

CLASSES OF TEXTUAL VARIATIONS.

Errors of transcription may be intentional, or accidental. The former are exceedingly rare in Biblical manuscripts; for transcribers and translators had too much respect for the Bible to venture upon wilful changes and mutilations. Marcion's mutilated Gospel of Luke is an isolated case and was generally condemned.

But accidental and unintentional errors are exceedingly numerous. They crept in very early. The further we go back, the greater was the freedom and carelessness of transcribers. Irenæus, who wrote about A.D. 170, mentions the remarkable difference of reading in the Apocalyptic number, 666 or 616 (Rev. 13 : 18), which he found in old copies. Origen complained of the corruption of the text about the middle of the third century. Jerome reports that in his day there were as many distinct forms of the text as codices of the Latin Testament (*tot pœne exemplaria quot codices*), and that the text of the Gospels which were most frequently copied was in great confusion (*apud nos mixta sunt omnia*). It was only after the fifth century that the text assumed a settled and stereotyped form.

Textual variations arose partly from inadvertence, partly from mistakes of the eye in reading or the ear in hearing, partly from corrections of the copyist. They are either omissions, or insertions, or substitutions.

Omissions are rare; for purchasers wanted complete copies. They occur mostly in cases of *homœoteleuton*, or similarity of ending, *i.e.*, where a line or sentence closes with the same word as the preceding one (*e.g.*, 1 John 2 : 23).

Insertions or additions were made chiefly from parallel passages (in the Gospels), or from Old Testament quotations, or from lectionaries and liturgies, or from love of paraphrase, or from marginal notes of transcribers, or from oral tradition. The most important cases of this kind are the doxology in the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6 : 13), the notice about the pool of Bethesda (John 5 : 3, 4), the section of the woman taken in adultery (John 7 : 53–8 : 11), the concluding verses of Mark (16 : 9–20), and the passage of the three witnesses in heaven (1 John 5 : 7, 8). The last is not found in any old Greek manuscript or version or patristic quotation, and is entirely omitted in the Revised Version; while the other passages are retained, with a marginal note. The Septuagint has large additions in Esther and Daniel.

Substitutions are due to resemblances of words in spelling or pronunciation, or to the aim of harmonizing. Examples: 1 John 1 : 18 (*θεός* or *υἱός*); Luke 2 : 14 (*εὐδοκία* or *εὐδοκίας*); Rom. 5 : 1 (*ἔχομεν* or *ἔχωμεν*); Acts 20 : 28 (*θεοῦ* or *κυρίου*); 1 Tim. 3 : 16 (*θεός* or *ὅς*); Rev. 17 : 8 (*καίπερ ἔστιν* or *καὶ παρέσται*).

CHAPTER XCVIII.

THE NUMBER AND VALUE OF VARIOUS READINGS.

We can only make an approximate estimate of the number of variations.

In the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible a careful examiner has numbered 1314 different readings of value. Of these only 147 affect the sense or have any theological importance. But when we compare the Hebrew original with the Greek translation, the differences are much more frequent and important, and imply many omissions and additions.

The manuscripts of the Greek Testament are far more numerous than those of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, or any other ancient book, and present a correspondingly large number of variations. Mill in his time (1707) counted 30,000 readings; Scrivener in our age (1874) estimated their number to be "at least fourfold that quantity."* Others run the sum up to 150,000. These include differences in the order of

* *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (Cambridge, 2d ed., 1874); repeated without change in the third edition (1883), p. 3.

words, in spelling and other trifles, which are ignored in the printed editions. But even this large number is much less in proportion than the 30,000 readings in the few copies of Terence.

The number of variations differs in the different books. Less care was bestowed upon doubtful books (the *Antilegomena*) than those which were generally received by the Church (the *Homologumena*). Dr. B. Weiss found in the five remaining uncial manuscripts of the Apocalypse, which contains about 400 verses, nearly 1,650 departures from the received text (210 in A, 110 in C, over 515 in ℵ, the rest in P, and B Apocalypse).* The Apocalypse was the last among the apostolic writings which received canonical sanction, at least in the Eastern Church (it is omitted in the Laodicean canon of 363); hence the large number of variations in the oldest manuscripts. The settlement of the canon after the fourth century led to a systematic emendation and unification of the text.

The vast majority of variations in the Greek Testament, at least nineteen out of twenty, are analogous to trifling typographical errors, and of no consequence whatever; of the remaining twentieth part not more than about 400 affect the meaning; of these less than 100 involve any doctrinal or ethical question; and not one of them invalidates any revealed doctrine or moral duty, but only diminishes the number of proof-texts for an article of faith which is sufficiently sustained by other undoubted passages.

The abundance of variations, far from unsettling the general integrity of the text, furnishes us the material for restoring it with approximate certainty to a far greater degree than is the case with any classical author of antiquity. There is no need of resorting to uncertain conjectures and emendations. The true reading is sure to be preserved in the great mass of variations.†

* See his minute and careful analysis, *Die Johannes-Apocalypse*, in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristl. Literatur*, Bd. VII., No. 1, 1891 (225 pp.). Weiss gives, in conclusion, an emended text of the Apocalypse, based chiefly upon the Codex Alexandrinus (A), and more nearly agreed with that of Westcott and Hort than that of Tischendorf, who in his eighth edition follows too much the Sinaitic Codex (ℵ).

† See the remarkable judgment of Richard Bentley, one of the greatest classical scholars and critics, and the concurrent testimonies of Tischendorf, Tregelles, Hort, and Ezra Abbot, quoted in Schaff's *Companion to the Greek Testament*, pp. 176 sqq.

Nevertheless the variations in the Bible text are sufficiently important to call for a vast amount of patient learning and research. In the Word of God nothing is indifferent. Reverence for the Bible and a desire to enjoy its primitive purity and integrity should be the strongest motive for the critic. This was the case with the great and good John Albright Bengel. When he first learned, as a student, of the variety of readings in the Greek Testament, he was somewhat disturbed; but this very fact led him to a careful investigation, which strongly confirmed him in his faith and secured him a place among the first textual critics and exegetes. "If the Holy Scriptures," he says, "which have been so often copied, were absolutely without variations, this would be so great a miracle that faith in them would be no longer faith. I am astonished, on the contrary, that from all these transcriptions there has not resulted a greater number of various readings." *

CHAPTER XCIX.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The textual criticism of the Old Testament is as yet in its infancy. If it aims simply at the restoration of the Masoretic text, the task is much easier than the criticism of the Greek Testament. But if it aims at a restoration of the ante-Masoretic or primitive text, it is more difficult.

The restoration of the Masoretic text is confined to an examination of the Hebrew MSS. dating from the Masoretic period, which extends from the sixth to the twelfth centuries.

The Jewish rabbis, called Masorets or Traditionalists (from *masora* or *massora*, tradition, *masar*, to hand down), especially those of the school of Tiberias, searched the letter of the Scriptures most diligently, thinking that in them they had eternal life; while they were blind to the Christ of whom they bear witness (John 5: 39). Yet their bibliolatry or letter-worship served a good purpose in securing uniformity. They watched with scrupulous fidelity and unwearied patience over the purity of the text, registering every letter and the frequency of its occurrence, marking the variations (*keri*, the word *read*,

* See an interesting account of this chapter in his life, the biography of Burk (Stuttgart, 1831), p. 200.

and *kethib*, the word *written*), and supplying the vowel points, punctuation and accents. They introduced also the versicular division of the Old Testament; while the division into chapters is of Christian origin (from the thirteenth century). The versicular division of the poetical books existed much earlier, perhaps from the beginning, in accordance with the rhythmical structure and the parallelism of members (the lines being called στίχοι, *versus*). The versicular division of the New Testament dates from the middle of the sixteenth century (1551).

The written *Masora* embodies the results of the rabbinical labors on the text of the Hebrew Scriptures. It was originally preserved in distinct books, but was afterwards transferred to the margin of the Bible MSS., mostly with large curtailments (hence the *Masora parva*, an abridgment, as distinct from the *Masora magna*). Its most valuable part is the collection of the marginal Keris, or the readings which the Masorets themselves approved as correct, and derived either from other MSS. or from conjectures. The number of Keris, according to Elias Levita, who spent twenty years in the study of the Masora, is 848, but the Bomberg Bible contains 1171, the Plantin Bible 793.

There is only one recension of the Hebrew text, the Masoretic; and hence there is no difference in the text of the Jewish and Christian, Roman Catholic and Protestant editions of the Hebrew Bible.

Best edition of the Masoretic text by G. Baer (with preface by Delitzsch), Lipsiæ, 1869 sqq.

The most complete collection of the Masoretic material was made by Ginsburg, a converted Jewish scholar and member of the British Old Testament Revision Company.*

CHAPTER C.

SOURCES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT.

1. The chief source of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament are the manuscripts. They represent, with few variations, the Masoretic text, the older ones in its simpler form, the later ones with the full Masoretic vocalization and accentuation. The oldest known codex, containing the Prophets

* *The Massorah, Compiled from Manuscripts, Alphabetically and Lexically Arranged.* London, 1880–86, 4 vols.

with the Babylonian punctuation, is from the year 916; the oldest complete codex is from 1009 (both in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg). The former has been republished in facsimile (1876). The Spanish MSS. are generally the most accurate, the Italian come next, the German last. There are rich collections in the libraries at Oxford, Paris, Parma, and St. Petersburg.

The number of Hebrew MSS. cannot be accurately ascertained. Kennicot (Oxford, 1776) mentions 630, of which he thoroughly collated 258, the remainder in part; De Rossi (Parma, 1784–88) collated 751. Strack (*Prolegomena Critica in V. J.*, Lips. 1873) gives a full account of lost and extant codices known at this time.*

2. The other sources for the Hebrew text are the old translations made before the Masora, and the Samaritan Pentateuch (known in Europe since 1620). Of the translations the most important are the Greek Septuagint, the Chaldee Targums, the Syriac Peshitta, and the Latin Vulgate.

Valuable attempts to improve the Masoretic text by means of the versions have been made by Wellhausen (*Text der Bücher Samuels*, 1871), Cornill (*Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, 1886), and by Driver (*The Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, following in the line of Wellhausen). Much more remains to be done.

CHAPTER CI.

THE HEBREW ORIGINAL AND THE GREEK SEPTUAGINT.

There is a remarkable difference between the Hebrew Scripture and the Greek Version of Alexandria, made two hundred years before Christ, called the Septuagint (from the Jewish fable of the seventy or seventy-two inspired translators). This causes the chief difficulty of reconstructive textual criticism, which has scarcely begun. It opens up a vast field of future labor.

The Septuagint is twelve centuries older than the oldest extant Hebrew manuscript; it was in common use among the Hellenistic Jews; it is usually quoted by Christ and the Apos-

* Harkevy (St. Petersburg, 1884) has described about 50 newly discovered manuscripts and fragments, but they are not genuine.

tles in the New Testament, even where it differs from the Hebrew. These facts give it an authority almost equal, if not superior, to the Hebrew text as we now have it from the hands of Jewish rabbis, who certainly cannot claim an infallible authority.

The Jews before Christ believed that the Septuagint was as literally inspired as the Hebrew text, even with all the additions, but they abandoned this view when the Christians made use of the Septuagint against them. Philo of Alexandria says (in his *Life of Moses*): "We look upon the persons who made this Version, not merely as translators, but as persons chosen and set apart by divine appointment, to whom it was given to comprehend and express the sense and meaning of Moses in the fullest and clearest manner."

The early Christian fathers, who were nearly all ignorant of Hebrew—Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Augustin and others—adopted this pious superstition, which cannot stand the test of the slightest examination. The Septuagint still holds its authority in the orthodox Greek Church; but in the Latin Church it gave way to the Vulgate, which the Council of Trent placed on a par with the original, thus substituting one superstition for another.

The Septuagint was made by different persons at different times, without an attempt to revise and harmonize their work. Hence it is very unequal in the different books. In the Pentateuch (according to the testimony of Jerome, who compared it with the Hebrew manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries) it best agrees with the Hebrew text, and is most valuable. Ezekiel, also, is well translated, but Isaiah, Job, the Psalms, and most of the prophetical books are imperfectly rendered. The Septuagint is often too literal and obscure, as in Ezekiel and Koheleth, or too loose, periphrastic and prosy.*

With all the imperfections of the translation, the comparative study of the Septuagint and Hebrew is instructive and stimulating.

More serious than the grammatical faults of translation are the differences of matter, which have a bearing upon the original text. The Septuagint disagrees with the Hebrew (accord-

* Looking at these defects, Luther expressed a low estimate of the Septuagint, and Zwingli correctly said that Isaiah found an unworthy translator. Modern scholars entertain a higher opinion.

ing to Bleek) in more than 1000 places where the Masoretic text presumably preserves the original reading; but in many other places it has preserved an older and better reading, and decides between the variations of the existing manuscripts. The Revised English Version mentions some on the margin.

The greatest differences exist in the texts of Jeremiah, Job, Proverbs, Daniel and Esther. In Job, whole verses of poetry are omitted which the translator probably could not understand; while the Prologue and Epilogue of that book are enlarged. The Greek Esther contains numerous additions, which Jerome in his Vulgate has placed at the end of the book. Daniel is poorly translated and has several apocryphal additions, namely, the prayer of Azarjah and the song of the three children in the furnace (after 3 : 23, in the Vulgate 4 : 24–90), the story of Susanna (ch. 13 in the Vulgate), and the story of Bel and the Dragon (ch. 14).

In the antediluvian and patriarchal chronology the differences are irreconcilable. The Vulgate follows the shorter Hebrew chronology (which was adopted by Ussher and incorporated in the English Bible), while the majority of Protestant scholars (Vossius, Jackson, Hales, etc.) give the preference to the chronology of the Septuagint, which extends the length of the period from the Creation to the Flood, about 1000 years.

Editions: The text of the Septuagint was very often copied, and underwent so many corruptions that it is almost hopelessly confused. It is contained in the Vatican, Sinaitic, and Alexandrian uncials (with many breaks), and in a large number of cursive MSS., representing three or four types or recensions, Palestinian, Egyptian, Syrian and Constantinopolitan. There are four primary printed editions, the sources of smaller editions, namely, the Complutensian (1514–17, copied in the Antwerp Polyglot), the Aldine (1518), the Roman (the Sixtina, 1587, after the Vatican MS., followed by many editions), and the Oxford (by Grabe, 1707–20). All very imperfect. The edition of Holmes and Parsons (Oxford, 1798–1827, 5 vols. fol.) has a large apparatus, but is behind the age. The Alexandrian Codex (A) was published in a splendid facsimile edition at London (1881–83) in three volumes. The Vatican Codex (B) was published in quasi-facsimile by Vercellone and Cozza (Rom. 1869–72, Vols. I.–IV.), and has since been reproduced by photography (Rom. 1891).

Manual editions by LEANDER VAN ESS (1824), and * TISCHENDORF (Leipz. 1850, 6th ed., 1880, with valuable additions by Prof. Nestle, of Tübingen, 2 vols.).

The want of a truly critical edition, which is an essential prerequisite for textual criticism, has long been felt, and is not yet satisfied, but preparations on a large scale have been made by LAGARDE of Göttingen, who edited the recension of the martyr-bishop Lucian of Antioch (d. 311), but was interrupted by his death (Dec. 22, 1891) from finishing his task.*

The most recent and convenient edition is by Professor SWETE of Cambridge, which is based upon the Vatican Codex, with readings from the Sinaitic and Alexandrian Codices.†

CHAPTER CII.

SOURCES OF THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

SCRIVENER (died 1891): *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 3d ed., Cambridge, 1883 (pp. 712). GREGORY: *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's eighth critical edition, Leipzig, 1884; second part, 1890 (third part not yet published). For a fuller list of works and manuscripts, see SCHAFF: *Companion to the Greek Testament*, New York, 4th ed., 1892 (pp. 82–85, 102, 133, 134.

The text of the New Testament is derived from three sources: Greek manuscripts, translations, and patristic quotations.

A. GREEK MANUSCRIPTS. These are divided into uncials, written in capital letters, and cursives, written in running hand.

I. The UNCIAL MSS. are older—from the tenth up to the fourth century—and hence more valuable. They are designated, for brevity's sake, by the capital letters of the Latin alphabet with the addition of Greek and Hebrew letters. The corrections are marked by one, two, or three stars, according as they date from the first, second, or third hand. Constantine the Great ordered the preparation of fifty MSS. of the Bible for the churches of Constantinople. The number of uncials found

* *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum. Pars prior. Græce.* Göttingen, 1883, p. 541. The historical books, with the text only, without the critical apparatus. The second volume has not appeared.

† *The Old Testament in Greek, according to the Septuagint.* Cambridge (University Press), 1887, 1891, 2 vols. It is to be followed by a larger edition.

so far amounts to about 110, but most of them are fragmentary; only one is complete (the Codex Sinaiticus).

The oldest and most important uncials are the following:

1. Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ, Aleph), discovered by Tischendorf in the convent of St. Catharine on Mt. Sinai in the desert, 1859, now in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, published in quasi-facsimile style, 1862. From the age of Constantine the Great, about 330. Written on fine parchment, four columns to a page. The chief basis of Tischendorf's eighth edition.

2. Codex Alexandrinus (A), of the fifth century, presented by Cyril Lucar of Constantinople to King Charles I. (1628), preserved in the British Museum, and published in photographic facsimile, 1879. The first uncial used by critics. In the Gospels it approaches the textus receptus. It has several gaps (the first 24 chapters of Matthew, 2 chapters of John and 8 chapters of 2 Corinthians are lost), but adds, after the Apocalypse, the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (defective), and a fragment of a homily.

3. Codex Vaticanus (B), from the age of Constantine, as old as the Sinaitic, and more carefully written, on very thin vellum in clear and neat uncial letters, in three columns, preserved in the Vatican Library, for a long time almost inaccessible, but at last published in photographic facsimile, 1889. It breaks off at Heb. 9 : 14 in the middle of the verse (with the word *καθα/ριεῖ*). The last chapters of Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, Philemon, and the Apocalypse are lost. It is upon the whole the most valuable MS. and the chief basis of the text of Lachmann, Tregelles (as far as they knew it), and Westcott and Hort.

4. Codex Ephraim (C), a codex rescriptus (used for the works of Ephraim, d. 372, which are written over it), dating from the fifth century, hardly legible and very defective, preserved in the National Library of Paris, and edited by Tischendorf, 1845.

5. Codex Bezæ or Cantabrigiensis (D), once in the possession of Beza (who procured it from a convent in Lyons), and presented by him to the University of Cambridge. It dates from the sixth century, contains only the Gospels and Acts, with a Latin version, and is full of errors, eccentricities and bold interpolations. It presents the Western text.

6. Codex Claromontanus (D^2), for the Pauline Epistles,

with a Latin Version, a supplement to Cod. D, and of the same age. Preserved in Paris, and edited by Tischendorf, 1852.

II. The CURSIVE MSS. superseded the more costly uncials, except for splendid copies. They are written on cotton paper, which dates from the ninth century, or on linen paper, which was first introduced in the twelfth century. They date from the ninth to the middle of the fifteenth century, when the invention of the art of printing furnished a much easier and cheaper mode of multiplying books. A few were written early in the sixteenth century. They are designated by Arabic figures. Their number has much increased by recent discoveries, and amounted in 1890 to 3553, if we include 1201 Lectionaries which contain only the Scripture lessons. They present a more harmonious text, which assumed a stereotyped form after the fifth century.

These MSS. alone present a critical apparatus which is without a parallel in the history of ancient books. The Greek Testament was more frequently copied than all the Greek and Roman classics put together, some of which have come down to us only in two or three manuscripts.

B. ANCIENT TRANSLATIONS are indirect or mediate sources, except in cases of omissions and interpolations, where they are equal in authority to Greek MSS. The oldest and most important are:

1. The OLD LATIN VERSION, called *Itala*, which we know only in fragments from the early Latin fathers—Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin, etc. It dates from the middle or second half of the second century, and presents many errors and variations.

2. The LATIN VULGATE, prepared by Jerome, the greatest biblical scholar of his age (d. 419), begun 383 and finished 405. It met with much opposition, even from Augustin, but by its superior merits gradually superseded the *Itala*, ruled throughout the Middle Ages, was first printed at Mayence, 1455, and sanctioned by the Council of Trent, 1546, which put it on a par with the original. All vernacular versions of the Roman Church must conform to the Vulgate. But its text has undergone many corruptions and revisions; and the pope's infallibility does not extend to biblical criticism.

3. The SYRIAC VERSION, called the *Peshitta*, *i.e.* the Simple, dates in its present shape from the third or fourth century. It

is called "the Queen of Ancient Versions," for its faithfulness and idiomatic character. It was first used by Beza, Walton, Mill and Wetstein. The CURETONIAN Syriac is older than the Peshitta and therefore even more valuable, but is a mere fragment of the Gospels, discovered in 1842, and published by Cureton, 1858. There are also later Syriac versions of less critical value, the PHILOXENIAN or HARCLEAN Syriac, dating from 508, and the JERUSALEM Syriac from the fifth century.

4. Three EGYPTIAN or COPTIC translations, in three dialects, the Thebaic or Sahidic, the Memphitic or Bahiric, and the Bashmuric. They are as yet in a fragmentary condition, and poorly edited.

Of less critical value are the Æthiopic, the Gothic, and the Armenian versions.

All modern versions, being made from printed copies, are of no account for ascertaining the original text.

C. PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS from the New Testament in commentaries and other writings of the ancient Christian authors. Among these the Greek fathers are more important than the Latin, since they refer to the original. The quotations of Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and other ante-Nicene fathers, are older than our oldest MSS., but their text was liable to the same corruptions, and has in many places been conformed to the text in common use. The value of patristic citations is mainly corroborative, where it is supported by other ancient witnesses.

CHAPTER CIII.

THE RECEIVED TEXT AND THE TRUE TEXT.

I. The traditional or commonly received text (*textus receptus*) of the New Testament is the text which ruled supreme from the sixteenth till the close of the eighteenth century, and from which all the Protestant versions have been made. It is primarily derived from the first printed editions of the Greek text by Erasmus (1516; 4th ed., 1527; 5th ed., 1535), who never used more than eight MSS., with some improvements from the Complutensian Polyglot (printed 1514, but not published till 1520). It was further improved in the editions of Robert and

Henry Stephens (1548, 1549, 1550),* Theodore Beza (1565, 1582, 1589, 1598), and the enterprising Dutch publisher Elzevir (1624, 1633). In England the text of the third edition of Stephens of 1550, called *editio regia*, was often reproduced, and is regarded as containing the textus receptus; but on the Continent the Elzevir edition of 1633 was made the basis of all later editions.†

With all respect for these meritorious scholars and publishers who broke the ice and did the best with the means at hand, the textus receptus does not deserve that superstitious veneration in which it was held for nearly three hundred years. It was hastily derived from a few and comparatively late MSS., before the discovery of the oldest and most important uncials, without the use of the patristic quotations and ancient versions, without even a good text of the Vulgate, and with no knowledge of the principles of criticism, which was a later and gradual growth. It is essentially the Byzantine or Constantinopolitan text, which may be traced to the fifth century, and passed into all Constantinopolitan copies.

II. The true text is that which is nearest the original. We have now sufficient material approximately to restore a text as it obtained in the ante-Nicene age up to the middle of the second century. This must be derived mainly from the oldest uncial MSS., the Latin and Syriac versions, and the quotations of the ante-Nicene fathers. Yet antiquity alone, like numbers, is no absolute test; it must be supported by internal probability. Later sources must also be consulted, but are assigned a subordinate degree of authority.

Bentley, the celebrated classical critic, first suggested this correct principle (1716). Bengel followed it in the Apocalypse (1734). Lachmann first boldly carried it out (1842), but with a limited range of authorities and without regard to internal evidence, or even to the correctness of the text, aiming simply at the oldest as founded on external evidence. By the com-

* The first edition of Stephens which contains the versicular division was printed (at Geneva) in 1551, in 2 small vols.; the Greek text in the middle, and two Latin versions in smaller type—one to the left, the other to the right. See a facsimile in Schaff, *Companion*, etc., pp. 538, 539.

† The Elzevirs first introduced the term "textus receptus" by boldly declaring, in the preface to their neat and correct edition (the second, Leyden, 1633): "*Textum ergo habes nunc* AB OMNIBUS RECEPTUM *in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus.*" The second Elzevir edition differs but slightly from the first, and both agree substantially with the third edition of Stephens. Including minute variations, they differ in 287 places. Where Elzevir departs from Stephens, he generally agrees with Beza.

bined labors of Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and especially of Westcott and Hort (who spent twenty-seven years on their edition), we have now attained a text which in all essential points may be supposed to agree with the apostolic original. It is shorter, but also older, purer and stronger than the traditional text.*

The Revised English Version of 1881 includes the chief results of these labors. It had the benefit of the best textual critics who were members of the Revision Committee—Westcott, Hort, Lightfoot, Scrivener, and Ezra Abbot.

CHAPTER CIV.

CANONIC, OR THE THEORY OF THE CANON.

Canonic is a history of the Canon of the Old and New Testaments. The Bible is a collective whole, separate and distinct from all other collections of books. Viewed as a unit, it is called the *Canon*, because it forms the rule or standard for the belief and moral conduct of those who accept it.†

The Old Testament or the Jewish Scriptures are accepted by Jews and Christians alike, though understood very differently. The New Testament or the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles are accepted by Christians only, but by Christians of all denominations and sects. Canonicity implies inspiration, but there are degrees of canonicity as well as of inspiration, according to the difference of contents. The Jews assigned the highest place to the Pentateuch as the foundation of the theocracy; the Christians, to the Gospels as containing the authentic record of the teaching and history of Christ. Hence the Gospels were the most frequently copied and read.

The Bible itself contains no list of canonical books, which could not be made out till after they were all written and ac-

* For the best editions of the Greek Testament, see the revised list in the *Companion*, 4th ed., p. 1, and for a brief history of Textual Criticism, pp. 225–298.

† Κανών, in classical Greek, means a straight rod or line, then anything that serves to regulate or determine other things, like the Latin *regula*, *norma*. Paul uses it for leading thought, regulative principle (Gal. 6:16). In Ecclesiastical Greek the word was applied to the rule of faith (κανὼν τῆς πίστεως, κανὼν τῆς ἀληδείας, *symbolum fidei*); then to the collection of inspired writings (first by the Council of Laodicea, 363); also to disciplinary decrees of Councils; and last to the catalogue of martyrs and saints (hence *canonize*, to enroll in the catalogue of saints).

cepted. Their number was gradually determined by the judgment of the Churches. This judgment is subject to investigation.

The criteria of canonicity are external and internal. The external are the testimonies of tradition and Church authority; the internal are the purity and power by which the several books authenticate themselves as inspired productions.

The Roman Church emphasizes the first, the Protestant Church the second class, of criteria. Calvin and the Reformed Confessions base the authority of the Scriptures altogether on their intrinsic excellency and the testimony of the Holy Spirit, which speaks through them to the Christian reader. No ecclesiastical decision by pope or council, synod or confession of faith, can make the Scriptures what they are not in themselves. Their authority depends on their divine inspiration, and not on their human authorship, and extends alike to the anonymous writings, as the Book of Job, Deutero-Isaiah, the orphan-Psalms, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Bible must stand or fall by its own intrinsic merits; but it is able to stand.

LITERATURE. The relevant sections in the Critical Introductions to the Old and New Testaments, mentioned in Chapter XCIII., page 153: REUSS: *Histoire du canon des saintes écritures dans l'église chrétienne*, Paris, 2d ed., 1864 (Eng. translation by David Hunter, Edinb. 1884). G. DAVIDSON: *The Canon of the Bible*, London, 1876, 3d ed., 1880. BRIGGS: *Biblical Study*, New York, 1883, Chapter V., pp.105–138.

On the Old Testament Canon: STRACK in Herzog², VII. 412–451. G. WILDEBOER: *Die Entstehung des A. Tlichen Kanons*, Gotha, 1891 (translated from the Dutch). FRANTS BUHL (a Dane, successor of Delitzsch in Leipzig): *Kanon und Text des A. T.*, Leipzig, 1891 (English translation by John Macpherson, Edinburgh, 1892).

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CHAPTER CV.

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The Canon of the Old Testament rests on the testimony of the Jewish Synagogue. But this is not sufficient for Christians. We accept the Old Testament on the authority of Christ and

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the Apostles, who endorsed Moses and the Prophets as the organs of divine revelation. We believe first in Christ, as our Lord and Saviour; next the New Testament, as the authentic record of his teaching and example; and last the Old Testament, as bearing witness of him.

The Roman Catholic Church accepts the Canon of the Septuagint and the Vulgate, which include the so-called Apocrypha. She puts the Apocrypha on a par with the other books. The Greek Church assigns them a subordinate position. The Protestant Churches accept only the Hebrew Scriptures as canonical, but they recognize the historical importance of the Apocrypha, which fill the gap between the Old and the New Testaments, and represent the history and religious life of the Jews during that period.

Luther's Bible contains the Apocrypha, as "books which are not equal to the canonical Scriptures, yet useful and good to read." The Reformed Churches drew a sharper distinction between apocryphal and canonical books, but retained the former in the Swiss, French, Dutch and English versions. The British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society excluded them from their editions since 1826.

CHAPTER CVI.

ORIGIN OF THE JEWISH CANON.

Jewish tradition traces the canon of the Old Testament to Ezra, the second Moses and restorer of the theocracy, in the middle of the fifth century before Christ, and to the "Great Synagogue," which he founded and which continued as a permanent ecclesiastical council till about two hundred years before the Christian era. This tradition was accepted by the Greek and Latin fathers and nearly all orthodox divines down to the present time. There is every probability that Ezra brought the Pentateuch or the Thorah into its present shape, but there is no evidence that the canon was completed before the Maccabæan age and the Alexandrian version.*

* The Fourth Book of Ezra (*c.* 14), at the close of the first Christian century, first reports that the Old Testament was burnt up at the destruction of Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar, but that Ezra, by divine inspiration, re-wrote not only the 24 canonical books, but 70 apocryphal books besides. The Greek and Latin fathers believed this wild legend.

There were at the time of Christ two canons differing in extent, the shorter Hebrew and the larger Hellenistic.

1. The HEBREW or PALESTINIAN (Babylonian) Canon embraces the thirty-nine (or, according to the Talmudic reckoning, twenty-four) books of the Hebrew Bible, but none of the Apocrypha.* It was recognized by the Jews generally since the beginning of the second century. It divides the books into three classes, according to the supposed historical order of their composition, namely the Law (*Thorah*), the Prophets (*Nephiim*), and the remaining Writings (*Kethubim*, *Hagiographa*). The first division includes the five books of Moses. The second is subdivided into older Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings), and later Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets counted as one book). The third division embraces all the other books of the Hebrew Bible (Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah, the last two counted as one). This division was already known about B.C. 200, as we learn from the preface to the Proverbs of Jesus, the son of Sirach. It reflects the three stages in the formation of the canon.†

The authorship of the several books was fixed by the Talmud, which ascribes the Pentateuch and Job to Moses (except eight verses, Deut. 34 : 5–12, written by Joshua), the Psalter to David, Judges, Samuel and Ruth to Samuel, etc. But the Talmud is no authority for Christians.

2. The ALEXANDRIAN or HELLENISTIC Canon is represented by the Septuagint. It obliterates the distinction between the Prophets and the Hagiographa, and mixes among them several books which the Jews of Palestine either rejected or allowed only as profane literature. These are the Apocrypha, so-called, or obscure writings of unknown or uncertain origin. Their number is indefinite and varies in different copies of the Sep-

* Josephus, in his book against Apion, I. 8 (written *c.* 100), counts only 22 books, according to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, by combining several books into one, but he considered all the books of our Hebrew Bible as canonical, and counted them like Origen, but arranged them differently. The Talmud counts 24 books, likewise by combining several into one. Josephus was followed by the Greek and Latin fathers, the Talmud by the Jewish scholars and the Hebrew manuscripts. The printed editions of the Hebrew Bible divide it into 39 books.

† This division is indicated in Luke 24 : 44 : "Which are written in the law of Moses, and the Prophets. and the Psalms, concerning me." The Psalms are the chief book of the third division.

tuagint. They are partly philosophical or proverbial (the Proverbs of Sirach, the Wisdom of Solomon), partly poetical (the Psalms of Solomon), partly historical and legendary (the Three Books of the Maccabees, Tobit and Judith), partly prophetical (the Book of Henoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Fourth Book of Ezra, the Book of Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Apocalypse of Baruch), or popular additions to canonical books (to Esther and Daniel, and the Prayer of Manasseh). The apocryphal books passed from the Greek Septuagint into the Latin Vulgate. Hence the difference between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Bibles, above referred to.

CHAPTER CVII.

THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

The Canon of the New Testament embraces twenty-seven books, and is the same in the Greek, Roman, and all Protestant Churches.

It is the result of a gradual growth, like the canon of the Old Testament. The ancient Church was unanimous in the reception of the Gospels, Acts and the chief Epistles, but was divided in its judgment of the canonicity of seven books which are now in the canon, and of a few books now excluded from the canon. The first class of books are James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, Hebrews and the Apocalypse. The second embraces the Epistle of Clement of Rome, the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, perhaps also the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," and a few other books which were widely used in public service, some of them appended in uncial MSS. of the New Testament,* but were afterwards numbered among the Apocrypha. They sustain the same relation to the canonical books of the New Testament as the Jewish Apocrypha to the Hebrew canon.

The general ecclesiastical use in public worship, based upon a belief in the apostolic origin and divine inspiration of the books, decided the question of canonicity.

I. From the Apostolic age (30–100) we know that the Epistles

* The Sinaitic Bible Codex includes the Epistle of Barnabas and a portion of the Shepherd of Hermas; the Alexandrian Bible Codex contains the first Epistle of Clement of Rome, and the fragment of a second (which is not genuine, but a homily of later date).

of Paul were read in the churches to which they were addressed (1 Thess. 5 : 27; Col. 4 : 15). The same was presumably the case with the other Epistles. The prohibition to add to, or to take away from, "the words of the book of this prophecy" (Apoc. 22 : 18, 19), refers evidently only to the Book of Revelation, and has nothing to do with the canon. The first intimation of a collection of Paul's Epistles is found in 2 Peter 3 : 16 (ἐν πάσαις ἐπιστολαῖς), which are said to be misinterpreted like "the other scriptures."

The writings of the Apostolic (or rather post-Apostolic) Fathers, which date from the close of the first or from the beginning of the second century, breathe the atmosphere of the oral teaching of the Apostles and contain few quotations from their writings, which were then not yet generally circulated and collected. The author of the *Didache* was familiar with Matthew, which he calls "the Gospel of Christ." Barnabas quotes a passage from this Gospel (Matt. 22 : 14), with the solemn formula of Scripture quotation, "It is written." The Epistle of Clement of Rome shows acquaintance with Matthew, Paul and Hebrews, but has no direct quotation. The Epistles of Ignatius, and the Epistle of Polycarp are interwoven with reminiscences of John and Paul. Papias gives us valuable hints concerning the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. But in none of these writers do we find the least trace of a fixed canon.

II. In the second century, Justin Martyr, about 150, is the earliest witness for the use of the canonical Gospels in public worship on Sunday. His pupil, Tatian, about 170, wrote the first harmony of the four Gospels, which has been recently recovered in an Armenian and in an Arabic version. The heretical canon of Marcion, which embraced a mutilated Gospel of Luke and ten Epistles of Paul, presupposes a larger catholic canon about the middle of the second century; for heresy always follows truth as its caricature.

Most of the books of the New Testament were in general use in the latter half of the second century, and are quoted as apostolic and inspired scriptures by Irenæus, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian of Carthage.

The mutilated Muratorian fragment, of Roman origin between 160 and 220, contains a canon, which enumerates Mark, Luke (as the *third* Gospel, which explains the omission of Matthew), John, Acts, *thirteen* Epistles of Paul, *two* Epistles of John, one

of Jude, the *Apocalypses* of John and Peter. It thus omits James, Hebrews, 3 John, 1 and 2 Peter, but adds an Apocalypse of Peter, with the note: "Some of our body will not have it read in the Church."*

III. In the third century we have accumulated evidence of the ecclesiastical use of nearly all the books of the New Testament in the writings of Hippolytus, Origen, Cyprian, Novatian, and in the ancient versions. The Syriac Peshitta omits only Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Revelation. The old Latin Version omits probably Hebrews, James, and 2 Peter. The Sinaitic Bible includes all the twenty-seven books.

IV. Fourth Century. Eusebius, the historian (d. 340), gives us a full account of the state of the canon in the age of Constantine, and the Council of Nicæa. He distinguishes four classes of sacred books which were then in use among Christians.

1. *Homologumena, i.e.* such as were universally acknowledged: 22 out of the 27 books of the New Testament, viz., 4 Gospels, Acts, 14 Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews), 1 Peter, 1 John and Revelation. But in another passage he counts Hebrews and Revelation with the second class. The difficulty with Hebrews was its anonymity and the difference of opinion concerning its authorship; the difficulty with the Apocalypse was the mysteriousness of its contents.

2. *Antilegomena*, or controverted books, yet "familiar to most people of the Church": the Epistle of James, the Epistle of Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John (Hebrews and Apocalypse).

3. *Spurious* books (*νόθα*), such as the Acts of Paul, the Revelation of Peter, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas, the so-called "Doctrines of the Apostles" (the *Didache*, rediscovered and published in 1883), and the Gospel according to the Hebrews (which was probably based upon the Hebrew Matthew).

4. *Heretical* books, such as the apocryphal Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, of Matthias, the Acts of Andrew, of John, and of the other Apostles.

The first Œcumenical Council of Nicæa, 325, made no deliver-

*According to one of the last papers of Bishop Lightfoot, published in his work on *S. Clement of Rome*, II. 405–413 (London, 1890), the much discussed fragment of Muratori (who discovered it in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, 1740) was originally written in Greek verse, probably by Hippolytus of Rome (who died about 236).

ance on the canon, nor did any other of the seven Œcumenical Councils do so.

CHAPTER CVIII.

THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE CANON.

The canon was finally settled by a few Provincial Councils held towards the close of the fourth century, one in the East at Laodicea in Phrygia, 363 (which omits the Apocalypse), and two in North Africa, at Hippo, 393, and at Carthage, 397, both under the commanding influence of Augustin. The African canon includes the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, and so far supports the Roman Bible. Augustin was the first theologian of his age, but poorly qualified to judge on critical questions, and depended on the imperfect Latin version for his knowledge of the Bible. His elder contemporary, Jerome, was a better biblical scholar, and favored the Hebrew versus the Hellenistic canon; yet he translated the apochryphal books of the Old Testament, and his version was the common Bible of the Latin Church throughout the Middle Ages.

The Council of Trent, in 1546, formally endorsed the traditional Latin canon, without making a distinction between the canonical and apocryphal books, and pronounced an anathema on those who dissent from the decision. But the Council of Trent is no authority for Protestants, and could not alter the facts of history. It was a purely papal council, like the Vatican Council of 1870. Among the fathers of that council, mostly Italians, there was none who had any special distinction as a biblical or historical scholar. The authority of the Church outweighed all arguments of scholarship.

CHAPTER CIX.

PROTESTANTISM AND THE CANON.

The Reformers claimed the freedom of the ante-Nicene Church and revived the doubts on the Apocrypha of the Old Testament and several Antilegomena of the New. Luther especially, following a subjective instinct rather than critical principles, uttered bold and unwise opinions on Esther, the

Epistle of James, the Hebrews and the Apocalypse. He made the truth of Christ the true criterion of canonicity. From a novel and profound view of inspiration, he said in the Preface to the first edition of his version of the New Testament (1522): "That which does not teach Christ is not apostolic, though Peter and Paul should teach it; again, that which teaches Christ is apostolic, though Judas, Annas, Pilate and Herod should teach it." But the Lutheran Church retained the traditional canon, with a slight change in the order of the books.

Zwingli did not recognize the Apocalypse as apostolic.

Calvin never commented on the Apocalypse; he denied the Pauline authorship of Hebrews, and doubted the genuineness of 2 Peter, though he found in it nothing unworthy of an apostle. But he recommended no changes in the canon.

The example of the three greatest among the Reformers proves conclusively that the profoundest reverence for the Word of God in the Bible may coexist with very liberal opinions on some parts of the canon.

For all practical purposes the settlement of the canon is final; for the Roman Church with the Apocrypha, for the evangelical Churches without the Apocrypha. Our Bibles will never be enlarged or diminished.

The Church was guided by a sound religious instinct in the selection and limitation of the sacred books. Some of these books are, indeed, less important than others, yet they fill a gap and serve a useful purpose. Esther, the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and the Apocalypse are sealed books to many Christians, but fountains of edification and comfort to others. The Bible provides for all tastes and wants. The Book of Esther canonizes patriotism, which may well claim a place among Christian virtues. The Song of Songs may not contain all the spiritual mysteries which many pious people read into them, but it elevates bridal love, which reflects the love of God to his creatures, and of Christ to his Church. All pure love is holy and divine, a flame kindled by the God of love.

The question of canonicity should not be confounded with the question of human authorship. The latter cannot be decided by Church authority, and must be left open to the free investigation of Christian scholarship.

CHAPTER CX.

SPECIAL ISAGOGIC.

Special Introduction has to do with the several books of the Canon in detail and constitutes the main body of Isagogic. It may be treated separately in one or more volumes.*

It deals with all the preliminary questions concerning the origin and historical environments of the several books, namely the authorship, the time and place of composition, the circle of readers, the aim of the writer, an analysis of the contents, and the history of interpretation, with a select list of the chief commentators. It thus combines in one whole the introductory information which usually precedes the commentaries.

The matter is derived partly from contemporary, extra-biblical sources, partly and mostly from the books themselves. Thus the Epistle to the Romans in connection with the Acts of the Apostles supplies all the necessary facts as to the authorship, place, time and aim of composition.

CHAPTER CXI.

HISTORICAL OR HIGHER CRITICISM.

Special Introduction is the field for the exercise of historical or higher criticism, which deals with the Bible as literature; while lower criticism deals with the text. Criticism follows the inductive method, like every true science. It ascertains, collects and classifies the facts and phenomena, and then draws such general conclusions as the facts justify. It has no apologetic or polemic or dogmatic purpose, but aims simply to establish the truth concerning the origin, history and structure of the biblical writings. It may result in the overthrow or in the confirmation or modification of traditional theories. "It proves all things and holds fast that which is good" (1 Thess. 5 : 21).

The Fathers, Schoolmen and Reformers devoted their atten-

* Most writers on Isagogic—De Wette, Bleek, Reuss, Weiss, Holtzmann —combine in one work the general subjects of textual criticism and canonic with a special introduction; but Credner, Davidson, Salmon (*Introduction to the New Testament*) and Driver (*Introduction to the Old Testament*) confine themselves to special introduction.

tion to the doctrinal contents of the Bible in the full conviction of its divine inspiration, but cared very little about its human origin and literary form.

Biblical criticism is the product of the modern historical spirit of independent investigation, which receives nothing on mere trust and goes to the primary sources and bottom-facts. Rationalism has, since the end of the eighteenth century—the century of revolution—emancipated theology from the bondage of traditionalism and dogmatism, and cultivated every branch of biblical learning with patient industry and success, especially philology, archæology and isagogic. It starts from the principle that the Bible must be studied and explained from a purely literary and historical standpoint, like any other ancient book, without a dogmatic bias or prepossession. But there are negative and antidogmatic as well as positive and dogmatic prejudices. Strauss and Renan wrote their *Lives of Jesus* with the philosophical preconception of the impossibility of a miracle. Such a prepossession is just as uncritical and unhistorical as the opposite. If a miracle can be proven by satisfactory evidence, it has the same claim upon our belief as a natural event. We cannot absolutely emancipate ourselves from educational influences and personal experiences; but we certainly should aim first and last at the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

There are two classes of critics, positive or conservative, and negative or radical; and between these two extremes, there are moderate, discriminating critics, who favor every genuine progress, but without breaking with the faith of the past. Neander, Bleek, Bernhard Weiss, Ezra Abbot, and Bishop Lightfoot have done as good and more enduring critical work than Baur, Strauss, Renan and the anonymous author of *Supernatural Religion*. There is a criticism of doubt which destroys, and a criticism of faith which builds up. The mission of negative criticism is to break down old prejudices, to rouse opposition and investigation, and to clear the way for a new structure. The mission of positive criticism is to reconstruct and to adjust the theory of the Bible to ascertained facts.

CHAPTER CXII.

AUTHORSHIP.

Among the numerous topics of Special Introduction to the Bible, the question of authorship or genuineness, which refers to the origin and time of composition, occupies a prominent place.

The inspiration and canonicity of a book do not depend upon its human authorship, but upon its intrinsic value and the judgment of the Christian world. Nevertheless, the person of the author and the time of composition have an important bearing upon the degree of reliability and trustworthiness of a book. A false prophecy, or false doctrine, or historical error cannot be inspired. The nearer the source of events, the greater is the possibility and probability of accuracy; while the liability of misunderstanding, omission and addition increases in proportion to the distance of the writer from the scene of action. If Moses and his contemporaries composed the Pentateuch which bears his name, we have a much better guarantee for the historical character of the events therein narrated than if the Pentateuch was written by unknown persons several centuries later. If the Synoptic Gospels were written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the fourth Gospel before the close of the first century, we have a solid foundation for the life of Christ by two primitive disciples and two associates of apostles; but if the fourth Gospel was the product of some Christian genius of the second century who dealt as freely with the historic Jesus of Nazareth, as Plato with Socrates, we would lose at least a considerable part of the most valuable information, which we could expect only from the bosom friend of Jesus. "Distance lends enchantment to the view," but often at the expense of reality.

Hence the great importance which the question of authorship has assumed in biblical criticism. The tendency of the rationalistic critics has heretofore been to bring the composition down to later dates and thus to weaken the historical credibility. There is an exception in the case of the Apocalypse, which for internal reasons has been by most critics put back from the traditional date under Domitian (95) to the time between the death of Nero and the destruction of Jerusalem (68–70).

The authorship of a book must be ascertained by external testimony and internal evidence. The former has the possession of the ground and should always be treated with respect, but cannot be regarded as final. The internal evidence of the book itself may outweigh the testimony of tradition. One of the surest signs of date is the allusion to facts and conditions. If a work on American history mentions the name of Lincoln or Grant, it is conclusive evidence that it cannot date from the colonial period. Moses cannot have written an account of his own death and burial, though it is included in Deuteronomy, which the Talmud ascribes to Moses. The evidence of style is also important, but less conclusive, since the same author may vary his style at different periods of life, or according to the difference of subjects. It is not impossible that the same Apostle John composed the prophetic Apocalypse in his vigorous manhood, and the historic Gospel in extreme old age. Illustrations may be found in the genuine writings of Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Carlyle, and Goethe.

CHAPTER CXIII.

KNOWN AND UNKNOWN AUTHORSHIP.

As regards authorship, the biblical books are divided into three classes. Some are anonymous, as Job, a number of the Psalms (the Orphan-Psalms so called), Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Ruth, Esther. Others have traditional headings in the manuscripts and printed copies, as the Pentateuch, the four Gospels, the Acts. In a third class, the authors themselves indicate their names, as the Prophets, and the writers of the Epistles (except Hebrews and the three Epistles of John).

In the case of anonymous books we may never be able to advance beyond the region of conjecture and probability, and it is well to be modest and cautious. The Epistle to the Hebrews is variously ascribed to Paul, to Barnabas, to Luke, to Clement, to Apollos; but all we can ascertain from internal evidence with some degree of certainty, is that it was written from Italy by a friend of Timothy, by a disciple or companion of Paul, about the time of his Roman captivity (Heb. 13 : 23, 24). Origen wisely says: "God only knows who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews."

In the second class, where we have to deal simply with traditional opinions of the Jewish synagogue or of the early Christian Church, as expressed in the titles, the way is open for defense, or reasonable doubt; and the question must be decided for or against tradition by internal evidence. Neither the synagogue, nor any Christian Church has ever claimed infallibility in matters of history.

In the third class, where the writer gives his name in the book itself, the alternative is truth or literary fiction, and nothing but the strongest evidence should induce us to doubt the veracity of the author.

CHAPTER CXIV.

PRESENT STATE OF HIGHER CRITICISM.

There is scarcely a book in the Bible which has not been submitted to the dissecting-knife of the most searching criticism, such as would disprove the genuineness of almost any ancient book.

I. The New Testament Criticism. The rationalistic criticism of the apostolic literature reached its culmination in the "Tübingen School," founded by Dr. F. Christian Baur (1792–1860), Professor of Church History in the University of Tübingen, and a master-critic of the highest scholarship and power of combination. He reconstructed, in a series of critical investigations, the whole history of primitive Christianity by representing the literature of the New Testament as the battlefield of Petrine, Pauline, and mediating, irenic tendencies, which resulted, as by a dialectical process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, in the formation of the Catholic Church of the second century. He applied the Hegelian theory of development or evolution to literature. He went at first so far as to deny the apostolic origin of all the New Testament writings, except five—the four great Epistles of Paul (Galatians, First and Second Corinthians, and Romans) and the Apocalypse of John.

This was, however, a most important concession; for these writings confirm the historical basis of Christianity and allude to the chief events in the life of its founder, as his birth, his miracles, his crucifixion and resurrection. And it is a very significant fact that Dr. Baur made the honorable confession

that the conversion of Paul from an enemy to an apostle is beyond the reach of any psychological or dialectical analysis, and cannot be explained except by a miracle of divine grace.*

In the progress of development, the Tübingen School has greatly narrowed the sphere of scepticism and conceded the genuineness of all but three or four of the thirteen Epistles of Paul.† The three Pastoral Epistles are still in dispute, because they cannot be easily located in the known life of Paul and seem to indicate a post-Pauline state of church polity and heresy; but these difficulties are not insurmountable if we accept the hypothesis of a second Roman captivity. The second Epistle to Timothy wears the unmistakable physiognomy of the aged Apostle of the Gentiles shortly before the heroic close of a heroic life. The Epistle to the Ephesians is in some respects his profoundest work and could hardly have been conceived by any other genius.

The Synoptical and the Johannean problems are approaching a satisfactory solution after every possible hypothesis has been tried. Matthew is now conceded to have been written before A.D. 70, when Jerusalem and the temple were still standing. There is no good reason why the same should not be true of Luke, who wrote independently of Matthew and had the best opportunity of composing his Gospel from earlier records and oral tradition at Cæsarea and Rome in the company of Paul. It is generally conceded that the Acts of the Apostles were written by the same author; and his companionship with Paul and credibility are conclusively proven by the "we-sections" so-called, especially the remarkably accurate account of the voyage and shipwreck, which has been verified in every particular. As regards the Gospel of Mark, the older view that it is a mere abridgment of Matthew (first suggested by St. Augustin, renewed by De Wette, Baur and Keim), has been completely reversed, and the well-nigh unanimous consensus of the latest critics recognizes its originality and independence. It reflects the fresh and impulsive temper of Peter, and by numerous incidental details and picturesque touches betrays the observation of an eye-witness.

* See his testimony in Schaff's *Church History*, I. 315.

† Renan, also, admits as genuine nine Epistles of Paul, besides the Acts, and the narrative portions of John. He otherwise goes the full length of the negative critics of Germany both in the Old and New Testament.

The Johannean authorship of the fourth Gospel is still in dispute; but the latest discoveries—as the Diatessaron of Tatian (which begins with the Prologue of John), the last book of the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (referring to John 9 : 25), the knowledge of the Prologue by Basilides, one of the earliest Gnostics, made known by the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, the traces of Johannean phraseology in the *Didache*—have forced the critics to push the composition back from 170, or 150 (the date assigned to it by Baur), almost to the beginning of the second century, when many friends and pupils of John were still living; while the internal evidence in favor of its genuineness far outweighs the objections and justifies the conclusion that such a Gospel could only have been written by an eye-witness, by one of the twelve, by one of the favorite three, by the son of Zebedee and Salome, by the Apostle John under divine inspiration.*

II. The Old Testament. The higher criticism of the Hebrew literature has been carried on chiefly in the school of Heinrich Ewald (1803–1875), a younger contemporary of Baur, for ten years (1838–1848) his antagonistic colleague, and equal to him in genius and learning, honesty and earnestness.

This school has revolutionized the traditional opinions on the origin and composition of the Pentateuch (or Hexateuch, including Joshua), the authorship of the greater part of Isaiah (especially the exilic Deutero-Isaiah from chapters 40–65), of Daniel, of the Davidic Psalms, and the Solomonic writings. The doubts and objections of older scholars have been fortified, systematized, and an attempt made to reconstruct the entire history and literature of the Old Testament. The venerable Professor Delitzsch shortly before his death made large concessions to this advanced School. At present there is scarcely a scholar among the academic professors of Old Testament exegesis in Protestant Europe who defends the orthodox theory.†

* Professor Schürer, one of the ablest and most judicious scholars, meets the conservative critics half-way and concedes that A.D. 130 is the latest possible date to which the composition of the fourth Gospel can be assigned. See his article in *The Contemporary Review* for September, 1891, and two articles of Professor Gauday of Oxford on the Johannean question, in *The Expositor* for March and April, 1892. Dr. Ritschl, who was formerly a pupil of Dr. Baur, and then became the head of a new theological school, admitted the Johannean origin of the fourth Gospel.

† All the articles on Old Testament subjects in *The Encyclopædia Britan-*

But a reaction similar to that in the Tübingen School will no doubt take place on those difficult and complicated problems, and has already begun in the line of the search after the older sources from which the various documents of the Pentateuch are derived. It has been suggested that these documents furnish a parallel to the four canonical Gospels, which are themselves derived, in part at least, from older Gospel fragments, such as the Hebrew Matthew and the writings referred to in the Prologue of Luke.

The process of action and reaction will go on, and it would be unprotestant and unwise, as well as impossible, to stop it. Truth will slowly but surely make its way through the wilderness of conflicting hypotheses.

A theological teacher may shake the confidence of students in the Bible and thus unfit them for the ministry, either by obstinately shutting his eyes against new light and progress, or by presenting negative results without furnishing the antidote. In either case, he incurs a fearful responsibility. The cause of biblical criticism has been much injured in the eyes of devout Christians by the hasty and oracular assertions of unproved hypotheses.

To theological students I would give the advice, as the best safeguard against the danger of scepticism, to master first and last the contents of the Bible, and never to lose sight of its spiritual truths, which are immeasurably more important than all the questions of lower and higher criticism.

CHAPTER CXV.

THE FINAL RESULT.

The immense labor of Christian scholarship cannot be lost, and must accrue at last to the advantage of the Church. The result will be a clear and comprehensive restatement of the Bible literature as an organic whole on the basis of all the new facts brought to light by modern research.

We should remember that the Bible has a human as well as a divine side, and we must know both in order to enjoy its full

nica, under the editorship of W. Robertson Smith, are from negative critics. This is hardly consistent with impartiality, which should be one of the chief traits of an encyclopædia.

benefit. The person of our Lord and Saviour comes near to us by his humanity as our sympathizing friend and brother; and his humanity has never before been so fully brought to light as in the nineteenth century. So also the Bible is made more intelligible, interesting and useful to the devout student by a full knowledge of its humanity, its human birth and growth, its various fortunes, its variety and beauty, its historic setting and environments, its fitness for its own time and for all subsequent times.

Healthy criticism, animated by the love of truth, is a blessing to the Church, and keeps theology from stagnation. Every real progress in biblical learning must ultimately have a beneficial effect upon Christian life. Faith in the Bible must be grounded upon the rock of its divine truth, not upon the shifting sand of human theories. The Bible need not fear the closest scrutiny. The critics will die, but the Bible will remain—the Book of books for all ages. Human opinions and systems fade away; in the New Testament blooms the eternal spring.

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FOURTH SECTION: BIBLICAL HERMENEUTIC AND EXEGESIS.

CHAPTER CXVI.

NATURE OF HERMENEUTIC.

Hermeneutic is the science of the laws and principles of interpretation, by which the meaning of an author is ascertained from his language.

It is closely related to Logic or the science of the laws of thought, and to Grammar and Rhetoric or the science of the laws of language and speech.

Biblical Hermeneutic is general Hermeneutic applied to the books of the Old and New Testaments. It precedes exegesis or the actual work of interpretation, but on the other hand it presupposes exegetical skill and experience. It embraces some account of the languages of the Bible, discussions on the qualifications of an interpreter, on different methods of interpretation, on metaphors, symbols, types, parables, and also a history of interpretation.

Hermeneutic is derived from *ἑρμηνεύω, to interpret, to explain,* and this from Ἑρμῆς, the son of Zeus and Maia, the messenger of the gods and interpreter of their will. The Greek Hermes corresponds to the Roman Mercurius (from *merx, mercari*), who was originally the god of commerce and gain; and hence especially worshiped by merchants. Ἑρμηνεία and ἐξήγησις mean the same thing; but *hermeneutic* now denotes the theory, *exegesis*, the practice of interpretation.

Literature: Works on Hermeneutic by Ernesti (Leipzig, 5th ed., 1809); Lücke (Göttingen, 1817); Schleiermacher (edited by Lücke, 1838); Klausen (Leipzig, 1841); Wilke (Leipzig, 1843); Cellerier (Paris, 1852); Kuenen (Leiden, 1858); Patrick Fairbairn (Glasgow and Philadelphia, 1859); Immer (Wittenberg, 1873, translated by Albert H. Newman, Andover, 1877); Lange (Bonn, 1878); J. Chr. von Hofmann (posthumous, ed. by Volck, 1880); Volck (in Zöckler's *Encykl.*, 3d ed. 1889); *M. S. Terry (New York, 1883).

A full list of hermeneutical books down to 1883, in Terry, pp. 738–752.

On the *History of Interpretation*: *L. Diestel: *History of the Old Testament in the Christian Church* (Jena, 1869). F. W. Farrar: *History of Interpretation* (London, 1886).

CHAPTER CXVII.

AIM OF INTERPRETATION.

Every literary composition, sacred or secular, consists of ideas expressed in words connected into sentences. The ideas are the soul, the words are the body. The aim of interpretation is to draw out the idea from the words or to ascertain and unfold, according to the recognized laws of speech and thought (grammar and logic), the true sense of the writer from his own vocabulary and range of thought, without addition, abstraction or any other change, so that the reader may be put as far as possible into the very situation and experience of the author.

This work becomes more difficult and complicated in proportion to the distance of time and place of composition, and the doctrinal difference between the writer and his interpreter.

The Bible is the clearest and yet the most obscure of all books. It has been compared to a river with depths for an elephant to swim in, and with shallows that a lamb can wade. "Oftentimes the same Scripture is at once a depth for one and a shallow for another." It is sufficiently intelligible for practical purposes to every reader who seeks in it spiritual edification and comfort and uses it as a guide in the battle of life. Hence it is the daily food of the people of God. But it is also the most difficult to understand and interpret, because it is the most profound and most universal book in the world. Hence it has occupied the minds of theologians and scholars for these eighteen centuries, and is now more extensively studied than ever. "*Habet Scriptura haustus primos, haustus secundos, haustus infinitos*" (Augustin).

An absolute understanding of the Bible is impossible in this world. The prophetic portions will only be fully understood in the light of their fulfilment. But there is a progressive understanding through the course of the Christian centuries among scholars, and a growing demand for a popular diffusion of the best results of exegetical research among the laity. Each generation digs new treasures from this inexhaustible mine; each commentary creates a taste for another and a better one; and the occupation of the exegete will never cease till "we shall see face to face and know even as we are known."

CHAPTER CXVIII.

QUALIFICATIONS OF AN INTERPRETER.

The qualifications for the office of an exegete are natural and acquired, intellectual and moral.

I. The INTELLECTUAL and EDUCATIONAL qualifications are:

(1) Common sense and sound judgment, which enable one to follow the author's train of thoughts and to understand them in their connection and bearing.

A lively imagination controlled by sober judgment is likewise a desirable (though rare) gift of a commentator, by which he can realize the situation of the writer and penetrate into his state of mind and feeling during the composition.

(2) Knowledge of the author's language, which is the key to his thought, the bearer of his meaning. In the case of the Old Testament the Hebrew and Aramaic, in the case of the New the Greek. (See *Biblical Philology*, pp. 101 sqq.)

(3) Knowledge of the historical relations and conditions in which the book was written. In the interpretation of the Bible, which was composed in the distant East many hundreds of years ago, much antiquarian learning is required. (See chapters on *Archæology*, pp 140 sqq.)

II. MORAL and SPIRITUAL qualifications.

(1) Honesty or a conscientious regard for truth, to which all preconceived notions and dogmatic prejudices must be sacrificed. The aim of the interpreter is not, to make the author say what he *might* have said, or *ought* to have said, but to find out what he actually *did* say and mean. A great deal of pretended *ex*egesis is *eis*egesis, or *im*position rather than *ex*position. This is especially true of the allegorizing method which turns the Bible into a nose of wax.

(2) Sympathy with the spirit and subject of the writer. Only a poet or at least a mind endowed with love and taste for poetry can understand and expound a Homer or Dante or Shakespeare.* Only a philosopher can understand and appreciate Plato or Aristotle or Spinoza or Leibnitz or Kant or Hegel.

For the same reason the proper exposition of the Bible re-

* "*Wer den Dichter will verstehen,*
Muss in Dichter's Lande gehen."
Goethe (*Westöstlicher Divan*).

quires a religious mind, enlightened by the Holy Spirit who spoke through the prophets and apostles. Without this we may understand the letter or the body, but can never penetrate to the living soul of the Bible. No amount of grammatical and historical learning can compensate for the want of spiritual affinity and insight. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: and he cannot know them, because they are spiritually judged. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things." (1 Cor. 2: 14, 15.)

CHAPTER CXIX.

TRANSLATIONS, PARAPHRASE, COMMENTARY.

We now enter upon the field of exegesis proper, or the actual interpretation of the Scriptures.

There are three degrees of interpretation: translation, paraphrase, commentary.

I. A TRANSLATION is a simple transfer of the original into a vernacular tongue. There are two kinds of translation:

1. A translation for scholarly and private use, as a basis of a critical commentary, should be as close and faithful as possible, with exclusive regard to accuracy.*

2. A translation for popular and public use should be an idiomatic reproduction; free as well as true, and adapted to the genius of the language into which it is made, so as to come home to the reader with all the power and beauty of an original work. Model translations of this class are: the Syriac Peshitta, the Latin Vulgate, Luther's German Bible, the Authorized English Version, and other Protestant versions of the Reformation period.

The Roman Catholic Church requires all authorized translations into modern languages to be conformed to the Latin Vulgate. Hence they are translations of a translation, and latinizing to a degree that makes them in some places almost unintelligible, as compared with the popular Protestant versions which are made directly from the original.†

* Ewald's translations in his commentaries are models of accuracy. He goes so far as to defy the German idiom, in rendering ὁ λόγος "*der* Wort," instead of "*das* Wort," to indicate the personality of the Logos, John 1: 1.

† The Rheims version of the New Testament (1582), in its first editions, had a large number of Latinisms, such as "supersubstantial" (*supersub-*

II. A PARAPHRASE is an explanatory and extended translation. Clearer and simpler terms and phrases are substituted for obscure ones and made part of the text.

Examples: the Aramaic Targums (*i.e.*, translations) of the Old Testament which became necessary after the Babylonian Exile when the Hebrew as a spoken language gave way to the Aramaic. Erasmus's *Paraphrase of the New Testament.* Doddridge's *Family Expositor.*

III. A COMMENTARY is an explanation of the text distinct from the text itself. It may be brief in the form of glosses and hints, or may be full and exhaustive.

There are three kinds of commentaries: philological, theological, and practical or homiletical; and there are commentaries which combine all three. There are critical commentaries for scholars, and popular commentaries for general use.

CHAPTER CXX.

THE ENGLISH VERSION AND REVISION.

Every student and minister (in his pulpit preparations) ought to use the Revised Version of 1885 in connection with the Authorized Version of 1611 and the original text.

The English Version, which bears the name of James I. (though he had nothing to do with it except to appoint the forty-seven translators), is the result of several revisions from the time of Tyndale (1525). It is the best version that could be made at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and surpasses all other authorized versions in accuracy. It is the first of English classics, and so deeply interwoven with English and American literature that it can never be ignored, even if the Revised Version should supersede it in public use. F. William Faber, after his conversion from Anglo-Catholicism to Romanism, could not forget its "uncommon beauty and marvellous English."

stantialis) for daily bread (in the Lord's Prayer), "impudicity" (*impudicitia*) for uncleanness (Gal. 5:19), "contristate" (*contristare*) for grieve the Holy Spirit (Eph. 4:30), "exinanite" (*exinanivit seipsum*) for emptied himself (Phil. 2:7; in later editions, "debased himself"), "prepuce" for foreskin, "pasch" for passover, "breads of proposition" for shew breads, "holocaust" for burnt-offering, "agnition," "azims," "scenopegia." The Rheims-Douay Bible has, however, undergone improvements in later editions, and most of these Latinisms have given way to idiomatic terms; but some still remain, as "supersubstantial" for daily (in Matt. 6:11).

But the received English Version has its imperfections, like everything human. The chief defects may be classified as follows:

1. It rests upon the unrevised textus receptus (the Masoretic text in the Old Testament, and the editions of Stephens and Beza in the New Testament). It was made before the science of textual criticism was born, before the oldest manuscripts were discovered, and before the ancient translations and patristic quotations were properly examined.

2. It has many obsolete and unintelligible words and phrases, such as "besom" (broom), "bewray" (betray), "bosses" (knobs), "botch" (boil), "cabins" (cellars), "cankerworm" (caterpillar), "chapiter" (capital), "chapman" (trader), "clouts" (patches), "daysman" (arbitrator), "earing" (ploughing), "knop" (bud), "minish" (diminish), "neesing" (sneezing), "ware" (aware), "to fetch a compass" (to make a circuit).

3. It uses familiar words in a different sense from what they now have, as "atonement" for reconciliation, "coast" for border, "prevent" for precede, "let" for hinder, "conversation" for conduct, "damn" and "damnation" for condemn and condemnation, "carriage" for baggage, "nephews" for grandchildren, "to wit" for to know, "by-and-by" for immediately, "by myself" for against myself (1 Cor. 4:4), "instantly" for urgently, "lively" for living, "sometimes" for once, "charger" for platter, "to hail" for to drag (Luke 12:58; Acts 8:3), "his" for its, "lunatic" (moonstruck) for epileptic, "occupy" for trade, "painful" for toilsome, "quick" for living, "turtle" for turtle-dove, "wench" for maid-servant (2 Sam. 17:17), "well" for spring, "witty" for clever.

4. It occasionally employs unseemly phrases in the Old Testament which can scarcely be read without offense in the family or pulpit (1 Sam. 25:22, 34; 1 Kings 14:10; 2 Kings 9:8; 18:27; Isa. 36:12).

5. It creates artificial distinctions which do not exist in the original, by translating the same word by different words, where it has the same meaning.

Examples: "Eternal" and "everlasting" (*αἰώνιος*, Matt. 25:46); "overseer" and "bishop" (*ἐπίσκοπος*, Acts 22:28; Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:1, etc.); "Passover" and "Easter" (*πάσχα*, Matt. 26:2, etc.; Acts 12:4); "atonement," "reconciling," and "reconciliation" (*καταλλαγή*, Rom. 5:11; 11:15; 2 Cor. 5:18,

19); "comforter" and "advocate" (*παράκλητος*, John 14:16, etc., used of the Holy Spirit; 1 John 2:1, used of Christ). *Λόγος* has no less than twenty-three renderings; *τύπος*, eight; *ὄχλος*, six; *παιδίσκη*, five; *μένω*, ten, etc. The Hebrew "Sheol" is translated by three words, "hell," "grave" and "pit."

Needless variations are also introduced in proper names, as Elijah and Elias; Elisha and Eliseus; Jeremiah, Jeremias and Jeremy; Timotheus and Timothy. "Jesus" is substituted for Joshua, Acts 7:45 and Heb. 4:8.

6. It obliterates or obscures real distinctions of the original in translating two or more Hebrew or Greek words by one and the same English word, such as "hell" for both Hades (Sheol, the spirit-world) and Gehenna (the place of torment); "devil" and "devils" for the one devil and for the many demons or evil spirits; "beasts" for wild beasts (*θηρία*), and the beast from the abyss (*θηρίον*, Rev. 13:1, 2, etc.), and the living creatures before the throne of God (*ζῶα*, Rev. 4:6, etc.); "crown" for crown (*στέφανος*) and diadem (*διάδημα*); "servant" for servant (*διάκονος*) and bondman (*δοῦλος*).

7. It contains a vast number of inaccurate or inadequate translations, especially through disregard of the Greek article, the Greek tenses and particles, which were imperfectly understood at the time.

Examples of the neglect of the article: "Christ" instead of *the* Christ (the official title); "*a* law" instead of *the* law (of Moses); "many" (opposed to few) instead of *the* many, that is, all (opposed to "the one," Adam or Christ, in Rom. 5:15–19; comp. 1 Cor. 15:22); "*the* root" instead of *a* root (1 Tim. 6:10); "*the* woman" instead of *a* woman (John 4:27).

Examples of the neglect of the tenses, that is the distinctions between the narrative aorist (or preterit for completed action), imperfect (incomplete or continuous action), perfect (an act or event continued in its effects), and the pluperfect: *ἀπεθάνομεν τῃ ἁμαρτίᾳ*, we who *died* to sin (at the time of our conversion), not "are dead" (which substitutes a state or condition for a past act or event), Rom. 6:2, 7, 8; Gal. 2:19; Col. 2:20; 3:1, 3; *ἥμαρτον*, they sinned, not "have sinned," Rom. 5:12; *ἀποθανόντες*, having died, not "being dead," Rom. 7:6; *εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον*, one died for all, therefore all died, not "then were all dead," 2 Cor. 5:14; *ἐκάλουν*, they were calling, not "called," Luke

1 : 59; ἔτυπτε τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ, he kept smiting his breast, not "smote," Luke 18 : 13; ἤρχοντο, they were going, not "they went," John 6 : 17.

The prepositions, pronouns, conjunctions and adverbs are likewise very often confounded or mistranslated.

8. A considerable number of false and misleading translations.

Examples from the Old Testament: "apothecary" for perfumer (Ex. 30 : 25); "borrow" for ask (Ex. 11 : 2); "dragons" for monsters (Ps. 74 : 13); "foxes" for jackals (Judg. 15 : 4); "grove" and "groves" for pillar (or Asherah, Asherim and Asheroth, which denote the wooden symbols of a goddess, Judg. 2 : 17; Ex. 34 : 13, etc.); "galleries" for curls of hair (Cant. 7 : 5); "hats" for mantles (Dan. 3 : 21); "hell" or "pit" or "grave" for Sheol (the underworld or state of the departed); "hypocrite" for ungodly (Job 8 : 13, etc.); "mules" for hot springs (Gen. 36 : 24); "meat offering" for meal offering (Ex. 30 : 9, etc.); "owl" for ostrich (Lev. 11 : 16); "plain of Mamre" for oaks of Mamre (Gen. 18 : 1); "paper reeds" for meadows (Isa. 19 : 7); "river of Egypt" (the Nile) for brook of Egypt (Num. 34 : 5); "satyrs" for he-goats (Isa. 13 : 21); "spider" for lizard (Prov. 30 : 28); "unicorn" for wild ox (Num. 23 : 22).

Examples from the New Testament: "all the children" for all the male children (τοὺς παῖδας, Matt. 2 : 16); "ship" for boat (4 : 21, 22, and often); "before instructed" for urged or impelled (14 : 8); "strain at a gnat" (probably a printing error) for strain out a gnat (23 : 24); "testament" for covenant (26 : 28, etc.); "taxing" for enrolment (Luke 2 : 2); "search" for ye search (John 5 : 39; the Greek ἐρευνᾶτε admits of both translations, but the context and the known zeal of the scribes for a pedantic study of the letter of the Old Testament require the indicative rather than the imperative rendering); "one fold" for one flock (John 10 : 16, ποίμνη, not αὐλή, a mischievous error copied from the Vulgate *ovile*); "supper being ended" for during supper (13 : 2 comp. 26); "such as should be saved" for were being saved (in the process of salvation, Acts 2 : 47); "Easter" for Passover (12 : 4); "too superstitious" for somewhat superstitious or overreligious (17 : 22); "hold" for hold down or hinder (κατέχειν, Rom. 1 : 18); "remission of sins" for prætermission or passing over (διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν, Rom. 3 : 25); "made himself of no reputation" for emptied himself (ἑαυτὸν

ἐκένωσε, Phil. 2 : 7); "conversation" for citizenship (πολίτευμα, 3 : 20); "vile body" for body of humiliation (3 : 21); "gain is godliness" for godliness is a way of gain (1 Tim. 6 : 5); "took on him," a double error for takes hold of, helps (ἐπιλαμβάνεται, Heb. 2 : 16); "answer" for interrogation, inquiry or seeking after God (ἐπερώτημα, 1 Pet. 3 : 21).

These defects and many more are nearly all corrected in the Anglo-American Revision which was begun in 1870 and completed in 1885. It is now very generally used as a commentary on the received version, and will ultimately supersede it. It is far more thorough than the official Revision of Luther's Version, which was undertaken by the Eisenach Church Conference in 1855, provisionally printed as "Probebibel" in 1883, and published in its final shape at Halle, 1892.

For further information on the Anglo-American Revision of the received version, see PHILIP SCHAFF (President of the American Committee on Revision): *Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version* (New York and London, 1883, 4th revised ed. 1892), chapters VII. and VIII. (pp. 299–496). and Dr. TALBOT W. CHAMBERS (a member of the Old Testament Company of Revisers): *A Companion to the Revised Old Testament*, New York, 1885.

CHAPTER CXXI.

PHILOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL EXEGESIS.

Philological or grammatical, and historical (grammatico-historical) exegesis is chiefly concerned with verbal and critical questions. It ascertains the true reading; brings out the meaning of words and phrases, according to the general rules of grammar and the *usus loquendi* of the writer, his age and country; explains the psychological situation of the writer, the historical surroundings of the book, and the state of society and religion in which it was written. It must stick closely to the text in its direct aspect and bearing, and be free from dogmatic and sectarian prejudice. It is the basis of all sound interpretation. It requires a thorough knowledge of Semitic languages for the Old Testament, and of classical and Hellenistic Greek for the New.

Grammatical exegesis was scarcely known in the first three centuries, or made subordinate to allegorical and practical exposition. It began properly in the Antiochian School (Chrysos-

tom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret). It was not unknown to Jerome, who had a rare genius for languages and knew the Bible lands from personal observation, but was inconsistent, timid, anxiously concerned for his orthodoxy, and often wandered into allegorizing. It was well-nigh forgotten in the middle ages, together with the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, till the time of the Revival of Letters. The Reformers felt the primary importance of sound grammatical exposition; Calvin practiced it with full faith in the divine truths of the Bible; the Arminians (Grotius, etc.) cultivated it with the aid of classical learning, but on a lower theory of inspiration; the Rationalists used and abused it in opposition to orthodoxy. A new epoch of grammatical exegesis was introduced by Winer's Grammar of the New Testament idiom, which made an end to the arbitrary handling of the Hellenistic dialect by the earlier Rationalists.

CHAPTER CXXII.

THEOLOGICAL EXEGESIS.

Theological exegesis draws out and unfolds the religious and moral ideas or doctrines of the text, considered in themselves and in connection with the general teaching of the Scriptures, according to the analogy of faith; yet not in any sectarian interest. This requires congeniality of mind or intelligent sympathy with the spirit and aim of the sacred authors.

Theology transcends, but does not contradict, grammar and logic. It is the logic of God. The spiritual sense of the Bible must be fairly deducible from, and be in harmony with, the literal. The Bible undoubtedly has a soul as well as a body; but the soul lives *in* the body, not out of it. The allegorical interpretation is wrong, not in maintaining a sense deeper than the letter, but in arbitrarily putting a subjective idea or fancy into the word, instead of taking the objective meaning of the Spirit out of the word.

The Bible is a unit, not a dead, mechanical unit, but a living organism with many members, each having its special office and use. There is in the Old Testament a Patriarchal, a Mosaic, a Prophetic, an Exilic and post-Exilic theology; and there is in the New Testament a theology of Jesus (Synoptic and Jo-

hannean), a theology of James, of Peter, of Paul and of John. Theological exegesis has to unfold the variety as well as the unity and harmony of Scripture teaching.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

PRACTICAL AND HOMILETICAL EXEGESIS.

This is the application of the Word of God to the religious wants of the people, on the basis of a sound philological and theological interpretation, and belongs properly to the pulpit.

It is the oldest form of exegesis both among Jews and Christians; for the Bible was written and read for edification and comfort (comp. 2 Tim. 3:15, 16; Rom. 15:4; 2 Pet. 1:19). It is also the last form, to which the other two look forward. Exegetical science must benefit the Church. The professor's chair should never lose sight of the preacher's pulpit.

The three kinds of exegesis should agree. A vast amount of practical exegesis, as found even in some of the greatest sermons, is based upon allegorical fancies. These must be avoided. The homiletical use of a passage must either be consistent with the plain grammatical sense, or it must not pretend to be an interpretation, but simply an extension and application. The word of God needs no fanciful and arbitrary helps; it has of itself an endless *applicability* to all classes and conditions of men. Like a diamond, it casts its lustre whichever way you turn it.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

EXHAUSTIVE COMMENTARIES.

The ideal of a commentary would be a combination of the philological, theological, and practical exegesis, under three distinct divisions, with a critically revised text as the basis. The practical division should be confined to brief hints and suggestions, not a substitute for, but a stimulus to, preparation for the pulpit and the Bible class.

CHAPTER CXXV.

POPULAR COMMENTARIES.

The rapid growth of the theological lay public in Protestant countries, and the large number of Sunday-schools and Bible classes, call for popular commentaries on the whole Scriptures, especially on the historical books.

The object of a popular commentary should be to present in brief the clean results of the latest biblical researches, without the critical apparatus, for the instruction and edification of the general reader. The value depends on accuracy, clearness, point, and a devout spirit, which should prevade the whole. It is better to edify indirectly by sound instruction, than to have a separate department of practical remarks or improvements, although these have their uses and are preferred by many.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

EXEGESIS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

The key to the true exposition of the Old Testament we find in the New Testament. It is contained in the declaration of Christ, Matt. 5:17: "I came not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfill." Christ is the fulfiller of the Scriptures: he is the light which illuminates every page; without it, they remain a sealed book. The Old Covenant is a preparation for the New, the New Covenant is the fulfillment of the Old. They are one in the idea of Covenant, different as Old and New. "*Vetus Testamentum in Novo patet, Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet*" (Augustin).

Paul represents the law as a schoolmaster to lead men to Christ (Gal. 3:24). Christ and the Apostles see in the Old Scriptures the Word of God spoken through his servants Moses and the Prophets (Acts 1:16; 3:7; 4:7; 9:8). "Moses wrote of me," says Christ (John 5:46). "Holy men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit" (2 Pet. 1:21).

But the Old Testament is not the final revelation of God; it is full of pregnant hints to the future; it is Messianic in its predictions, its institutions and ceremonies; even the law points

beyond itself to the gospel. So the Apostles find everywhere Christ in the Old Testament, but Christ in his preparatory stages, Christ foreshadowed, Christ coming, not Christ come.

The exegesis of our Saviour is wonderful. He reveals depth in the Scriptures undreamed of before, yet without any unnatural allegorizing or putting anything into the Word, but by taking out its deepest sense and making it so plain as to excite our astonishment that we never saw it before. Examples: In Matt. 22 : 32, he proves before the Sadducees the resurrection from the Pentateuch, from the designation of God as "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," for "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." In the same chapter, ver. 42–45, he argues before the Pharisees his own divinity from Ps. 110, where David calls the Messiah his Lord.

Matt. 5 : 17 implies the unity as well as the difference of the two covenants.

False interpretations of the Old Testament as a whole, ignore either the unity or the difference.

1. The harmony of the Old and New Testaments may be denied by the Gnostic heresy and those pseudo-Pauline Rationalists, who make Christianity something abrupt and sudden. The Gnostics rejected the Old Testament altogether as the work of the demiurge.

2. The difference may be obliterated in two ways:

(*a*) By lowering the New Testament to the level of the Old and making Christianity a mere completion or improvement of Judaism. So Ebionism and all Judaizing schools of theology.

(*b*) By raising the Old Testament to the position of the New and making it already teach the specific doctrines of Christianity and the experience of Christian believers. This has been done mainly through means of the allegorizing method. The old orthodoxy, Catholic and Protestant, used the Old Testament and the New for doctrinal proof-texts without the least discrimination, and found the doctrine of the Trinity in the plural name of God (Elohim), the three guests of Abraham, and the trisagion of Isaiah. In this way the originality of the New Testament is destroyed.

Scripture is the record of a *progressive* revelation of God, who, as a wise educator, adapted himself to the capacity of his people. "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at

the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son" (Heb. 1 : 1, 2). Even Christ did not reveal the whole truth to the disciples while on earth. He left many things unsaid, because they could not bear them (John 16 : 12), but he promised them the Holy Spirit, who would teach them all things and bring to their remembrance all he said unto them (John 14 : 26; 15 : 26; 16 : 7–14). And even the pentecostal illumination did not supersede the need of special revelations, such as the one given to Peter at Joppa concerning the admission of Gentiles, or those given to Paul at critical epochs in his life, or that of the seer of the Apocalypse concerning the struggles and final triumph of the Church.

It is the office of the interpreter to follow these progressive periods of divine revelation and to show their difference as well as their connection. "*Distingue tempora, et concordabit Scriptura*" (Augustin).

CHAPTER CXXVII.

HISTORY OF EXEGESIS.

The history of biblical interpretation is a history of misinterpretation as well. No book has been so much misunderstood and abused as the Bible. There are commentaries which shed light upon the Bible, and other commentaries which obscure the light of the Bible or pervert its true meaning. Christ charged the scribes of his day, that they "have made void the word of God, because of their tradition" (Matt. 15 : 6). They searched the Scriptures, and yet would not come to Christ (John 5 : 39, 40). They built a stone wall around the law so that nobody could get at it and see it face to face. The same story has been repeated in the history of the Christian Church. The mediæval papacy erected hierarchical, patristic, scholastic, and ritualistic forts around the Bible. It required all the courage and energy of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin to storm these forts and to open the treasures of the divine book to the people. There is no heresy that has not been read into the Bible and defended by the Bible. All churches and sects of Christendom appeal to it alike for support.

It is one of the strongest arguments for the divine origin and imperishable value of the Bible that it has outlived so many attacks from without and so many misapprehensions from within.

The Bible is no more responsible for its misinterpretations than Nature for the errors and contradictions of scientists. Man cannot fly on wings to the mountain-top of knowledge, but must slowly ascend it step by step.

The Roman Church maintains "a unanimous consensus of the Fathers" in the interpretation of the Bible, and uses the confusion among interpreters as an argument against the Protestant principle of the supremacy and sufficiency of the Bible, as a rule of faith. But the unanimous consensus of the Fathers is a fiction of the Council of Trent, which was not especially distinguished for exegetical and historical learning. The ancient Fathers are worthy of all respect, but they differed as widely and erred as frequently in their comments on the Scripture as the Reformers. The further up we go, the greater is the freedom and variety; as the oldest manuscripts of the Greek Testament present the largest number of textual variations. The ablest exegetes among the Fathers are the most independent. The growing principle of church authority and the narrowing orthodoxy imprisoned exegesis and kept it confined till the Reformation burst the chains and opened the prison door. The variety of interpretation is the inevitable result of freedom or the right of private judgment, and of the inexhaustible depth of the Bible.

There is, however, a steady progress and approach to agreement among competent scholars. The Bible languages, archæology, history, and the principles of interpretation are now better understood than ever before. Exegesis has become almost an exact science in ascertaining the precise meaning of the biblical writers.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

JEWISH EXEGESIS.

Exegesis began among the Jews, to whom were given the Scriptures of the Old Covenant. The humble and believing souls who waited for the hope of Israel, derived from them spiritual nourishment and comfort; but the proud hierarchs and pedantic scribes searched only the letter of the Scriptures without seeking and finding the Christ to whom they bear witness (John 5: 39). They obscured the true meaning by their

traditions and made void the word of God. "Their minds are hardened: for until this very day the same veil remaineth unlifted; which veil is done away in Christ" (2 Cor. 3: 14).

Nevertheless rabbinical scholarship has been of much use and is entitled to a respectful hearing in all matters which relate to Hebrew grammar and archæology. In the middle ages, Jewish rabbis had the monopoly of Hebrew learning. They furnished the first grammars and dictionaries for the use of Christians. To the scrupulous care of the Masoretic scholars we owe the original text of the Old Testament.

Jewish exegesis may be divided into a pre-Christian and a post-Christian period.

CHAPTER CXXIX.

JEWISH EXEGESIS BEFORE CHRIST.

It began soon after the close of the canon. Ezra (B.C. 457), the priestly scribe, may be called the first biblical scholar. He collected and edited the books of the canon as far as they existed at his time. He was regarded as a second Moses and a restorer of the law. "He transformed the theocracy into a nomocracy," and raised "the scribe" above "the priest." He organized the synagogue-worship and the reading of Moses every Sabbath-day. He inaugurated the *Midrash* and the *Targum*, that is, the body of interpretation, which embraced the entire theological and literary wisdom of the Jews. (Ezra 7: 6, 25; Neh. 8: 7, 8; 13: 24.)

The Jewish exegesis referred chiefly to the law (Thorah) and determined the individual and social duties and relations by deduction from the Pentateuch. It was divided into HALAKHA, *i.e.*, "decision," rule, legalized precept, and HAGGADA, *i.e.*, "discourse," narration, legend. The former was binding, the latter was not. The Halakha is compared to bread, the Haggada to water; the one to an iron fortress, the other to a flowery promenade within the fortress.

The interpretations were first propagated by oral tradition; after the time of Christ they were collected in the *Mishna*, *i.e.*, Learning, Repetition (about A.D. 200 or 220), and the *Gemara*, *i.e.*, Completion (A.D. 490). They together constitute the Jewish *Talmud*, or Doctrine (from לִמֵּד, to teach).

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There were two kinds of exegesis among the Jews.

1. The RABBINICAL or LITERAL exegesis was carried on in Palestine by the Pharisees. It excluded all foreign ideas, and was subservient to strict legalism and to carnal Messianic expectations, which formed the bridge between the past glory and the future hope of the Jews over the abyss of their present degradation. The spirit was sacrificed to the letter. Distinction of two senses, the proper or innate sense (*sensus innatus*, which is again either literal or figurative or mystical), and the derived sense (*sensus illatus*), obtained by logical inference or linked to the words by arbitrary combination.

2. The HELLENISTIC or ALLEGORIZING method of Alexandria was borrowed from the Stoic and Platonic philosophers, who applied it to Homer and the heathen mythology to get rid of its incongruities, absurdities, and impossibilities. It began in the period of the Apocrypha (comp. Wisdom 18 : 24), and was completed by Philo, who died A.D. 40. He held the most rigid view of verbal inspiration, but depended on the Septuagint with its countless errors, and endeavored to harmonize the Mosaic religion with Greek (Platonic) philosophy by means of allegorical interpretation. He thought that Plato had borrowed from Moses. He sacrificed the letter to a foreign spirit. He distinguished between an exoteric and esoteric understanding, in other words, between the *literal* or *historical* sense * and the *spiritual* or *mystic* sense.† The latter outruled the former. The Old Testament was turned into a storehouse of philosophical ideas, which more or less obscured or perverted the religious truths of revelation.

The allegorizing method exerted great influence on Christian exegesis, especially upon the Alexandrian school of Clement and Origen, and ruled for fifteen hundred years.

Examples of the allegorical interpretation of Philo: Adam in Genesis is the lower, sensuous man, the *ἀνθρωπος χοικός*; Cain, selfishness; Abel, devotion to God; Noah, righteousness; Abraham, contemplation and knowledge; Sarah, virtue; Hagar, wisdom; Moses, the prophetic spirit; Egypt, body; Canaan, piety; the sheep is the image of the pure soul; the ring-dove, the emblem of divine wisdom; the house-pigeon, of human wisdom.

Generally Philo admits the literal sense in the Mosaic history, but sometimes, especially in the details, he denies it, where it seemed to imply

* *ἡ ῥητὴ ἑρμηνεία, ἡ ῥητὴ ἀπόδοσις.*

† *ἡ ἀλληγορία, ἡ τροπικὴ, ἡ συμβολικὴ διήγησις, ἡ διὰ τύπων, διὰ συμβόλων ἀπόδειξις.*

materialistic, anthropomorphic, anthropopathic, or otherwise unworthy ideas of God. Thus, in the account of the creation, only the creative act is historic, not the details of the hexahemeron. The trees in paradise, the serpent, the expulsion from Eden, are only symbolic representations of the truths of a higher life. In such cases the allegorizing method approaches the mythical interpretation of Strauss, who denies the supernatural facts and admits only the ideas. Comp. C. Siegfried, *Philo als Ausleger des Alten Test.*, Jena, 1875.

CHAPTER CXXX.

JEWISH EXEGESIS AFTER CHRIST.

1. The TALMUDIC interpretation is a continuation of the Pharisaic, orthodox, traditional exegesis, partly slavishly literal, partly allegorizing. Overestimate of rabbinical learning. "Scripture is like water, the Mishna like wine, the Gemara like spiced wine." "The Scripture is as salt, the Mishna as pepper, the Gemara as spice." Among the chief Rabbis are Hillel (d. A.D. 8); Shammai (his rival); Johanan ben Zakkai (a pupil of Hillel); Aqiba (d. 135); Juda the holy (or simply the "Rabbi," d. 200), who made Tiberias the metropolis of rabbinism and compiled the Mishna; Ashî (d. 427), who chiefly systematized and completed the Gemara. The Babylonian Talmud fills 2947 folio pages, and contains the theology, the law and the ceremonial of the Jews. It is a continent of rabbinical wisdom and folly.

2. The sect of the KARAITES (the Protestants of Judaism) rejected talmudic traditions and aimed at a more simple and spiritual view of the Old Testament.

3 The GRAMMATICAL school of the middle ages produced valuable commentaries, grammars, and dictionaries. It flourished in Spain, where oriental learning had taken refuge. It began to influence Christian exegesis in the fourteenth century.

Rabbi Saadias Gaon (d. 942), Ibn Ezra (b. at Toledo, 1092, d. at Rome, 1167), R. Salomo Isaaki (or Rashi, erroneously called Jarchi, d. 1105), David Kimchi (or Qimchi, d. 1190), Maimonides (R. Mose ben Maimon, b. at Cordova, 1135, d. in Palestine, 1204), Abrabanel (1436–1507). Their commentaries are printed separately, and collected in the so-called rabbinical Bibles, *e.g.*, Buxtorf, Bas. 1618, 3 tom. f.

CHAPTER CXXXI.

EPOCHS OF CHRISTIAN EXEGESIS.

Christian exegesis has, like every other branch of theological science, its creative epochs, followed by periods of preservation and assimilation or transition.

The three prominent epochs are the PATRISTIC, the REFORMATORY, and the MODERN.

The first is essentially Catholic (Græco-Latin); the second, Protestant and anti-papal; the third, critical and evangelical Catholic. The exegesis of the Fathers was matured in the victorious conflict with the heresies of Ebionism, Gnosticism, Arianism, Pelagianism, etc.; the exegesis of the Reformers in the conflict with the unscriptural traditions of Rome; the modern evangelical in the conflict with rationalism in all its phases.

The patristic and reformatory exegetes agree in being predominantly doctrinal and practical, and devoted to the *divine* character of the Bible on a common theory of inspiration; the modern Protestant exegesis is grammatico-historical as well as theological, and explains the *human* as well as the divine side of the Bible. The older commentators move within opposite ecclesiastical and denominational channels; the best modern commentators rise above sectarian and polemical considerations to the comprehension of revealed truth in its comprehensive catholicity.

The mediæval exegesis is a continuation of the patristic; the exegesis of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a development of the reformatory, with two branches, Lutheran and Reformed. The rationalistic exegesis lies between the second and third epochs, and prepared the way for the modern evangelical Catholic exegesis.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

PATRISTIC EXEGESIS. A.D. 100–600.

The first use made of the Bible in the Christian Church was practical and homiletical. Then followed the doctrinal use for the refutation of heresies. The Old Testament was regarded as a

preparation for the New, full of prophecies and types of Christ, in opposition to the Jews. The New Testament was vindicated against Ebionism, and the harmony of the two Testaments against Gnosticism. The fundamental truths were elaborated and supported by proof-texts. The grammatical sense was neglected. The Greek Fathers had the advantage of a knowledge of the original language of the New Testament; the Latin Fathers depended mostly on the faulty Itala and the improved Vulgata of Jerome; the Hebrew was understood by very few. Allegorical fancies were freely substituted for sound expositions.

The most valuable exegetes among the Fathers are CHRYSOSTOM for his homiletical wealth, JEROME for his philological and archæological knowledge, and AUGUSTIN for his theological depth and spiritual insight.*

I. THE GREEK EXEGETES. The founder of exegesis proper is ORIGEN (180–254), the teacher of the catechetical school of Alexandria, a genius, a scholar, and an indefatigable worker. He wrote three kinds of commentaries: Annotations (*σημειώσεις, scholia*), Commentaries proper (*τόμοι*), and familiar Sermons (*ὁμιλίαι, sermones, tractatus*). He founded a theory of interpretation, based upon that of Philo and the Platonic trichotomy of *σῶμα, ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*. He was a Christian Philo and a Christian Plato, or Platonic Christian. Viewing the Bible as a living organism of body, soul and spirit, he distinguished three senses: (1) the somatic, or the literal, historical; (2) the psychic, or moral (1 Cor. 9:9), and (3) the pneumatic, or spiritual, mystic, usually called allegorical sense (Gal. 4:24). He abandons the historical sense where it seemed to him inapt (anthropomorphic, anthropopathic), or morally offensive (*ἄλογος, ἀδύνατος*, containing *σκάνδαλα* and *προσκόμματα*). He mainly dwells on the spiritual or allegorical sense.

Two schools of patristic exegesis in the Oriental Church. (Comp. Schaff's *Church History*, II. 793, 813 sqq.; III. 705 sqq.)

1. The ALEXANDRIAN School followed the allegorical method of Origen. To this belong Eusebius (d. 340), Athanasius (d. 373), Basil (d. 379), Gregory of Nazianzen (d. 390), Gregory of Nyssa (d. 394), Ephraim Syrus (d. 378), Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444).

2. The ANTIOCHIAN, or Syrian, School was more sober, grammatico-historical, rationalizing, yet practical. *Chrysostom, the prince of Greek pulpit orators and commentators, who explained in his *Homilies* most of the books of the New Testament, Diodorus of Tharsus (d. 394), Theodorus

* The exegetical and other works of Augustin (8 vols.), Chrysostom (6 vols.), and Jerome (1 vol.), are now accessible to the English reader in "the Nicene and Post-Nicene Library," first series ed. by Schaff, second series ed. by Schaff & Wace, and published at New York (Christian Literature Co.) and Oxford (Parker & Company), 1886 sqq. See also *St. Chrysostom and St. Augustin* by Philip Schaff, New York (Thomas Whittaker), 1891.

of Mopsuestia (called ὁ ἐξηγητής, d. 429), Theodoret of Kyros in Syria (d. 457).

II. Latin Exegetes. Dependent on the Greeks, ignorant of Hebrew (except Jerome) and mostly even of Greek; hence worthless in matters of grammar and criticism, but rich in doctrinal and practical exposition.

Tertullian (d. 220), Cyprian (d. 254), Hilary (d. 368), Ambrose (d. 397), Pelagius (d. 420), *Jerome (d. 419), the translator of the Latin Vulgate, *Augustin (d. 430), Leo I. (d. 461), Gregory I. (d. 604), the last of the Fathers and the first of the popes.

The best patristic commentators admit the correct principle that we should first ascertain the historical truth and determine the spiritual sense in accordance with it, but they often mistake or pervert the natural sense and resort to arbitrary allegorizing. Origen, Chrysostom and Jerome resolve the collision between Paul and Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2:11–14) into a theatrical farce, and by trying to save the credit of Peter involve both Apostles in the charge of hypocrisy. The superior moral sense of Augustin protested against this monstrous misinterpretation, but his defective knowledge of the original led him into other errors; he even opposed from timid conservatism Jerome's revision of the old Latin version, which teemed with inaccuracies. Pope Gregory—one of the best popes, but excessively credulous and superstitious—was the last of the Fathers who produced an independent exegetical work. His exposition of the book of Job (translated in 3 vols. for the Oxford "Library of the Fathers," 1844) is useless as a commentary, as he knew neither Hebrew nor Greek, but valuable as a system of Christian morals (hence called *Magna Moralia*). He pursues the text in three separate threads, the literal, the allegorical, and the moral, for the edification of the Church. In the allegorical part he sets forth the life of Christ in the history of Job. The names of persons and things embody a spiritual meaning: Job represents Christ; Job's wife, the carnal nature; his seven sons, the apostles or the clergy; his three daughters, the three classes of the faithful laity worshiping the Trinity; his friends, the heretics; the seven thousand sheep, the perfect Christians; the three thousand camels, the heathen and Samaritans, etc. He deemed the question of authorship to be of no more consequence than the enquiry about the pen of a great writer; for the biblical authors were only pens of the Holy Spirit. This is a fair specimen of patristic and mediæval exegesis.

We should guard alike against a Roman Catholic overestimate and a Protestant underestimate of the Fathers. Their exegetical writings contain a vast amount of "gold, silver, and precious stones," but also of "wood, hay, and stubble" (1 Cor. 3:12). Even in the best of them we find profound views mixed with childish fancies. Luther spoke most disparagingly of the Fathers, except Augustin; Calvin knew them better and prized them higher; Anglican divines, especially of the high-church school, claim them for their *via media* between Rome and Geneva. Of all Protestant divines Bishop Christopher Wordsworth is the greatest admirer of the Fathers, and fills his commentary on the Old and New Testament with extracts from their writings, with a polemical aim both against Romanism and German Rationalism.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

MEDIÆVAL EXEGESIS. A.D. 600–1500.

Mediæval exegesis is a repetition and continuation of patristic exegesis. The Schoolmen took the place of the Fathers, and analyzed and systematized their labors. Reproduction followed production. Exegesis became compilation. Commentaries were called "Chains," binding the Fathers together as so many links.*

Chrysostom, Augustin, and Pope Gregory furnished the chief material. The favorite books were the Gospels and the Psalms.

In the Eastern Church the Greek language continued to be spoken; hence the superior value of the exegetical labors of Œcumenius, Theophylactus, and Euthymius Zigabenus.

The Western Church Christianized and civilized the barbarians of Europe, built convents, churches, the papal hierarchy and the scholastic systems of theology, engaged in the heroic crusades, organized monastic orders, and produced self-denying missionaries, holy monks, commanding popes and emperors, but neglected exegetical and historical studies. There was no taste for critical investigation. The eternal truths of the Bible, however, could not be forgotten, and inspired all the great enterprises of that period. They shone through the stained glass of Gothic windows; they were expounded in profound theological treatises, and expressed in heart-stirring hymns, like the *Dies Irae*, the *Stabat Mater*, and *Jesu dulcis memoria*. Biblical learning was the monopoly of the clergy. The laity could not read and were even forbidden to read the Bible by the popes, who yet constantly quoted, in support of their theocracy, the Old Testament and the words of Christ to Peter: "Thou art Rock;" "Feed my sheep."

Exegesis was the slave of dogma, and was utilized for the support of the Catholic faith of the Church, handed down from the Fathers. It was based upon the distinction of a fourfold sense of the Bible, as expressed in the mnemonic couplet (attributed to Nicolas of Lyra):

> "*Litera* gesta docet; quid credas, *Allegoria;*
> *Moralis*, quid agas; quo tendas, *Anagogia.*"

* *Catenæ Patrum;* σεῖραι τῶν πατέρων, or συλλογαὶ, ἐπιτομαὶ ἐξηγήσεων.

The first sense is the literal or historical (*gesta docet*); the other three are ramifications of the spiritual or mystic sense, and correspond to the cardinal Christian virtues of faith, hope, and love. The allegorical sense strictly so-called refers to faith (*credenda*); the moral sense, to charity or good works (*agenda*), the anagogical (uplifting, exalting) sense to hope (*speranda* and *desideranda*). Thus Jerusalem means, literally, the city in Palestine; allegorically, the Church; morally, the believing soul; anagogically, the heavenly Jerusalem. Babylon: the city on the Euphrates; heathen Rome; the enemies of the Church; eternal perdition. The exodus from Egypt: the historical fact in the history of Israel; the redemption by Christ; the conversion of the soul; the departure from this life to the heavenly world.

The fourfold sense was an expansion of the threefold sense of Origen. It was suggested by Augustin, and more clearly set forth as a hermeneutical canon by Eucherius (d. 450), Cassianus (d. 450), and Rabanus Maurus (d. 856). Dante (in the *Convito* and in a letter to Can Grande della Scala) defends it as applicable to his *Divina Commedia*. Savonarola's sermons are full of the fourfold sense. Luther followed it in his first commentary on the Psalms (1513) before he became a reformer; he distinguished at times even six senses, and only gradually emancipated himself from the allegorizing method.

The mystic sense was the most important in the ages of faith and superstition. The commentators feasted upon the boundless wealth of revelation and derived from it lessons of holy living and dying. Even errors are overruled for good. Nevertheless this kind of exegesis turns the Bible into a *nasus cereus*, and makes it a slave of human caprices. By trying to evade difficulties, it creates new and greater difficulties. Starting from a profound reverence for the spiritual depths of the Bible, it destroys trust in its plain meaning. It substitutes arbitrary imposition for honest exposition. The Song of Songs and the Apocalypse even down to our day have suffered most from allegorizing commentaries, which fairly teem with pious sense and nonsense.

I. Greek commentators: Œcumenius, bishop of Tricca in Thessalia (d. about 990), on the Acts and Epistles.—Theophylactus, archbishop of Bulgaria (d. 1107), on nearly the whole New Testament.—Euthymius Zigabenus, a monk near Constantinople (d. 1118), on the Gospels and the

Psalms.—NICEPHORUS compiled an exegetical work from fifty-one writers. Chrysostom was the chief source. A series of Greek "Chains" on the whole New Testament was edited by J. A. Cramer, Oxford, 1838, sqq. in 8 vols.

II. LATIN commentators: WALAFRIED STRABO or STRABUS (abbot of Reichenau, d. 849), author of the *Glossa ordinaria*, compiled from Augustin, Ambrose, Gregory, Isidor, Beda, Alcuin, and Rabanus Maurus, with anonymous glosses,—the chief authority for the following centuries.—ANSELM OF LAON (d. 1117, not to be confounded with the more famous Anselm of Canterbury): *Glossa interlinearis*, next to the former in popularity, but defective and uncritical.—Cardinal HUGO DE S. CARO (d. 1263): *Postillæ in universa Biblia secundum quadruplicem sensum* (Venice, 1487, 6 vols.). He wrote also a Latin Concordance and introduced the chapter division, which, like the versicular division of the sixteenth century, is unfortunately very faulty.—THOMAS AQUINAS, "the angelic doctor" and standard divine of the Roman Church (d. 1274), compiled a devotional and exceedingly popular commentary on the Gospels, called *Catena aurea in Evangelia* (English translation by Pusey, Keble, and Newman, Oxford, 1841–45, 4 vols.), and explained also several epistles of Paul. He was a great admirer of Chrysostom, especially of his commentary on Matthew. The monkish legend says that St. Paul appeared to him in a dream and told him that no one understood him so well; but he did not correct his errors. Thomas says that the name of Paul cannot be of Hebrew origin, because the Hebrew lacks the letter P, but it may be from a similar word and mean "wonderful" or "elect"; if it be from the Greek, it means "quiet"; if Latin, it means "small." He proceeds to show from the Scripture that all these meanings suit St. Paul.

Other biblical scholars of less importance: Cassiodorus (d. 562), the Venerable Bede (d. 735), Alcuin (d. 804), St. Bernard (d. 1153; Sermons on the Canticles), Ruprecht of Deuz (d. 1135), John of Salisbury (d. 1182; on Paul), Albert the Great (d. 1280; on the Prophets, Gospels and Apocalypse), Bonaventura ("*doctor seraphicus*," d. 1274; on Ecclesiastes, the Gospels of Luke and John, etc.).

John Wiclif (d. 1384), one of the Reformers before the Reformation, deserves mention as the first translator of the whole Bible (from the Latin Vulgate) into English.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

THE PERIOD OF THE RENAISSANCE.

The Revival of Letters and Arts, which began in Italy and spread over Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, roused the spirit of free inquiry, and promoted the cause of biblical learning by the cultivation of the original languages. The first-fruits were shown in the exegetical works of Nicolas Lyra and Laurentius Valla, the last in Reuchlin and Erasmus. The German Reuchlin and the Dutch Erasmus, called "the two

eyes of Europe," are the connecting links between the Renaissance and the Reformation, the one by his Hebrew, the other by his Greek learning.

The invention of the printing-press, the art-preserving art, gave wings to thought and prepared the way for the general circulation and use of the Bible among the laity as well as the clergy. The Latin Bible was the first large book that was printed (1455); but during the first half century of that art not a single new and important exegetical work appeared. The Church was silently gathering strength for a new productive epoch in biblical learning.

Nicolas of Lyra or Lyranus ("*doctor planus et utilis*," born at Lyre in the diocese of Evreux in Normandy, about 1270, d. at Paris, 1340): *Postillæ perpetuæ sive commentaria brevia in universa Biblia* (first printed ed. Rom. 1471, 5 vols., and very often, last ed. Antwerp, 1634, 6 vols.). He was a Franciscan monk, and doctor of theology, and taught with success in Paris. He is "the Jerome of the fourteenth century," and marks an epoch in the history of exegesis. His knowledge of Hebrew gave rise to the unsupported conjecture that he was the son of a Hebrew mother. He based his commentary on the original text, and first made use of Jewish scholars (especially Rashi); yea, he dared sometimes to prefer their explanations to those of the Fathers. He adopted the seven useless rules of Tichonius, and the traditional fourfold sense (in the preface), but maintained that the literal sense is the foundation, and should alone be used in proving doctrines. Practically he admitted only two senses, the literal (or historical) and the mystical (or typical and prophetical), the latter of which must be based upon the former. He complains that the mystical sense has been allowed almost to choke (*suffocare*) the literal. He followed the rule: "*Scriptura loquitur secundum modum nostrum loquendi.*" He wrote with great modesty, and submitted his works to the decisions of the Church; yet he quietly undermined the exegetical tyranny, and had considerable influence upon the Reformers. Hence the well-known lines:

"*Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.*" *

Laurentius Valla (Lorenzo della Valle, canon of St. John in the Lateran, 1406–57), the best Latinist and most independent scholar of his age, and the pioneer of historical criticism, who first disproved the fiction of the Donation of Constantine, prepared *Annotations to the New Testament*, which were published by Erasmus in 1505. He dared to criticise Jerome's Vulgate and St. Augustin, and to doubt the traditional text. Bellarmin calls him a forerunner of Luther, but he was simply a skeptical humanist, destitute of religious sincerity and moral earnestness. He

* To which somebody added: "*Et totus mundus delirassat.*" Luther greatly admired Lyranus, and closely followed him in his commentary on Genesis, almost verse for verse, but he blames him for his dependence on Jewish rabbis.

escaped punishment by a cynical submission to the authority of Mother Church and became a secretary of Nicolas V., the liberal patron of the Renaissance.

JACQUES LE FÈVRE (LE-FÈVRE D'ETAPLES, usually called FABER STAPULENSIS, 1450–1536) made a new Latin translation of the Epistles of Paul with a commentary (1512), and the first French version of the entire Scriptures (the New Testament in 1523, the Old in 1528), which formed the basis of the translation of Olivetan (1535). He was a humanist and pioneer of French Protestantism, though he died in the Roman Catholic Church. His exegesis is uncertain and wavering between the old and new methods. He proclaimed five years before the Reformation the Protestant principles of the supremacy of the Bible and of justification by faith, and uttered, in his work on Paul, the prophetic word: "The signs of the times announce that a Reformation of the Church is near at hand, and while God opens new ways for the preaching of the Gospel by the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards, we must hope that he will also visit his Church and raise her from the abasement into which she has fallen." About the same time, he told his pupil, William Farel, the pioneer of the Reformation in French Switzerland: "My son, God will renovate the world and you will see it." * He fled from persecution to Strassburg, but spent his last years in peace under the protection of Queen Marguerite of Navarre in her little capital at Nérac. There Calvin, on his flight from Paris in 1533, saw the octogenarian scholar, who, in prophetic vision, saluted the youth as the future restorer of the Catholic Church in France, and suggested to him to take Melanchthon for his model.

JOHN REUCHLIN (1455–1522), called "the Phœnix of Germany," is the father of Hebrew learning in the modern Christian Church, though he must share this honor with Pellican. He learned the rudiments of Hebrew from John Wessel and from some rabbis. He paid ten gold pieces to a Jew for the explanation of a single phrase. On the basis of David Qimchi, he wrote a Hebrew grammar and dictionary (1506), from which the Reformers acquired their knowledge of that language. He was unduly addicted to the mysterious superstitions of the Kabala. He had to suffer much persecution from the intolerant champions of monastic obscurantism, but was supported by all progressive scholars.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS of Rotterdam (1466–1536), the prince of the humanists and undisputed sovereign in the realm of letters, published, from a few manuscripts at Basel, where he spent the best years of his life, the first edition of the Greek Testament (1516), which became the basis of the *textus receptus* and of the Protestant versions. He accompanied this work with a new and elegant Latin translation and brief *Annotations*, which had a large circulation and exerted an immense influence.† He also began to publish, in 1517, *Paraphrases* on the New Testament (except the Apocalypse), in which

* "*Mon fils, Dieu renouvellera le monde et tu en seras le temoin.*" See Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, vol. I. (1866), p. 5.

† *Annotationes*, with a manifesto of liberal exegesis *contra morosos ac indoctos.*

he repeated the text in different words.* His object was practical as well as literary. He wished that the theologians might study Christianity from its fountain-head, and that the Scriptures might be translated into every tongue and put into the hands of every reader, to give strength and comfort to the husbandman at his plough, to the weaver at his shuttle, to the traveler on his journey. Tyndale echoed this noble desire when he said: "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause the boy that driveth the plough to know more of Scripture than you do," speaking to one of those ignorant priests who "prefer the laws of the pope to the laws of God."

Erasmus lived and died on the threshold of the middle ages and modern times. Stunica said by way of reproach: "*Erasmus lutherissat*"; Erasmus replied: "*Lutherus erasmissat.*" He displeased both parties. The Romanists charged him with laying the egg which Luther hatched; the Protestants called him a traitor to the Reformation; but Zwingli and Melanchthon never lost respect for him and his eminent services. His work was a necessary literary preparation for the greater work of the Reformers. He raised Greece from the dead "with the New Testament in her hand."

CHAPTER CXXXV.

EXEGESIS OF THE REFORMERS.

Humanism was an important intellectual factor in the Reformation, but could never have produced it. The deeper roots of this movement were moral and religious. The Renaissance was a revival of classical heathen learning, the Reformation was a revival of primitive Christianity. As the literature of ancient Greece and Rome preceded the advent of Christianity, so a revival of that literature preceded and prepared the way for a revival of Christianity. The Greek language furnished the key to both.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century, by raising the standard of the Bible, as the sovereign rule of Christian faith and life, in opposition to the yoke of papal and scholastic tyranny, kindled an intense enthusiasm for biblical studies. It cleared away the obstructions of traditional dogmatism and brought the believer into direct contact with the Word of God

* In his own definition: "*ita temperare παράφρασιν, ne fiat παραφρόνησις, h.e. sic aliter dicere ut non dicas alia.*" Luther, in his wrath, called the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus *Paraphroneses* (derangements, *deliria*); but Herder deemed them worth their weight in gold, and Reuss calls them "an inestimable benefit" to that age. Leo Judæ translated them into German. By a royal injunction of 1547, a copy of the Paraphrase on the Gospels was set up in every church of England for the use of the parishioners. Hardwick, *Hist. of the Reform.*, p. 195, note 1 (Stubbs' ed.). On the value of these Paraphrases see also R. Stähelin in Herzog, 2d ed., IV. 283 sq.

in the original Hebrew and Greek, and in idiomatic vernacular versions. It enabled him to drink from the fresh fountain instead of the muddy river, and to walk in the daylight of the sun instead of the night-light of the moon and the stars.

The Reformers were all in full sympathy with the spirit of the Bible, as witnessing, in unbroken harmony, that Jesus of Nazareth is the Son of the living God and the Saviour of mankind. To them Christ was the beginning, the middle, and the end of the written revelation, yet not in the way of forced allegorical interpretation. They had a sound instinct for the natural grammatical sense and laid aside arbitrary allegorizing, though not entirely.

The Bible was made the chief object of theological study, and a book of the people as well as the clergy. Exegesis, heretofore confined to the Greek and Latin languages and to scholars, was carried on for the benefit of laymen as well as ministers. But it was also often abused for polemical purposes and made to promote disunion rather than union among Christians.

Luther is the prince of translators, Calvin the prince of commentators, among the Reformers. Melanchthon, Zwingli, Œcolampadius and Beza occupy, next to them, the highest rank as expounders of the Scripture.

I. Exegesis in the LUTHERAN Church. MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546) gave to the German people an idiomatic version of the Old and New Testaments (begun at the Wartburg, 1522, and finished at Wittenberg, 1534, last revision, 1545). It is his best and most useful work and an immortal monument of his genius, industry and piety. His commentaries on Galatians (which he called his "wife,"), Psalms and Genesis are original, deep, fresh and suggestive, but unequal and irregular. He often hits the nail on the head, but as often wanders away from the text, using or abusing it as a mere starting-point for polemical excursions against Papists and radical Protestants (*Schwarm*—und *Rottengeister*). He condemned allegorizing as a monkey-game (*Affenspiel*), but often resorted to it in Job, the Psalms and Canticles. He was at times slavishly traditional and literal, at times boldly independent and spiritual. He objected to some parts of the Bible (Esther, James, Hebrews, Apocalypse), and anticipated modern criticism, but had the profoundest reverence for the word of God in the Bible.

PHILIP MELANCHTHON (1497–1560) was a superior philologist and the best Greek scholar of his age. He thought in Greek, and could hardly write a letter to a learned friend without inserting a rare Greek word or phrase. He maintained the correct principles, that "the Scripture cannot be understood theologically unless it be first understood grammatically," and that "the Scripture had one certain and simple sense" (*una certa et simplex sententia*), which must be ascertained by the laws of grammar and

rhetoric. But he required piety as well as knowledge of the grammar. Diestel gives him credit for having clearly pointed out the unity of the sense of the Scripture under the influence of his classical studies. Yet his brief comments are meager and dogmatical rather than grammatical. His *Loci theologici* grew out of his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans.

Secondary Lutheran commentators: Bugenhagen (d. 1558), Brenz (d. 1570), Flacius, the author of the *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ* (d. 1575), Chemnitz (d. 1586), Chytræus (d. 1600), Osiander (d. 1604).

II. Reformed Church. The Reformed exegesis was less dogmatical and more grammatico-historical than the Lutheran.

John Calvin (1509–64) is the first commentator of the sixteenth century, and both for quantity and quality has no superior in ancient or modern times. This is the unanimous judgment of competent scholars of different schools (like Scaliger, Tholuck, Winer, Diestel, Meyer, Reuss, Merx, Farrar) and expository preachers (like Spurgeon, who calls him "the most candid" commentator and of "priceless value"). His knowledge of the Bible as a whole and in all its parts is amazing and unsurpassed. He combined all the hermeneutical qualifications: classical culture, knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, mastery of Latin and French, familiarity with the best of the Fathers, fairness, freedom from prejudice, exegetical tact, acute perception, sound judgment, lucid method, spiritual insight, and profound sympathy with the biblical authors, especially Paul. He commented on the most important books of the Old Testament, and the whole New Testament, except the Apocalypse. Diestel calls him "the creator of modern exegesis." (See his *Geschichte des A. T.'s in der christl. Kirche*, pp. 267 sqq., and Schaff's *Church Hist.* VII. 524–538.) A complete English translation of Calvin's commentaries in 45 vols. was published by the Calvin Translation Society at Edinburgh, 1844 sqq.

Zwingli (1484–1531), the Reformer of Zurich and German Switzerland, had superior classical culture, was a great admirer of Erasmus, copied the Greek text of the Epistles of Paul at Einsiedeln (1516, before he had heard of Luther), and studied the Scriptures with a reverent and independent spirit for the practical purpose that he might "preach Christ from the fountain." He began with a continuous exposition of the Gospel of Matthew, while Luther and Melanchthon started from the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. His commentaries on Genesis, the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and several epistles, show sound common sense, sober judgment, and a preference for the simple, obvious sense, but are brief, fragmentary and immature. He died in the prime of manhood on the battlefield of Cappel.

John Œcolampadius (1482–1531), the Reformer of Basel, was the best Hebrew scholar of his age, and well acquainted with the Fathers. He wrote useful commentaries on Genesis and the Larger and Minor Prophets, and ably defended the figurative interpretation of the words of institution in the eucharistic controversy.

Theodore Beza (de Bèze, 1519–1605), the friend and successor of Calvin, combined rare classical culture with a rigorous theology. He edited several standard editions of the Greek Testament, a new Latin version, and a brief commentary (1565 sqq.), which were very popular in the Reformed Churches of the Continent, and especially in England during the

reign of Elizabeth. He exerted considerable influence upon the Geneva English Version (1557), and the Authorized Version of 1611, not always for the best.

Minor exegetes: MARTIN BUCER (d. 1551), the Strassburg Reformer and mediator between Luther and Zwingli, at last professor in Cambridge; PELLICAN (d. 1556), a self-taught Hebraist, professor at Zurich, who commented on the whole Bible (1532–39, 7 vols.); BIBLIANDER (d. 1564), likewise professor at Zurich, an Erasmian rather than a Calvinist; and HENRY BULLINGER (d. 1575), the friend and successor of Zwingli, and best known as the author of the Second Helvetic Confession (1566).

WILLIAM TYNDALE (d. 1536) deserves an honorable place among the primary translators and secondary Reformers. By his New Testament (1525) he shaped the idiom of the Authorized Version of 1611.

In his *Obedience of a Christian Man*, written in 1528 (ed. by the "Parker Society," 1848, p. 303 sq.), he lays down his hermeneutical principles in the following remarkable passage: "The Papists divide the Scriptures into four senses, the literal, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical. The literal sense is become nothing at all, for the pope hath taken it clean away, and has made it his possession. He hath partly locked it up with the false and counterfeited keys of his traditions, ceremonies, and feigned lies; and partly driveth men from it with violence of sword: for no man dare abide by the literal sense of the text, but under a protestation, 'If it shall please the Pope.' The tropological sense pertaineth to good manners (say they), and teacheth what we ought to do. The allegory is appropriate to faith; and the anagogical to hope, and things above. Tropological and anagogical are terms of their own feigning, and altogether unnecessary. For they are but allegories, both two of them; and this word allegory comprehendeth them both, and is enough. For tropological is but an allegory of manners; and anagogical, an allegory of hope. And allegory is as much to say as strange speaking, or borrowed speech. . . .

"*Thou shalt understand, therefore, that the Scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth, whereunto if thou cleave, thou canst never err or go out of the way.* Neverthelater, the Scripture uses proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories, as all other speeches do; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle or allegory signifieth, is ever the literal sense, which thou must seek out diligently: as in the English we borrow words and sentences of one thing, and apply them unto another, and give them new significations."

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

PROTESTANT EXEGESIS OF THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The seventeenth century is the period of Protestant scholasticism. It furnishes a parallel to the Catholic scholasticism of the Middle Ages, but is much richer in biblical learning. Its

exegesis bears the same relation to the exegesis of the Reformers (henceforward revered as protestant Fathers) as the mediæval exegesis to the patristic. It has the prevailing character of reproduction, compilation, and confessional contraction. It was based on a mechanical theory of verbal inspiration or dictation, which was most minutely formulated, and acted as a check upon independent research. An infallible Book was set over against an infallible Church. The Protestant Confessions of Faith acquired the authority of Catholic tradition. Exegesis was controlled by dogmatic systems and made subservient to polemic confessionalism. The Bible was used as a repository of doctrinal proof-texts, without discrimination between the Old and New Testaments, and between the different books. A vast amount of patient, pedantic, antiquarian learning was accumulated. The exegetical compilations of Calovius and the *Critici Sacri* correspond to the *Catenæ Patrum* of the Middle Ages.

1. The Lutheran Church took the lead in Protestant scholasticism. She claimed the monopoly of orthodoxy or doctrinal purity, in opposition to Romanism and Calvinism, and assumed that all orthodox Christians are Lutherans, either consciously, or unconsciously under other names. Luther's version of the Bible, which he himself had improved in every successive edition, became as unchangeably fixed as the textus receptus of the Greek Testament and as the Latin Vulgate. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and the prophets were pressed into the service of pure unmixed Lutheranism. Calixtus advocated a more liberal tendency on the broad basis of the œcumenical creeds, but was silenced as a dangerous syncretist and latitudinarian.

The Pietistic school of Spener and Francke broke down the dominion of scholasticism and symbololatry, laid stress on experimental piety as the key to the understanding of the Scriptures, and developed practical and devotional exegesis.

The best Lutheran commentator of the eighteenth century was Bengel, a pietest of the Swabian type. His hermeneutic principle was: to exhibit the force and significance of the words of the text, so as to express everything which the author intended, and to introduce nothing which he did not intend.

After Bengel the old Tübingen school of Storr and Flatt maintained a moderate orthodoxy against the rising tide of Rationalism which broke in with Semler and gradually flooded Germany.

2. The Reformed Church elaborated the same theory of a literal inspiration, as a bulwark against popery, and gave it even symbolical authority in the Helvetic Consensus Formula (1675), but only for Switzerland and for a short period. In other respects, she presents in the seventeenth century more life, progress and variety than the Lutheran Church.

Holland stood first in critical learning, archæological and chronological investigations, and produced, on the one hand, the rigid orthodoxy of the Synod of Dort (1620), and on the other, the liberal school of Arminianism, which emancipated exegesis from dogmatic domination and reintroduced through Hugo Grotius the Erasmian spirit of philological and historical interpretation. Arminianism assumed great practical importance in the revival movement of Wesleyan Methodism.

England was agitated by the conflicts between prelacy or semi-popery and puritanism, which stimulated theological activity and furnished the most interesting chapter in the contemporaneous history of Protestantism. The Episcopal commentators made large use of the Fathers of the undivided Church of antiquity. The Puritan (Presbyterian and Independent) commentators followed the principle that the Holy Spirit is the proper interpreter of the Scripture, and that the Scripture explains itself. The seventeenth century was the palmy period of Puritanism and the most fruitful of biblical study.

I. Lutheran exegetes.

(1) The *Orthodox* School.

Abraham Calov, professor at Wittenberg (d. 1686): *Biblia illustrata*, 1672, 4 vols. fol., a dogmatico-polemical catena of Lutheran Bible learning, chiefly against Grotius.

W. Geier, professor at Leipzig (d. 1680): *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Daniel*.

Seb. Schmidt, professor at Strassburg (d. 1696): several books of the Old and New Testaments, and *Collegium biblicum*.

Sal. Glass, professor at Jena (d. 1656): *Philologia Sacra*, 1623, etc. *Sensus duplex, literalis et mysticus;* the former holding the priority of order, the latter of dignity.

Schöttgen (d. at Dresden, 1751): *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, Dresden, 1733 and 1742.

J. C. Wolf, professor of Oriental languages in Hamburg (d. 1739): *Curæ philologicæ et criticæ in Novum Testamentum*, etc. Basil., 1741, 5 vols.

Christoph Starke, orthodox but not polemical, aiming at edification, like the Pietists (d. 1744): *Synopsis bibliothecæ exeget., on the Old and New Testaments* (German), Leipzig, 1733 sqq., 9 vols.; new ed. Berlin, 1865 sqq. Replaced by Lange's *Bibelwerk*.

(2) The *Pietistic* School, aiming chiefly at edification. *Collegia philo-*

biblica. Methodism did for the Church of England, on a larger, more practical and methodical scale, what Pietism had done for Germany. Pietists and Methodists, originally terms of reproach for experimental Christians.

> "*Was ist ein Pietist? der Gottes Wort studirt*
> *Und nach demselben auch ein heilig Leben führt.*"

Spener (d. 1705), on several Epistles. Francke (d. 1727): *Manuductio ad lectionem S. Script.*—Paul Anton (d. 1730), a voluminous writer on the New Testament.—J. Heinrich Michaelis (d. 1738): Notes on the Old Testament.—Rambach (d. 1735).

Joachim Lange (d. 1744): *Licht und Recht*, 1729 sqq., 7 vols.

The *Berleburger Bibel*, 1726–42, 8 vols.

Many works, mostly worthless, on the Apocalypse with a millennarian tendency.

(3) Joh. Albrecht Bengel (d. 1752): *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, Tübing. 1742 and often (also in English). He occupies a *via media* between orthodox Lutheranism and Pietism; sound in doctrine, reverential in spirit, acute in judgment, sparing in words, pregnant in meaning, a sober chiliast, upon the whole the best exegete of the eighteenth century. His *Gnomon* is truly a pointer or indicator, like a sun-dial. Farrar (p. 393) calls it a "mine of priceless gems." It is one of the very few commentaries which, like Chrysostom's and Calvin's, have outlasted their generation, notwithstanding his faulty exposition of the Apocalypse, which was exploded June 18, 1836 (the supposed date of the destruction of the beast). A warning of humility and caution to lesser lights.

II. Reformed exegetes, partly (and mostly) orthodox Calvinists, partly Arminians. The former developed the dogmatic and practical, the latter the scientific and historical element, in Calvin's exegesis.

(1) *Dutch Reformed.* (*a*) *Orthodox.*

J. Coccejus (Koch), professor at Leyden (d. 1669), wrote commentaries on most of the biblical books (*Opera*, Amst. 1675, 10 vols. fol.) and founded a biblical rather than scholastic theology and exegesis, on the basis of the idea of the Covenant of God with man in a gradual historical evolution: (1) the Covenant of nature and works, made with Adam in Paradise (imaginary); (2) the Covenant of grace and faith, after the fall, under three administrations, viz. before the law, under the law, under the gospel. Immense learning. Excessive typology substituted for the manifold mystic sense. The Old Testament theocracy made a picture frame of the Christian Church. "*Verba S. S. significant id omne quod possunt.*" Coccejus found "Christ everywhere in the Old Testament, Grotius nowhere." Grotius, however, recognized messianic prophecies. On Ps. 15:10, he says: "*Latet sensus mysticus . . . ut in plerisque Psalmis.*" The covenant theology maintained itself in Holland till the eighteenth century.

Campegius Vitringa (d. 1722, at Franeker), a pupil of Coccejus, but more moderate, very learned and profound. His commentaries on Isaiah, Zach., Epp., Apoc., etc., are still valuable.

Jos. Scaliger, professor at Leyden (d. 1609), the greatest scholar of his age, master of thirteen languages, an admirer of Calvin, founder of the first system of biblical chronology, *Thesaurus Temporum*.—J. Drusius (d.

1616).—Bochart (d. 1667), on biblical zoology and geography.—Sal. van Til (d. 1713).—Reland (d. 1718) made an epoch in Palestine geography and biblical antiquities.—J. Marck (d. 1731).—Schuttens (d. 1750) was the best Arabic scholar of the eighteenth century.—Venema (d. 1787).

(*b*) The *Arminian* commentators were free from the dogmatic prepossessions and intolerance of orthodoxy, and prepared the way for grammatico-historical exegesis, but also for rationalism by their lower view on inspiration and indifference to doctrine.

Hugo Grotius (De Groot, d. 1645), a great scholar, jurist, statesman and divine: *Annotationes* on the whole Bible, 1641–44. Himself a layman, he wrote for laymen, from the standpoint of a statesman and historian. Illustrations of the Bible by parallel passages from the Greek and Latin authors and secular historians. Afterwards superseded by Wetstein. Grotius was called a papist because he would not denounce the pope as the antichrist of prophecy, and the Romish priests as ministers of antichrist.

J. Clericus (Le Clerc, d. 1736): Commentaries on most of the Old Testament books, and Latin translation of Hammond on the New Testament, with many additions.

Sim. Episcopius (d. 1643).—Phil. von Limborch (d. 1712).

(2) *German* and *Swiss Reformed.*

David Pareus, at Heidelberg (d. 1622): Commentaries on Gen., Min. Prophets and several books of the New Testament.

Joh. Piscator (Fischer), at Herborn (d. 1625), on the whole Bible, in 24 vols. 8vo, afterwards in 4 vols.

D. Tossanus (Toussaint), at Hanau (d. 1629), on the New Testament.

J. H. Heidegger, professor at Zürich (d. 1697): *Exercitia biblica.*

F. A. Lampe (b. at Bremen, 1683, professor at Utrecht, d. at Bremen, 1729) wrote a most learned commentary on John, 3 vols. 4to. He was a rigid Calvinist and yet a sweet hymnist (author of "*Mein Leben ist ein Pilgrimstand;*" "*O Liebesglut, die Erd und Himmel paaret,*" etc.).

John Jacob Wetstein (1693–1754, professor at Basel, deposed and exiled from his native city for heresy, 1730, then professor at the Arminian College in Amsterdam): *Novum Testamentum Græcum,* Amsterdam, 1751–52, 2 vols. fol. A herculean work of forty years' labor, a thesaurus of classical, patristic and rabbinical learning in illustration of the text, and a quarry for commentators. As a textual critic he was inferior in judgment to the contemporary Bengel, but much richer in resources and collations. He introduced the system of citations of uncial manuscripts by Latin capitals (A, C, D, etc.) and of cursive manuscripts by Arabic numerals. His text (Elzevir) is superseded, but his notes of parallel passages are invaluable.

(3) *French Reformed.*

Lud. de Dieu (d. 1642).—Jaq. Cappelle, at Sedan (d. 1624).—His brother, Louis Cappelle, at Saumur (d. 1658).—Is. de Beausobre (d. 1738, at Berlin).

(4) *English* divines, of the Episcopal and of Dissenting Churches, rivaled each other in biblical learning and its application to the practical life of the Church, and produced more works of permanent homiletical value than those of the continent. The Puritan commentators excel in practical application and are rich mines for preachers. Spurgeon prized them

above all others, and characterizes them pithily in his *Lectures on Commenting and Commentaries* (London, 1876). Farrar ignores them.

Henry Hammond (Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, d. 1660): *Paraphrase and Annotations upon the New Testament*, London, 1653 (best ed. 1702); also on the Psalms and Proverbs. Churchly and Arminian. (Spurgeon calls him "churchy.")

Critici Sacri, compiled as an appendix to Walton's Polyglot, under the direction of Bishop Pearson, and others, first edition, London, 1660, 9 tom., followed by two suppl. vols. and four more, called Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus; best ed. Amsterd. 1698–1732, 13 vols. Contains extracts from Reformed and Roman Catholic commentators, viz. Erasmus, Seb. Münster, Fagius, Vatablus, Castellio, Clarius, Drusius, Grotius, Scaliger, Casaubonus, Capellus, and a few others. A huge cyclopedia of the wisdom and folly of commentators. (See a full table of contents of the several volumes in Darling's *Cyclopedia Bibliographica*, pp. 815–820.)

Matthew Poole (Polus, Presbyterian divine, ejected for non-conformity in 1662, d. 1679): *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ interpretum*, London, 1669–76, 4 vols. in 5 fol. (which is better than the incorrect Francf. reprints of 1688 and 1712). A useful abridgment from the *Critici Sacri*, and many other commentators (including Lutherans), the names being marked on the margin.

Matthew Poole wrote also *Annotations upon the whole Bible*, 4th ed. London, 1700, 2 vols. fol.; London, 1840, 3 vols. imp. 8vo; London, 1853. This is an English synopsis from Poole's Latin synopsis and intended for popular use. The books from Isaiah to the end were done after his death by different authors. Spurgeon puts Poole next to Matthew Henry in value for practical use.

Joseph Hall (bishop of Norwich, d. 1656): *Contemplations on the Historical Passages of the Old and New Testaments*, in numerous editions, one at Edinburgh, 1844.

John Trapp (vicar of Weston-upon-Avon, 1611–69): *A Commentary on the Old and New Testaments*, London, 1654, 5 vols. fol.; new ed. 1867. Original with much quaint wit and illustrative anecdotes. Spurgeon says (p. 7): "Trapp is my especial companion and treasure; I can read him when I am too weary for anything else. Trapp is salt, pepper, mustard, vinegar, and all the other condiments."

Patrick, Wm. Lowth, Whitby and Lowman: *A Critical Commentary and Paraphrase on the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha*, London, 1679–94; ed. Pitman, London, 1822, 6 vols.; Philadelphia, 1844, in 4 vols. The New Testament with the exception of Revelation, by Whitby. Episcopalians and Arminians classed among the "Latitudinarians." *

* The meaning of the term Latitudinarianism as employed in England is well explained by Dr. John Stoughton, in his *Ecclesiastical History of England. The Church of the Restoration*, vol. II. p. 359 (London, 1870): "The term Latitudinarian, both as a term of praise and a term of reproach, intended by friends to signify that a man was liberal, intended by enemies to denote that he was heterodox, came to be applied to thinkers holding very different opinions. Amongst the divines, often placed under the generic denomination, very considerable diversities of sentiment existed. Indeed, the name is so loosely used as to be given to some persons

Matthew Henry (Dissenting minister at Chester, 1662–1714, the son of Philip Henry, who was deposed for non-conformity in 1662): *An Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*, London, 1705–15, 5 vols. fol., often republished in England and America (also condensed in Jenk's *Comprehensive Commentary*). It is fresh, pithy, quaint, suggestive and full of spiritual wisdom and experience. It holds its ground to this day as the best practical and devotional commentary for English readers. Spurgeon advises ministers to read Henry "entirely and carefully through once at least" (p. 3). But we must not go to him for the solution of any critical difficulty.

John Gill (Baptist minister, d. 1771): *An Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*, London, 1728–67; again London, 1810, in 9 vols. 4to. A supralapsarian Calvinist, great rabbinical scholar, but very dry and diffuse. "The Corypheus of hyper-Calvinism." (Spurgeon.)

John Lightfoot (professor in Cambridge, a member of the Westminster Assembly, d. 1675) must be mentioned here on account of his unsurpassed rabbinical learning made subservient to the illustration of the Scriptures: *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in quatuor Evangelistas, in Acta Apostol., partem aliquam Epistolæ ad Rom. et priorem ad Corinthios*, 1684, in 2 vols.; ed. Lips., by Carpzov, 1675, 1679; best ed. London, 1825. Lightfoot also largely assisted Walton in his Polyglot, and Poole in his Synopsis.

Joseph Caryl (one of the Westminster Puritans, 1602–73) wrote an *Exposition of Job, with Practical Observations*, in 12 volumes, 4to, which it required the patience of a Job to write, and requires as much patience to read. It is a Puritan parallel to Pope Gregory's Job. An abridgment appeared in Edinburgh, 1836. Another colossal Puritan commentary on a single book is John Owen's *Exposition of the Hebrews*, in 4 fol. vols., London, 1668–74, also in 7 vols. 8vo., ed. by Goold, abridged by Williams, 1790. The richest *modern* commentary, on the Psalms, of the *Puritan* type is Charles Haddon Spurgeon (d. 1892): *The Treasury of David*, London and New York, 1870 sqq., in 7 vols. It is a storehouse for preachers by the greatest of modern preachers. We mention it in this natural connection by anticipation.

Philip Doddridge (an eminently pious Independent divine, d. 1751): *Family Expositor of the New Testament*, London 1736, 6 vols., and many other editions. Sound judgment and taste, devout spirit, excellent practical observations.

Thomas Scott (Calvinistic Episcopalian, 1747–1821): *The Holy Bible*,

whose orthodoxy is above all just suspicion—to others not only verging upon, but deeply involved in considerable error. When we examine the essence of Latitudinarianism, and find that it consisted in the elevation of morals above dogmas, in the assertion of charity against bigotry, in abstinence from a curious prying into mysteries, yet in the culture of a spirit of free investigation, we see that there might be lying concealed under much which is truly excellent elements of a different description. Scepticism might nestle under all this virtue, and all this tolerance—under this love of what is reasonable, and this habit of liberal inquiry. Faith in that which is most precious might live in amicable alliance with the distinctive Latitudinarian temper, or scepticism might secretly nestle beneath its wings."

with Explanatory Notes, Practical Observations, and Copious Marginal References, London, 1792, and often since; best ed. London, 1841, in 6 vols. The favorite commentary of low-church Episcopalians of a former generation. Much esteemed and used chiefly for its practical value.

Adam Clarke (a Wesleyan minister and scholar, 1760–1832): *The Holy Bible, with a Commentary and Critical Notes*, London, 1810–23, 8 vols.; best ed. London, 1844, 6 vols. imp. 8vo. Replete with antiquarian but not always accurate and apposite learning, practical piety, defective in taste and judgment. A curiosity shop. The model commentary of the Methodists, and more used by preachers than any English commentary, except, perhaps, Matthew Henry.

Bishop Lowth, of Oxford (d. 1787), opened the understanding for Hebrew poetry and may be called in this respect the English forerunner of Herder: *De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum* (1753); Commentary on Isaiah (1779).

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

THE COMMENTATORS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

The Roman Church cares more for the teaching priesthood and the sacraments than for the Bible; while Protestantism makes the Bible the chief means of grace and nourishment of piety.

The Council of Trent laid chains on progress in Biblical learning by raising the Latin Vulgate (even without a critical text) to equal dignity with the Greek and Hebrew Bible, and forbidding all departure from an imaginary *unanimus consensus patrum*, as the *ne plus ultra* of exegetical wisdom.

Nevertheless there were several learned commentators, especially among the Jesuits, who were ambitious to defeat the Protestants with their own weapons of learning and energy.

François Vatable (Vatablus, professor of Hebrew in Paris, d. 1547), the author of learned annotations to the Old Testament, the first edition of which was condemned by the doctors of the Sorbonne. (Paris, 1545, 2d ed. 1584; also in the *Critici Sacri*).

J. Maldonado (or Maldonatus, a learned Spanish Jesuit, professor at Paris, d. 1583), on the Gospels, Psalms, larger prophets. His commentary *in quatuor evangelistas* was reprinted, Mogunt., 1841–45, in 5 vols. 8vo.

Em. de Sa (a Portuguese Jesuit, 1530–96): *Notationes in totam S. Scripturam*, Antw. 1598.

Cardinal Robert Bellarmin (1542–1621), the greatest champion of Romanism versus Protestantism, wrote a Latin *Commentary on the Psalms*, which was translated by the Ven. John O'Sullivan into English, London, 1866. Spurgeon (p. 81) characterizes it as "popish, but marvelously

good for a Cardinal. He is frequently as evangelical as a Reformer. He follows the Vulgate text in his comment."

William Estius (b. in Holland 1542, studied at Utrecht and Louvain, professor in Douay, d. 1613): *Commentarius in Epistolas Apostolicas*, 3 vols., 1631. One of the best works of the kind, endeavoring to find out the literal meaning; Augustinian in spirit.

Cornelius à Lapide (von Stein, a learned Jesuit, professor of Hebrew at Louvain, d. 1637): *Commentaria in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (exclusive of Job and Psalms), Antw. 1616–27, 12 vols. fol., and in many other editions. Gives the literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical sense; full of patristic quotations, allegories and legends.

Richard Simon (1638–1712), is the founder of biblical Isagogic by his critical histories of the text and versions of the Bible.

Augustin Calmet (a pious and learned Benedictine, abbot of Senones in the Vosges, 1672–1757): *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testaments*, Paris 1724, 8 vols. in 9; several editions. A work of great learning and value. Translated into Latin by Mansi, Lucca, 1730–38, 9 vols. The same author wrote a *Dictionary of the Bible* (English ed. by Charles Taylor and Dr. Robinson), and *Biblical Antiquities*.

Minor commentators: J. Mariana (d. 1624); Escobar Mendoza (d. 1609); Jac. Tarinus (d. 1636); Menochius (d. 1655); J. Hardouin (d. 1729).

To these orthodox writings must be added two exegetical works which were condemned by the Roman Church as Jansenistic or Quietistic.

Pasquier Quesnell (a half-evangelical Jansenist, b. at Paris, 1634, exiled 1681, d. 1719): *Le Nouveau Testament avec réflexions morales sur chaque verse*, etc., 1687; Amst. 1736, 8 vols. 12mo; English translation, London, 1719–25, 4 vols. The Gospels also separately edited by Bishop Wilson. Much admired for spiritual unction and rich piety.

Mme. Jeanne Marie Bouvier de la Mothe-Guyon (1648–1717): *La Ste. Bible avec des explications et réflexions qui regardent la vie intérieure*, Col. 1713, 20 vols. The work represents her fervid, but eccentric, mystic piety of disinterested love. Quietism was condemned. She recanted thirty articles which were drawn from her writings. She led an exemplary Christian life, like Bishop Fénelon, her friend.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

RATIONALISTIC EXEGESIS, FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

A radical revolution in theology, similar to the political and social revolution in France, threatened to undermine the very foundations of Christianity since the middle of the eighteenth century. Its phases are Deism in England; Deism and Atheism in France; Rationalism and Pantheism in Germany.

Reason was raised above faith and made the judge of revelation; the Bible treated as a merely human production; its inspiration denied; its genuineness questioned; its doctrines assailed; its merits reduced and measured by the standard of a utilitarian morality. The supernatural and miraculous is the chief obstacle. The older, deistic Rationalism of Paulus (called *rationalismus vulgaris*) explains the miracles of the gospel history away as natural events, which the disciples misunderstood; the modern, pantheistic Rationalism of Strauss and Renan resolves them into myths and legends which arose in the religious imagination of a later generation.

Rationalistic exegesis, like Pharisaism of old, but from an opposite point of view, diligently searches the letter of the Bible, but has no sympathy with its life-giving spirit. It investigates the historical and human aspects of Christianity and ignores or denies its divine character.

The mission of Rationalism is chiefly negative and destructive. It was justifiable and necessary just as far as the human authorship and literary form of the Bible were neglected by the orthodox exegesis in its zeal for the eternal truths. It was a reaction against bibliolatry and symbololatry. It emancipated the mind from the tyranny of dogmatic systems. It aimed at a true historical understanding of the literature of the Bible in its origin and gradual growth. It achieved great and lasting merits in grammatical, critical, historical and antiquarian research. It forms a transition to a new age of faith in harmony with enlightened reason and fortified by critical learning.

1. The latest form of the supernaturalistic school of Germany, in its attempt to defend the faith against rising opposition, made concessions to the enemy and gradually approached Rationalism. J. David Michaelis (Prof. in Göttingen, d. 1791): *Introduction to the Bible*, and *Translation with Com. on the Old and New Testaments*, etc.—J. A. Ernesti (Prof. in Leipzig, d. 1781): *Institutio interpretis N. T.* (5th ed. 1809).—Morus (d. 1792).—J. G. Rosenmüller (d. 1815): *Scholia in N. T.* (1777, 6th ed. 1831).—E. F. C. Rosenmüller (son of the former, d. 1835): *Scholia in V. T.*, 1788–1835, 24 tom.—Also Kühnöl, see below.

2. Johann Salomo Semler (Prof. in Halle, d. 1791), the father of German neology, educated in the school of Pietism, to which he adhered in what he called his "private piety," but, carried away by the revolutionary spirit of the age, yet at last afraid of its consequences, unsettled the traditionary notions of the canon, distinguished the Bible from the word of God contained in it, and introduced the accommodation theory, which tries

to explain the Bible from the notions and prejudices of the times and peoples in which it originated. He left no school or permanent work, but scattered the seeds of doubt in every direction. And yet he opposed Lessing and the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist. His style is prosy, inelegant and intolerably prolix.

3. The most distinguished Rationalists in the field of biblical learning.

J. G. EICHHORN (in Göttingen, d. 1827): *Hist. Critical Introduction to the Old and New Testaments* (4th ed. 1823, 5 vols.); *Com. on Revelation.* He is sometimes called the founder of higher criticism, but was preceded by Semler, as Semler was preceded by Richard Simon.

H. E. G. PAULUS (Heidelberg, d. 1851): *Com. on the Gospels,* and *Life of Jesus.* The natural explanation of the Gospel miracles, ably refuted by Strauss.

F. H. W. GESENIUS (Prof. in Halle, d. 1842): *Hebrew Grammar* (25th ed. by Kautzsch, 1889); *Dictionary* (11th ed. 1890); *Thesaurus* (completed by Rödiger, 1829–58, 3 vols.); *Com. on Isaiah* (1829), etc.

C. F. A. FRITZSCHE (Prof. in Rostock and Giessen, d. 1846, a thorough classical philologist and investigator): *Latin Com.* on *Matthew* and *Mark* (1826–30), and *Romans* (3 tom. 1836–43).

CHRIS. KÜHNÖL (or in Latin KUINOEL, Prof. in Giessen, d. 1841): *Latin Com. on the New Testament* (Lips. 1825–43). A rational supernaturalist.

AUG. KNOBEL (Prof. in Giessen): *Com. on Pentateuch, Isaiah,* etc.

HITZIG (Prof. in Zürich and Heidelberg, a most learned and acute critic), and nearly all the other contributors to the *Exeg. Handbook on the Old Testament* (later edd. by Dillmann and others).

DE WETTE (Prof. in Basel, d. 1849, whose religious heart and fine taste were in advance of his skeptical understanding) *: *Introduction to the Old and New Testaments* (1817; 8th ed. by Schrader, 1869); *Com. on the Psalms* (5 edd.); *Exeg. Handbook on the New Testaments* (1835 sqq. and posthumous edd. by various writers, a model of comprehensive brevity and sound judgment); *Biblical Dogmatics* (3d ed. 1831); *German Translation of the Scriptures* (3d ed. 1839). He belongs to the school of Schleiermacher in a wider sense.

4. The *older* Tübingen school, represented by STORR (d. 1805), FLATT (d. 1821), the younger BENGEL (d. 1826), and STEUDEL (d. 1838), as also the isolated KNAPP in Halle (d. 1825), HESS in Zürich (d. 1828), manfully and faithfully defended the sinking ship of biblical (not churchly) supernaturalism in the midst of the raging storms of Rationalism. (Not to be confounded with the *modern* Tübingen school headed by BAUR.)

5. J. G. HERDER (d. 1803 at Weimar), one of the German classics, a man of almost universal genius and taste, more poet than divine, neither orthodox nor scriptural, yet deeply religious, a harbinger of a brighter era in theology, kindled enthusiasm for the sublime beauties of the Bible (es-

* He gave expression to his honest and sad skepticism shortly before his death in these touching lines:

"Ich fiel in eine wirre Zeit:
Des Glaubens Einfalt war vernichtet.
Ich mischte mich mit in den Streit,
Doch, ach! ich hab' ihn nicht geschlichtet."

pecially by his *Geist der Hebräischen Poesie*, 1782), and led a rising generation to the portal of the temple of inspiration. His influence is felt on many Rationalists, as Eichhorn. De Wette. In Ewald has arisen a new Herder with less poetry but more learning.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

THE SWEDENBORGIAN EXEGESIS.

Emanuel Swedenborg, the Swedish seer or visionary (1688–1772), in extreme contrast with the skepticism and infidelity of his age, came out with a new revelation and theory of Scripture interpretation, but exerted no influence on the regular course of historical development. He stood outside of the main current of history.

He distinguishes between the literal or natural, and the spiritual or celestial sense. "All and every part of the Scripture, even to the most minute, not excepting the smallest jot and tittle, signify and involve spiritual and celestial things." (*Arcana Cœlestia*, I. No. 2.) This deeper sense is in the literal as the thought is in the eye, or the soul in the body, but was lost until it was revealed to Swedenborg. His allegorizing is arbitrary and fanciful, often ingenious, often absurd. Examples: The first chapter of Genesis, in its spiritual sense, represents the regeneration of man; the six days, the successive stages of regeneration; Adam in paradise, the oldest church; the four rivers in Eden, goodness, knowledge, reason and science. All the geographical and personal names of the Old Testament are filled with mysteries. In this respect he goes further than Philo and Origen in their allegorical method, but differs entirely in the application, and especially also in his views of the canon.

With an ultra-supernaturalistic inspiration theory Swedenborg unites a rationalistic view on the extent of the canon. He rejects from the Old Testament the Solomonic writings and Job; from the New Testament he excludes the Acts and Epistles, especially those of St. Paul, from whose doctrine of the atonement and justification he entirely dissents. Even in the remaining books, the Gospels and the Apocalypse, he admits only the words of the Lord or of an angel, as strictly divine, while the words of an apostle or evangelist reflect the limited

knowledge of enlightened men and have only one sense, the literal.

The exegesis of Swedenborg is original, but critically and theologically worthless, and hence ignored in commentaries. *Arcana Cœlestia* (Com. on Genesis and Exodus), London, 1749 sqq. (ed. Tafel, Tüb. 1833–42. English translation in 10 vols., New York, 1870). *Apocalypsis explicata secundum sensum spiritualem*, 3 vols. (English translation in 6 vols., published in London and New York by the Swedenborg Publication Society).

CHAPTER CXL.

MODERN EVANGELICAL EXEGESIS.

In conflict with the rationalistic movement, there arose in Germany a new evangelical theology, based upon a revival of faith in the Bible and in the principles of the Reformation, the tercentennial of which was celebrated in 1817. The leaders of this new theology were Schleiermacher, Neander, Tholuck, Nitzsch, Twesten, Julius Müller, Bleek, Lücke, Rothe, Dorner, Lange and others, who form a generation of thinkers and scholars such as had not been seen in the Church since the sixteenth century. England, Scotland and North America were much less affected by Rationalism than the Continent of Europe, but are passing now through a similar crisis, aided by the experience of the past.

The modern exegesis is not a simple restoration of the old Protestant exegesis, but a reconstruction and adaptation of it to the present state, and with a full appreciation of the grammatico-historical exegesis, as cultivated by the better class of Rationalists. Winer's Grammar of the New Testament marks an epoch in the strict grammatical exegesis of the New Testament, Gesenius' and Ewald's Hebrew Grammars in that of the Old Testament.

The exegetical apparatus and facilities have accumulated beyond all previous experience. The Bible languages and Bible lands are better known than ever before. Egypt, the Sinaitic Peninsula, Palestine, Syria, ancient Babylonia and Assyria, are made as familiar by recent discovery and research as our native lands. New branches of exegetical theology have been developed. There is an international co-operation and rivalry in biblical studies. Germany is the chief workshop, but Prot-

estant Switzerland, Holland, France, Great Britain, and North America are taking an active part in every movement, and even the Roman Church keeps up with the progress. By the indefatigable labors of Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort we have now a pure and trustworthy text of the Greek Testament. The emendation of the Hebrew text has begun. The revision of the German, English and other Protestant versions is the practical result of critical study, and stimulates it in turn to new achievements. Altogether, the Bible is now more extensively circulated and studied than in any previous age.

The learned commentaries on single books and on the whole Bible which the nineteenth century has produced are so numerous and so varied that it is difficult to classify them. They represent all shades of theological opinions between the right wing of conservatism and the left wing of progressivism. Some German commentaries are like a symposium in which all parties are heard and criticised by the author as the presiding judge.

1. The conservative orthodoxy of modern times (mostly of the new Lutheran type) is represented in exegesis and biblical criticism by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Caspari, Stier, Keil, Delitzsch, Von Hofmann, Philippi, Luthardt, Zahn, Zöckler, Strack. The last four lean toward the next class. None of them holds the mechanical inspiration theory of the nineteenth century, not even Hengstenberg.

2. The liberal and progressive evangelical orthodoxy: Neander (Life of Christ, Apostolic Age, popular commentaries), Tholuck (Romans, Sermon on the Mount, Hebrews), Olshausen, Bleek (Biblical Introduction, Hebrews, etc.), Lücke (the Johannean writings), Meyer, Lange, Ebrard, Hupfeld, Schlottmann, Riehm, Reuss, Lechler, Heinrici, B. Weiss, etc. With these Germans may also be numbered Van Oosterzee of Utrecht, and Godet of Neuchâtel (the best French commentator of recent times).

Among English commentators, Alford, Ellicott, Lightfoot, Westcott and Farrar represent the evangelical broad-church tendency, which comes very near the liberal evangelical school of Germany. Most of the Americans of the younger generation sympathize with it.

3. Ewald (d. 1875) founded a school of his own in the Old Testament by his epoch-making commentaries on the poetical and prophetical books and his history of Israel. In his wake followed, with more or less independence, Hitzig, Lagarde, Dillmann, Diestel, Wellhausen, Merx, Stade, Siegfried, Cornill, Kautzsch. In England, W. Robertson Smith, Cheyne, Driver.

4. Baur (d. 1860) and the new Tübingen school (Zeller, Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, etc.) have done little for exegesis proper, but a great deal for a critical reconstruction of the origin and growth of the literature

of the New Testament. In this department Baur has exerted more influence than any exegete. Strauss, his pupil, revolutionized the gospel history and stimulated the rich modern literature on the life of Christ, to be refuted as he has refuted Paulus. Ritschl (d. 1889) has created a fatal split in the Tübingen school (on the question of Paulinism and Petrinism), and has given rise to a new school in early Church history, of which Harnack is the leader, and Schürer's "Theologische Literatur Zeitung" the chief organ.

5. A liberal, but less radical school than that of Tübingen is represented by the school of Ritschl, and by Holtzmann, Lipsius, and other contributors to the *Handcommentar* on the New Testament.

6. Biblical scholars and commentators in England and Scotland: Pusey (Minor Prophets), Wordsworth (on the whole Bible), Stanley (Corinthians), Jowett (Pauline Epistles), Tregelles (textual criticism of the New Testament), Alford (New Testament), Ellicott (Pauline Epistles), Lightfoot (Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, etc.), Westcott (on John's Gospel and Epistle to the Hebrews, Introduction to the Gospels, Canon of the New Testament), Hort (textual criticism of the New Testament), Perowne (Psalms, etc.), Plummer (several Epistles), Farrar (Luke, Hebrews, Life of Christ, and St. Paul, etc.), A. B. Davidson (Job), W. Robertson Smith (Old Testament Criticism), Cheyne (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Psalms), Driver (Old Testament Introduction), Gloag (Acts, Johannean writings, Cath. and Pauline Epp., etc.), Kirkpatrick, Wright, Dods, and others.

7. American biblical scholars: Moses Stuart (Commentaries on several books of the Old and New Testaments), E. Robinson (Biblical Researches, Hebrew and Greek lexicography, Harmony of the Gospels), Barnes (the pioneer of popular commentators for Sunday-school teachers), Jos. A. Alexander (on Isaiah, the Psalms, Mark and Acts), Charles Hodge (Romans, Ephesians, Corinthians), Shedd (Romans), Tayler Lewis (additions to Lange on Genesis, Job, Ecclesiastes, etc.), Cowles (Commentaries on the whole Bible), Conant (Hebrew grammar, Proverbs, Matthew), Broadus (on Matthew, etc.), Hackett (on Acts), Hovey (the Gospel of John), Lyman Abbott (popular commentaries on the Gospels, Acts, Romans), Ezra Abbot (on textual criticism of the Greek Testament, on the authorship of the fourth Gospel, etc.), Thayer (Lexicon of the Greek Testament), Dwight, Briggs, Brown, Harper (in Hebrew learning), Marvin R. Vincent (Word Studies on the New Testament). As to the higher criticism of the Old Testament, Dr. Green of Princeton (like Hengstenberg in Berlin and Pusey in Oxford) represents the conservative orthodox, Dr. Briggs of New York, the progressive and liberal school; but both stand on evangelical ground against Rationalism.

8. Commentaries on the Whole Bible. England is most productive in general commentaries for the lay-reader. America comes next. But the German works are the most scholarly and critical.

J. Peter Lange (ed., d. 1884): *Bibelwerk*, Bielefeld, 1857 sqq.; 4th ed. 1878 sqq., 16 vols.; Anglo-American ed. (enlarged and adapted) under the title *Lange's Commentary*, by Philip Schaff, New York and Edinb., 1864 sqq., 25 vols., several editions. Textual, exegetical, theological, and practical (homiletical). A composite work of twenty German and over forty American writers, differing in merit. Professor Terry (*Hermeneutics*, p.

727): "Lange is by far the most learned and comprehensive commentary on the whole Bible which has appeared in modern times." Spurgeon: "The American translators have added considerably to the German stock, and in some cases these additions are more valuable than the original matter. For homiletical purposes these volumes are so many hills of gold."

Ch. K. Josias Bunsen (projector and general ed., d. 1860): *Vollständiges Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde*, Leipzig, 1858–70, 9 vols. Aided by Ad. Kamphausen, Joh. Bleek, and others, completed by H. Holtzmann.

E. Reuss (Professor in Strassburg, d. 1891): *La Bible*. New French translation with introductions and commentaries, Paris, 1874–79, 13 vols. The work of one scholar!

Strack and Zöckler: *Kurzgefasster Commentar zu den Schriften des A. u. N. T., sowie zu den Apokryphen*, Nördlingen, 1887 sqq., 10 vols. By moderately orthodox Lutherans and two Reformed Swiss divines (C. v. Orelli and Oettli).

Bible Annotée par une Société de théologiens et de pasteurs. Ed. by F. Godet, and others. Neuchâtel et Genève, 1878 sqq. Popular.

French Bible works by Roman Catholics: Bacuez *et* Vigouroux: *Manuel Biblique*, etc., 1881 sqq.; Paris, 1880 sqq.—Abbé Arnaud, Paris, 1881 sqq.—Trochon, Lesêtre, and others, the Vulgate, with French translation and commentaries.

Bishop Chr. Wordsworth (d. 1885): *The Holy Bible*, etc., London, 1864 sqq., several editions, 6 vols. (the New Testament with the Greek text). Scholarly, reverential, patristic, high Anglican, uncritical, full of "apostolic succession" and "sacramental grace."

Canon F. C. Cook (editor, d. 1889): *The Holy Bible*, etc., usually called "The Speaker's Commentary" (because suggested by the Speaker of the House of Commons in 1863 for apologetic purposes), London and New York, 1871–81, 10 vols. By a number of Episcopal divines. Represents the average conservative scholarship of the Church of England prior to the Revised Version.

Canon Spence and Rev. Jos. S. Exell (editors): *The Pulpit Commentary*, London, 1880 sqq. (40 vols. so far). By about one hundred contributors, mostly from the Church of England. On the plan of Lange, but more extended; a rich mine for preachers.

Jameson, Fausset and Brown: *The Library Commentary*, Edinb. 1871 sqq., 6 vols. Popular.

Bishop Ellicott: *Com. for English Readers by Various Writers*, London, 1877 sqq., the New Testament in 3, the Old Testament in 5 vols. Popular and useful. The Old Testament behind the latest scholarship. The New Testament is better.

J. C. Gray (ed.): *Biblical Museum*. Old Testament 10 vols., New Testament 5 vols. London and New York, 1871 sqq., several edd. Popular and devotional.

Bishop Perowne (ed.): *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, by various scholars of the Church of England, Cambridge, 1877 sqq. Scholarly and popular.

Dan. D. Whedon (ed., Methodist, d. 1885): *Commentary on the Old and New Testament*, New York, 1880 sqq., 12 vols.

James Glentworth Butler; *Biblework*, New York, 1883 sqq. Compilation from other commentaries.

W. Robertson Nicoll (ed. of "The London Expositor," Presbyt.): *Expositor's Bible*, London and New York, 1888 sqq., to be completed in about 40 vols. Explanatory lectures, by writers of different denominations, English, Scotch and American.

9. Commentaries on the Old Testament.

Keil und Delitzsch: *Biblischer Commentar zum A. T.*, Leipzig, 3d ed. 1878 sqq. Conservative. The parts by Franz Delitzsch are the best. English translation published by Clark, Edinb. In 27 volumes, 1864–78.

Kurzgefasstes exeg. Handbuch zum A. T., Leipzig, 1841 sqq., 5th ed. 1886 sqq., by Dillmann, Diestel, Thenius, Bertheau, and others. Critical and somewhat rationalistic. See § 138.

M. S. Terry and F. H. Newhall (Methodists): *Commentary on the Old Testament*, New York, 1889 sqq. Evangelical.

10. Commentaries on the New Testament.

Calvin and Bengel are still invaluable.

Hermann Olshausen (1796–1839): *Biblischer Commentar*, etc., continued by Ebrard and Wiesinger, Königsberg, 1830 sqq., 7 vols., several editions (transl. Edinb. 1847 sqq., and New York, 1856, in 6 vols.).

De Wette (d. 1849), in several posthumous editions already mentioned in § 138.

H. A. W. Meyer (d. 1874): *Kritisch exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament.* Aided by a number of scholars. Göttingen, 1832 sqq., 16 vols.; 8th ed. by B. Weiss, and others, 1890 sqq.; in English (from older editions), published in Edinburgh, 1873–82, in 20 vols., and with sundry additions in New York. The best students' book for strict philological exegesis. Olshausen was superseded by De Wette, De Wette by Meyer, Meyer by Weiss. Every new edition of Meyer keeps up with the progress of science and makes the older editions useless for critical purposes. Meyer was one of the most honest and conscientious exegetes, and it is a pity that his work should almost disappear in the latest editions.

Holtzmann, Lipsius, Schmiedel, von Soden: *Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*, Freiburg, 1889 sqq., 4 vols. Popular, yet critical and somewhat rationalistic.

Dean H. Alford (d. 1871): *The Greek Testament*, London, 6th ed., 1868 sqq., 4 vols. The Greek text, critical and exegetical commentary for the use of students and ministers. Makes use of Olshausen, De Wette and Meyer, but is better adapted for English students.

Philip Schaff (ed.): *The International Illustrated Commentary*, New York and Edinburgh, 1879–82. Contributors: Drs. Riddle, Howson, Milligan, Moulton, Plumptre, Dykes, Dods, Gloag, Lumby, Salmond, Spence, Brown. Maps by A. Guyot, illustrations by Drs. W. M. and W. H. Thomson. The editor wrote the general introduction and the Commentary on Galatians.

J. J. G. Perowne (ed.): *Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools.* Text, notes and maps. Cambridge, 1881 sqq. Contributors: Carr, Maclear, Farrar, Plummer, Lumby, Lias. Excellent for its purpose.

The commentaries on the several books, especially Genesis, Psalms, Gospels, Romans, are so numerous that we have no room for them here. See the Bibliographical Appendix.

CHAPTER CXLI.

BIBLICAL HISTORY AND BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

The results of exegesis are summed up in Biblical History and Biblical Theology.

Biblical History exhibits the origin and growth of the kingdom of God from the creation to the close of the apostolic age, and properly belongs to Historical Theology. Biblical Theology presents a systematic account of the teaching of the Bible on faith and duty, and is the basis of Systematic Theology. History and theology are organically united in the Bible. History is teaching by example, and teaching is itself part of history.

These two branches of biblical learning lie on the border line of Exegesis, Church History and Systematic Theology. They are the end of the first, and the beginning of the second and third. Exegetical Theology is not complete without them, and Historical and Systematic Theology can still less omit them. A Church History without the life of Christ and the apostolic age would be like a river without a fountain, or like a building without foundation. And so also Systematic Theology, both dogmatic and moral, strikes its roots in the teaching of the Bible and must be guided by it throughout.

For these reasons as well as for considerations of just proportion, I prefer to treat Biblical History under Historical Divinity, and Biblical Theology under Systematic Divinity.

The History of Biblical Times likewise belongs to Historical Theology rather than to Exegesis.

CHAPTER CXLII.

HINTS FOR EXEGETICAL STUDY.

1. Read first the Scripture in the original text, with nothing but grammar, dictionary and concordance, and a good version (the Anglo-American revision).

2. Ascertain the meaning for yourself as nearly as you can.

3. Then, use the best grammatico-historical commentary within reach, to aid you in the solution of difficulties. Too

many commentaries are embarrassing and misleading to the beginner.

4. Consult other commentaries, doctrinal and homiletical, as you have need, but do not make yourself the slave of any.

5. Apply your whole self to the text, and the whole text to yourself. ("*Te totum applica ad textum, et totum textum applica ad te.*" Bengel.)

6. Never lose sight of the practical and spiritual aim of the Bible.

7. "He rightly reads Scripture who turns words into deeds." (St. Bernard.)

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BOOK III.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

GENERAL CONCEPTION OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

For a fuller introduction to Church History see SCHAFF: *History of the Apostolic Church* (1853), pp. 1–134, and *Church History* (1889), 3d revision, vol. I. pp. 1–55. C. DE SMEDT (Rom. Cath.): *Introductio generalis ad historiam ecclesiasticam critice tractandam.* Gandavi (Ghent), 1876 (pp. 533). JOS. NIRSCHL (Rom. Cath.): *Propædeutik der Kirchengeschichte,* Mainz, 1888 (pp. 352). For a list of works on introduction to history and church history see ED. BRATKE: *Wegweiser zur Quellen—und Literaturkunde der Kirchengeschichte,* Gotha, 1890, pp. 86–89.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY, or CHURCH HISTORY, in the widest sense of the term, exhibits the rise and progress of the kingdom of God from the beginning to the present time.*

We must distinguish between *objective* and *subjective* history. They differ as a man differs from his portrait. Objective history is history itself as it occurs. Subjective history is the representation or reproduction of it by the historian. The value of subjective history depends on the degree of its faithfulness to objective history. Subjective history is not the light itself, but a witness to the light. "*Historia est testis veritatis.*"

Church History is the connecting link between Exegetical

* *History* from *ἱστορία* (*ἱστορέω, to inquire into, to examine, to know by inquiry, to narrate*), means *research, knowledge* (*ἡ περὶ φύσεως ἱστ., ἡ περὶ τὰ ξῶα ἱστ.*), also *account, narrative*; *ἱστορικός, historical; ἱστοριογραφέω, to write history; ἱστοριογραφία, historiography; ἱστοριογράφος, historian, writer of history.* The Greek terms convey the *subjective* idea of history. The German word *Geschichte,* from *geschehen, to happen, to occur,* suggests the *objective* idea, the sum of what has happened. The writing of history is essential to the preservation of history itself in the memory of man. Mere oral tradition could not secure its integrity and identity. I prefer the term *church history* (*Kirchengeschichte*) to the longer and Latinizing term *ecclesiastical history.*

and Systematic theology. It embraces all that is of permanent interest in the past fortunes of Christendom. But in a wider sense it covers also the whole extent of exegesis and runs parallel with it. The revelation of God in the Bible, which is the subject of exegesis, has its own history, and admits of a historical as well as an exegetical treatment. The exegete is the miner who brings to light the Scripture facts and Scripture truths; the historian is the manufacturer or artist who works the gold and gives it shape and form for actual use. Moreover, exegesis itself and all other departments of theology have their history and are constantly furnishing contributions to its material.

Historical Theology is by far the most extensive and copious part of sacred learning, and supplies material to all other departments. If exegesis is the root, church history is the main trunk. We are connected with the Bible through the intervening links of the past and all its educational influences, and cannot safely disregard the wisdom and experience of ages. Christ has never forsaken his Church, nor left himself without witnesses. If our fathers and forefathers have labored in vain, we who are of the same flesh and blood, have a poor prospect of better success.

Church history is a running commentary on Christ's twin parables of the mustard seed and the leaven (Matt. 13 : 31–33), and of his parting promise to his disciples, "Behold, I am with you all the days even unto the end of the world" (Matt. 28 : 20).

CHAPTER CXLIV.

BIBLICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Church History in the widest sense embraces both biblical and ecclesiastical history: it begins with the creation and will end with the final judgment.

Biblical History runs parallel with the Bible. It follows the divine revelation and the growth of the kingdom of God in the Jewish dispensation, the life of Christ and the founding of the Christian Church by the Apostles to the close of the first century.

Ecclesiastical History or Church History in the narrower sense is a history of Christianity from the advent of Christ to

the present time. Some date it from the day of Pentecost, when the Christian Church first appeared as a distinct and separate organization. But the miracle of Pentecost has no meaning without the preceding miracle of the resurrection and ascension, which is the consummation of the life of the Founder of Christianity.

The relative goal of history is the time of the historian, the absolute goal is the end of time and the beginning of eternity. The historian is a retrospective prophet, but the future is only known to God.

CHAPTER CXLV.

AGENTS OF HISTORY.

History in general is the product of divine, human, and satanic agencies.

1. On the part of *God*, history is his revelation in time, as nature is his revelation in space. It is his epos. It gradually unfolds an eternal plan of wisdom and goodness for the redemption of the human race and the triumph of his kingdom. Man ought to do all for the glory of God; God does all for the good of man. As nature reveals God's power and wisdom, so history reveals his justice and mercy.

The recognition of God in history is the first principle of all sound philosophy of history. God is no God unless he is almighty, omniscient and omnipresent. "In him we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts 17: 28). He is immanent as well as transcendent in his relation to the world. He made it and he upholds it continually by the all-pervading presence of his power. He rules and overrules even the sins and follies of man for his own glory and the good of his people. "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father: but the very hairs of your head are all numbered" (Matt. 10: 29, 30). "We know that to them that love God, all things work together for good" (Rom. 8: 29).

This is the cheering and encouraging view of history. It is illustrated on every page. He who dénies the hand of Providence in the affairs of the world and the church is intellectually or spiritually blind. The historian has good reason to be an

optimist, notwithstanding all the dark and dismal chapters in history.

Atheism denies, Deism ignores, the presence of God in history. Both resolve it into an aimless and hopeless play of human passions. But the atheist is simply a fool (Ps. 14 : 1), and the deist belittles God by making him a mere watchmaker or an idle spectator of the world he has made, and the events which come to pass.

> "What were a God who only from without
> Upon his finger whirled the universe about?
> 'Tis his, within himself to move the creature,
> Nature in him to warm, himself in nature;
> So that what in him lives, and moves, and is,
> Shall ever feel the living breath of his."

2. On the part of *man*, history is the biography of the human race. It is the development of all his physical, intellectual and moral faculties, the actualization of his dominion over nature, and the progress and triumph of civilization. Man is a free and responsible agent who must render an account for the part he acts in his public and private life.

God limits the exercise of his own sovereignty to give fair play to human freedom, and yet overrules it for his own holy purposes. "Man proposes, God disposes." All sins and errors in the world must be traced to man's agency, but God in his wisdom brings good out of evil; he makes the fall of Adam the occasion for the plan of redemption, the treason of Judas a means to the crucifixion and the consequent salvation. "He hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all. . . . For of him, and through him, and unto him are all things" (Rom. 11 : 32, 36; Gal. 3 : 22).

The pantheistic and fatalistic view of history is the direct opposite of the atheistic and deistic view. It is destructive of the freedom and responsibility of man, and substitutes a dark fate or iron necessity for Providence and paternal government. It turns history into a Moloch who devours his own children. It begins and ends in darkness.

3. *Satan* represents the preternatural or subnatural agency of history, in direct opposition, yet in final subserviency, to the supernatural and providential agency of God. The kingdom of darkness, as well as the kingdom of light, is organized under one head. Otherwise it would fall to pieces; for "a house

divided against itself cannot stand." Satan is the personification of all evil influences in the world. He is the everlasting denier, a part of that "power which ever wills the bad and ever works the good." He is the tempter and seducer of the human race and the director-in-chief of all the movements which counteract the plan of redemption and tend to the ruin of man. He brought about the original fall; he controlled Cain, and corrupted the generation before the Flood; he figured in the trial of Job; he attempted to seduce Christ into an abuse of his Messianic powers; he controlled the demoniacal possessions; he nursed the opposition of the Jewish hierarchy to Christ and inspired their bloody counsel as well as the treason of Judas; he is the fiend that scatters tares among the wheat; he has much to do with heresies and schisms, with false doctrines and bad practices, with uncharitable orthodoxy, hypocrisy and spiritual tyranny; he stirs up religious intolerance and persecution; he erects his temples and schools in all Christian lands.

> "Wherever God erects a house of prayer,
> The devil always builds a chapel there."

Satan is most dangerous in the garb of an angel of light. He finds his way into pews and pulpits, prayer-meetings, synods, general assemblies, and œcumenical councils. More than once he has occupied the chair of St. Peter in Rome and changed the vicar of Christ into an Antichrist. He can speak the language of orthodoxy and piety as well as of heresy and blasphemy. He quotes the Scriptures when it suits his purpose. He is utterly unscrupulous in the use of means, and succeeds best where he is least suspected, and where even his existence is denied.

There are Satanic depths in many a bold, bad man, and in many dark chapters in history, both secular and religious. We may deny the one devil, but we cannot deny the many devils in human shape.*

The incessant activity of Satan and his host imparts a fearful, tragic interest to history, covers it with crime and blood, and turns it into a scene of fierce conflict of light with the powers of darkness.

* As Goethe says of infidels:

> "*Den* Bösen sind sie los,
> *Die* Bösen sind geblieben."

4. *Relation* of these agencies to each other. God rules supreme; he sets all the powers of history in motion; he preserves and directs them, and he will stand at last on the dust as the Judge of all men and angels, giving to every one his due.

Man is the battle-ground of God and Satan. He is under the power of the devil as far as he sins and disbelieves; he is under the power of God as far as he acts rightly and obeys his will. He is to be delivered from the power of the prince of darkness and to become a free child of God and follower of Christ; but his life is a constant conflict, and he daily prays: "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one." *

Satan has more influence in the world than any man or combination of men, and will keep and exercise it till the judgment-day, but he is again and again defeated by God, and will at last be completely and finally overthrown, that God may be all in all.

In the prologue to the wonderful book of Job, God and Satan appear as the supernatural movers of the history of man on earth, and in the end Satan is defeated, and Job comes out of his trial purified and perfected. Goethe reproduces the same idea in the prologue to the tragedy of *Faust*.

CHAPTER CXLVI.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

PHILIP SCHAFF: *What is Church History? A Vindication of the Idea of Historical Development*, Philadelphia, 1846.—JOHN HENRY (afterwards Cardinal) NEWMAN: *Development of Christian Doctrine*, London and New York, 1845.—LYMAN ABBOTT: *The Evolution of Christianity*, Boston, 1892.

History is a constant motion and progress, but with many obstructions, retrogressions and diseases caused by sin and error. It progresses, like a sailing-vessel, not in a straight but in a zig-zag line on its course to the harbor. Whatever is living is also moving and growing. The dead only is done. Secular history is the progressive development of the idea of humanity, with its "struggle for existence and survival of the fittest"; ecclesiastical history is the progressive development of the idea of Christian-

* "Something in us near to hell; something strangely near to God. . . . In our best estate and in our purest moments there is a something of the Devil in us which, if it could be known, would make men shrink from us." F. W. ROBERTSON on 51st Psalm.

ity or the history of the origin, growth and triumph of the kingdom of God.

Revelation is gradual and progressive, adapted to the capacity of man. It culminates in Christ.

Humanity and the Church as a whole are subject to the same laws of growth with its attendant obstructions and diseases, as the individual man and the individual Christian. Every member of the body and every faculty of the soul exist at first in a potential state and attain their full proportions only by degrees. The believer, too, like Christ himself (Luke 2 : 52; Heb. 5 : 8), has to pass through the different stages of life to perfect manhood in Christ (Eph. 2 : 20; 3 : 18, 19; 4 : 12, 13; 1 Pet. 2 : 5). Regeneration by the Spirit is the beginning, the resurrection of the body is the end, of this spiritual growth. So the Church at large goes through a process of outward expansion and inward consolidation till it shall cover the earth and be perfected in unity and holiness.

The law of progress for his kingdom is laid down by our Saviour in the twin parables of the mustard seed and the leaven (Matt. 13 : 31, 32): the one illustrates chiefly the external growth; the other, the internal mission of the Church in pervading, transforming and sanctifying humanity.

The true theory of development is that of a constant growth of the Church *in* Christ the head, or a progressive understanding and application of Christianity, until Christ shall be all in all. The end will only be the complete unfolding of the beginning. All other theories of development which teach a progress of humanity *beyond* Christ and *beyond* Christianity are false and pernicious. Christ is the beginning, the middle, and the end of church history.

False theories of development:

1. The Roman Catholic theory: an accumulation of dogmas and institutions without and beyond the Scriptures, under the guidance of an infallible pope. This leaves no room for reformation and revolution, and would exclude the Greek and the Protestant Churches.

Cardinal Newman's essay on Development shows the logical process of transition from Anglo-Catholicism to Romanism by overleaping the Reformation and the development of Protestantism, which fills two-thirds of modern history.

2. The Rationalistic theory: a diminution and destruction of dogmas and institutions which interfere with the supremacy of reason. This negative theory would make the immense labor of centuries as useless as a child's play.

The true theory of development must be both conservative and progressive, and provide for what is good and valuable in all ages and divisions of Christendom,—Greek, Latin and Protestant, ancient, mediæval and modern. No labor in the Lord can ever be lost.

The modern scientific theory of evolution in nature corresponds to the theory of development in history, which was previously discovered by historians and philosophers (like Hegel). But evolution in nature presupposes a creative beginning and God's continued omnipresence and immanence. In the same way, development in history implies a supreme intelligence which endowed man with reason and will, set history in motion and directs it by an omnipotent will. Christ founded the Church, is ever present with it, and his teaching and example are the inspiring force in all true moral and spiritual progress.

CHAPTER CXLVII.

CENTRAL POSITION OF CHRIST IN HISTORY.

Jesus Christ, the God-Man and Saviour of the world, is the center and turning-point of history, and the key which unlocks its mysteries. All history before him was a preparation for his coming, all history after him is the execution of his work.

He appeared in the fullness of the time (Mark 1 : 15; Gal. 4 : 4), when everything was ripe for him, and from his birth we justly date our chronology. He is "the desire of all nations." He came "to fulfill the law and the prophets," and all the nobler aspirations and unconscious prophecies of the ancient world.

"All things were created by him, and for him" (Col. 1 : 16). He is the prophet, priest and king of redeemed humanity. All events must directly or indirectly, positively or negatively, nearly or remotely, advance his kingdom, until he shall reign king of nations as he now rules king of saints in his Church. The great empires of the world are rising and passing away one by one, but his kingdom is constantly advancing and will last forever.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

AUXILIARY SCIENCES: ECCLESIASTICAL PHILOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY, DIPLOMATICS, SECULAR HISTORY.

Historical Theology presupposes several preparatory and auxiliary sciences.

I. Ecclesiastical PHILOLOGY. This embraces the knowledge of the languages in which the sources of Church history are

written, namely, the Greek and Latin for ancient, the Latin for mediæval, the German, French, English and other European languages for modern times.

The Greek is the official language of the Greek Church, and was used by the apostles and the Eastern Fathers.

The Latin became an ecclesiastical language with Tertullian at the end of the second century, and continues to be the official language of the Roman Church to this day. It was also used largely by the Reformers (Melanchthon, Zwingli, Calvin, etc.) and the older Protestant divines down to the end of the seventeenth century. Luther, Cranmer and Knox preferred their vernacular. The Latin is still employed in academic dissertations and festivities.

Modern Church history is mostly written in the popular languages which were developed in the Middle Ages under the influence of Christianity and rose to independence with the Renaissance and the Reformation. Dante exerted a creative influence upon the Italian, Wiclif and Chaucer upon the English, Luther upon the German, Calvin upon the French, language and literature. The German, French, and English languages are now the chief organs of the intellectual and practical activity of Christendom. They are emphatically the languages of religion and civilization. They occupy the position of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin in the ancient Roman empire. No student should neglect to master them sufficiently to use the ever-growing treasures of their literature.

II. Ecclesiastical Geography. It is the basis of history. The use of maps is indispensable for orientation. There is a close correspondence between nations and countries. The East has shaped the Greek; the South, the Latin; the North and West, the Protestant Churches. The organization of the Church—the division into dioceses, bishoprics, parishes, presbyteries, synods, etc.—is usually adapted to the existing political divisions. The territory of ancient Church history is that of the Roman empire, around the Mediterranean Sea. The geography of the middle ages extends farther north and west. The geography of modern history takes in the Western Continent and Australia, and the missionary fields in Asia and Africa.

A comparative historical geography would show the extent of Christianity and the different religions with which it came in contact,—Judaism, Mohammedanism and heathenism.

III. Ecclesiastical CHRONOLOGY. This includes the various systems of determining the dates of events, from the creation, from the year of Rome, from the birth of Christ, from the flight of Mohammed, etc.

IV. Ecclesiastical DIPLOMATICS is the science of diplomas or official documents, such as bulls, briefs, statutes, patents, etc., and teaches their value and right use. Special departments are: *Palæography*, the science of ancient writings and manuscripts of the Bible, etc.; *Sphragistics*, the science of seals; *Numismatics*, of coins; *Heraldics*, of weapons.

V. Secular History or the GENERAL HISTORY of the world. It is so intimately interwoven with Church History that the one cannot be understood without the other. In the widest sense the former includes the latter as its most important department. The Church is in the world and meets it at every point in friendly or hostile contact. During the middle ages, church and state were united. The history of the papacy is also a history of the German empire, and *vice versâ*. This union has prevailed under a different form in the history of Europe down to this day, and in America during the colonial period. But even where church and state are separated, as in the United States, they act and react upon each other, and religion enters into all the ramifications of national and social life.

LITERATURE.

I. Helps for Ecclesiastical Greek and Latin: SUICER and DU FRÈSNE, see Chapter LXXX.—KOFFMANE: *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins*, Breslau, 1879 sqq.—DIEZ: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der roman. Sprachen*, Bonn, 4th ed. 1878.

II. The historical atlases of WILTSCH, W. SMITH, SPRUNER, DROYSEN, FREEMAN, LABBERTON, OORT (Groningen, 1884), WERNER (Freiburg i. B., 1888), GRUNDEMANN: *Missionsatlas* (Gotha, 1867–70).

III. IDELER: *Lehrbuch der Chronologie*, Berlin, 1831.—PIPER: *Kirchenrechnung*, Berlin, 1841.—BRINKMEIER: *Handbuch der histor. Chronologie*, Leipzig, 2d. ed. 1882.—BROCKMANN: *System der Chronologie*, Stuttgart, 1883.

IV. MABILLON: *De re diplomatica*, Paris, 1681, and later edd.—GARDTHAUSEN: *Griech. Paläographie*, Leipzig, 2d ed. 1877.—WATTENBACH: *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 2d. ed. 1877.—FICKER: *Beiträge zur Urkundenlehre*, Innsbruck, 1877, 2 vols.

V. Works on general history are too numerous to be mentioned. Among brief compends, KARL PLOETZ (Berlin, 8th ed. 1884) and GEO. P. FISHER (*Outlines of Universal History*, New York, 1885, etc., with good maps) very useful.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

BRANCHES OF CHURCH HISTORY.

The kingdom of God is as comprehensive as humanity. It embodies the redemption, regeneration and sanctification of the race. It aims to consecrate the individual, the family, the state and all the ramifications of society. It penetrates science, art, literature, and makes them subservient to the glory of God till he be all in all. It is the divine leaven which gradually pervades the whole lump of humanity. This is a slow but sure process, passing through many obstructions and apparent defeats, but approaching ever nearer its final goal. A thousand years for God are as one day.

Church history has as many departments as human life and society. The principal topics are: Missions and Persecutions (expansion and contraction); Toleration and Freedom; Organization (Church Polity and Discipline); Worship (including Rites and Ceremonies); Christian Life and Activity; Theology and Dogma.

These departments have an organic relation to each other, and form one living whole. Each period is entitled to a peculiar arrangement, according to its character. The number, order and extent of the different divisions must be determined by their relative prominence and importance at a given time.

CHAPTER CL.

HISTORY OF MISSIONS.

The history of MISSIONS is a history of the extension of Christianity throughout the world. It will go on till the whole race is Christianized.

There are three great missionary ages: the planting of the Church among the Jews, Greeks and Romans by the apostles; the conversion of the barbarians of Europe in the middle ages; the modern missions in all parts of the globe looking to the conquest of all nations to Christ.

1. *Foreign* Missions, or the spread of the Christian religion among non-Christian nations, civilized, semi-civilized, and bar-

barian. Heathen Missions, Jewish Missions, Mohammedan Missions (the last still in the future).

2. *Domestic* Missions follow the tide of emigration to new countries and settlements under the government of Christian nations (as the British Provinces, the United States and Territories, the Asiatic possessions of Russia, the European possessions in Africa).

3. *Inner* Missions and *City* Missions, or the revival of vital Christianity in dead or indifferent sections of the Church, especially among the neglected and worse than heathenish populations of large cities, as London, Paris, Berlin, New York.

The Literature on missions is immense, especially in the English language. The most complete list is by Rev. SAMUEL M. JACKSON in *The Encyclopædia of Missions*, ed. by E. M. Bliss, New York, 1891, vol. I. pp. 575–661.

CHAPTER CLI.

HISTORY OF PERSECUTIONS.

The history of PERSECUTIONS in the widest sense embraces all forms of persecution, from without and from within, of Christians by non-Christians, of Christians by Christians, of heretical Christians by orthodox Christians, and *vice versâ*, of churches against sects, of state-churches against dissenters and non-conformists, of the Church by the State, of Jews by Christians. There is bloody and unbloody persecution. The former has nearly ceased, the latter still continues and will continue to the end of time.

1. *Foreign* persecution of the Church by antagonistic religions. Jewish persecution culminated in the crucifixion of the Messiah, expelled the apostles from the synagogue and lasted till the destruction of Jerusalem. Then followed the persecution of the Jews by the Christians down to the present time. Heathen persecution continued for three hundred years and ended in the conversion of the Roman empire. Mohammedan persecution began with the conquest of the Holy Land and reached its climax in the conquest of Constantinople (1453).

2. *Domestic* persecution of Christians against Christians. Romanists persecuted Protestants, Protestants persecuted Romanists, both persecuted heretics and dissenters. The difference is only one of degree and extent. All Christian sects have

persecuted except those which never had a chance. For persecution comes from human nature, its selfishness, narrowness and love of power, and from the alliance of priest-craft and state-craft, or religion with politics. But the Quakers and the Baptists, to their great credit, have made liberty of conscience an article of their creed.

LITERATURE: Closely connected with the Literature on missions. RUINART: *Acta Martyrum. The Acta Sanctorum.*—JOHN FOXE: *Book of Martyrs.*—UHLHORN: *Kampf des Christenthums mit dem Heidenthum* (translated by Smyth and Ropes, New York, 1879).

CHAPTER CLII.

HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

The history of persecution is at the same time a history of RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. The blood of patriots is the seed of civil liberty; the blood of martyrs is the seed of religious liberty. The end of persecution is toleration, and the end of toleration is freedom. Religious freedom is the highest form of freedom; it is a gift of God and an inalienable right of man who is made in the image of God.

This principle is now recognized, in theory at least, by the most enlightened nations, and is becoming more and more a fundamental element of modern civilization and Christianity. "For freedom did Christ set us free" (Gal. 5:1).

PHILIP SCHAFF: *The Progress of Religious Freedom, as shown in the History of Toleration Acts,* New York (Scribners), 1889.

CHAPTER CLIII.

HISTORY OF ORGANIZATION.

The history of ORGANIZATION implies the government and discipline of the Church. Christ founded a visible Church (Matt. 16:18), appointed officers, and instituted the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, to be perpetually observed by his followers.

On this foundation have been built, in the course of time, various forms of church polity: the Apostolic, the Primitive Episcopal, the Metropolitan and Patriarchal, the Papal, the An-

glican, the Presbyterian, the Independent, the Methodist Episcopal, etc.

The relation of church and state has passed through several distinct phases: (1) hostile separation (in the ante-Nicene age); (2) union, (*a*) the church ruling the state: hierarchy or theocracy (as in the mediæval papacy), (*b*) the state ruling the church: cæsaropapacy or Erastianism (as in the Byzantine empire, the Protestant state-churches, and in Russia); (3) friendly separation and independence (as in the United States of America).

LITERATURE: PLANCK: *Geschichte der christlich-kirchlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung* (1803–5), 5 vols.—ROTHE: *Anfänge der christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung* (1837).—RITSCHL: *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* (1887).—HATCH: *The Growth of Church Institutions* (1887).

The history of the papacy, which is in fact a history of Latin Christianity, has been especially treated in whole or in part by PLATINA, PAGI, BOWER, PLANCK, SPITTLER, BAXMANN, WATTENBACH, GREENWOOD, RANKE, CREIGHTON, PASTOR, and others. Monographs on single popes: LAU, and BARMBY on Gregory I.; VOIGT on Gregory VII.; REUTER on Alexander III.; HURTER on Innocent III.; DRUMANN on Boniface VIII.; ROSCOE on Leo X., etc.

CHAPTER CLIV.

HISTORY OF COUNCILS.

The history of COUNCILS, or deliberative church assemblies, from the apostolic conference at Jerusalem (A.D. 50) to modern times, is to a large extent a history of Christian doctrine and discipline.

The most prominent and influential councils are the œcumenical councils, from that of Nicæa (325) to that of the Vatican (1870). They formulated the dogmas and canons of the Greek and Latin Churches.

The most important synods of the Reformed Church are the Synod of Dort (1620), and the Westminster Assembly (1647), which framed Confessions of Faith, and Directories of Worship and Discipline.

The Presbyterian Churches have regular Synods and General Assemblies; the American Episcopal Church holds triennial Conventions; the Methodist Episcopal Church, quadrennial General Conferences; the Congregationalists and Baptists have occasional conventions of a voluntary character without legislative power.

Besides official conventions, there are in modern times Roman Catholic Congresses, General Conferences of the Evangelical Alliance, Pan-Anglican, Pan-Presbyterian, and Pan-Methodist Councils, etc., which have no legislative but great moral power.

LITERATURE: *The Acts of Councils*, by LABBEUS and COSSART, HARDUIN, and MANSI. The best history of Councils from a liberal Roman Catholic standpoint is the *Conciliengeschichte* of Professor (afterwards Bishop) HEFELE, continued by Cardinal HERGENRÖTHER (2d ed. revised, 1873–87, 8 vols.). It is a history of Latin Christianity. For the history of Protestant Synods and free Conferences, the official minutes and proceedings must be consulted.

CHAPTER CLV.

HISTORY OF WORSHIP.

The history of WORSHIP includes an account of sacred seasons and places, a history of preaching and catechetical instruction, liturgies, the administration of the sacraments, religious rites and ceremonies, ecclesiastical art (architecture, sculpture and painting), church poetry and church music.

Organization and worship of the ancient Church are often combined under the name of *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, which corresponds to Biblical Antiquities or Archæology in Exegetical Theology. An important part of Church Archæology, of recent origin, relates to the catacombs of Rome, which present an interesting view of the manners and customs, of the life and death of the early Christians.

LITERATURE: BINGHAM, AUGUSTI, BINTERIM, SIEGEL, KRAUS.—On Christian Antiquities: SMITH and CHEETHAM: *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (London, 1780, 2 vols.).—DE ROSSI: *Roma sotterranea cristiana* (Rom. 1864–78, 4 vols. fol.).—On Liturgies: RENAUDOT, PAMELIUS, NEALE, PALMER, HAMMOND.—Numerous works on Church architecture, by BUNSEN, KUGLER, LÜBKE, etc.—The best work on hymnology is JULIAN'S *Dictionary of Hymnology*, London and New York, 1892, pp. 1616.

CHAPTER CLVI.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN LIFE.

The history of CHRISTIAN LIFE or Christian morality and piety embraces the biographies of martyrs and saints (Martyrology and Hagiology), the history of asceticism and monasti-

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